



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



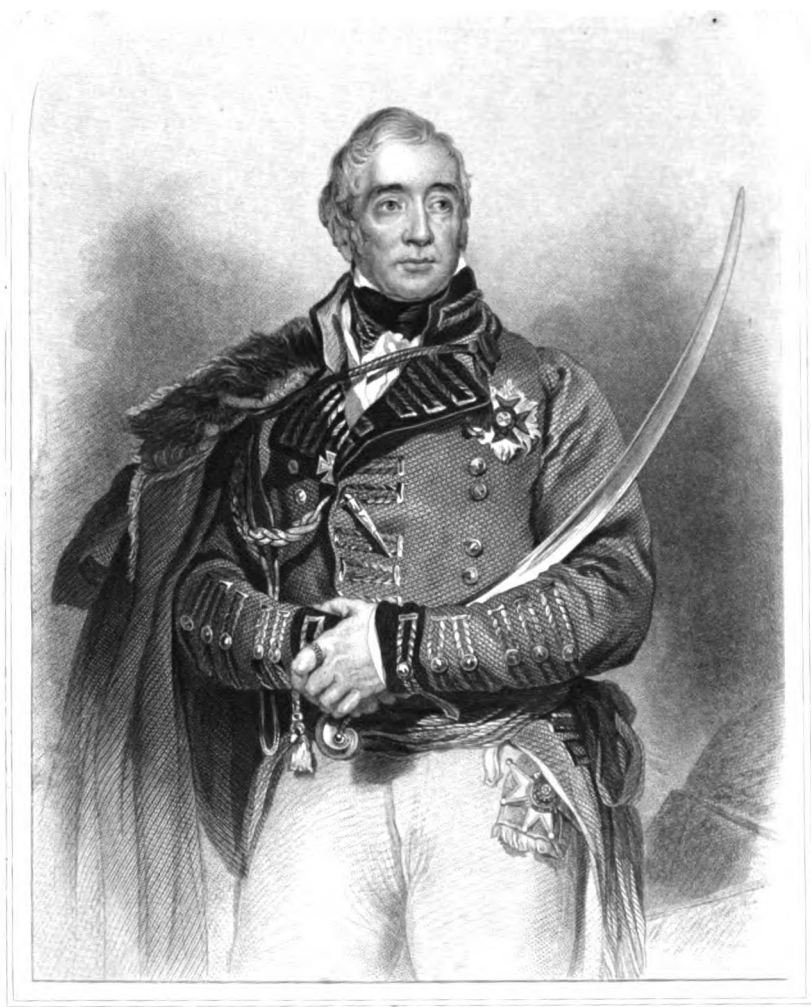
*A biographical dictionary of
eminent Scotsmen*

Robert Chambers, Thomas Thomson

BERKELEY
LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA

Samuel C. Haight
1923.

3



THE RIGHT HON. LORD DUNDAS, F.R.S.E., &c. &c. &c.

Portrait of Lord Dundas, by Sir James Stuart, 1800.

Engraved by J. Smith, after the original by Sir James Stuart.

Biographical Dictionary

OF

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

WITH

NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS.

VOLUME II.



R. BOOTH

T. FLEMING

THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

INNER COURT

Blackie & Son,

GLASGOW, 21, GEORGE STREET, AND LONDON.

Biographical Dictionary

OF EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

WITH
NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS.

VOLUME II.



THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

PRINTED BY

Blackie & Son,

GLASGOW AND LONDON.

A
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

ORIGINALLY EDITED BY ROBERT CHAMBERS.

REVISED THROUGHOUT AND CONTINUED

BY THE

REV. THOMAS THOMSON,

EDITOR OF THE "COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND," ETC.

WITH A SUPPLEMENT

CONTINUING THE BIOGRAPHIES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS ON STEEL.

HALF-VOL. III.

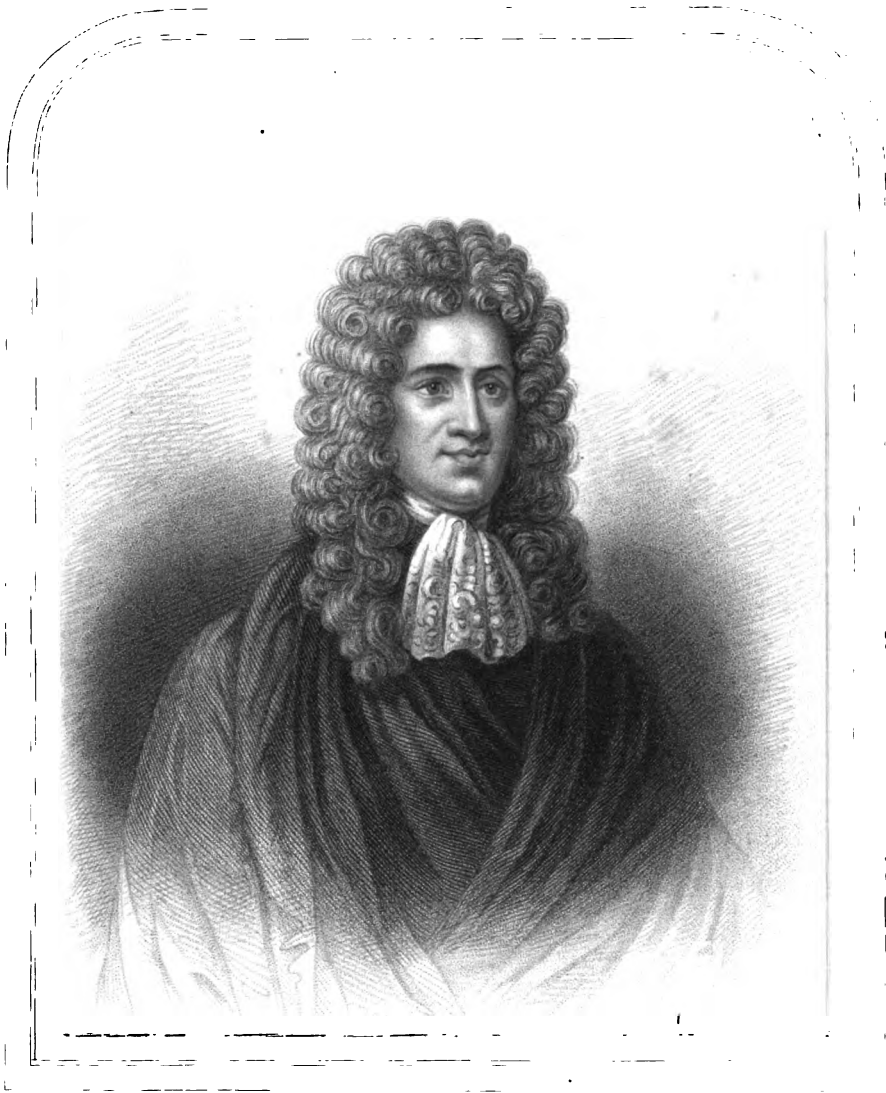


LONDON:
BLACKIE AND SON, PATERNOSTER BUILDINGS, E.C.;
AND GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH.

1875.

LOAN STACK

GLASGOW:
W. G. BLACKIE AND CO., PRINTERS.
VILLAFIELD.



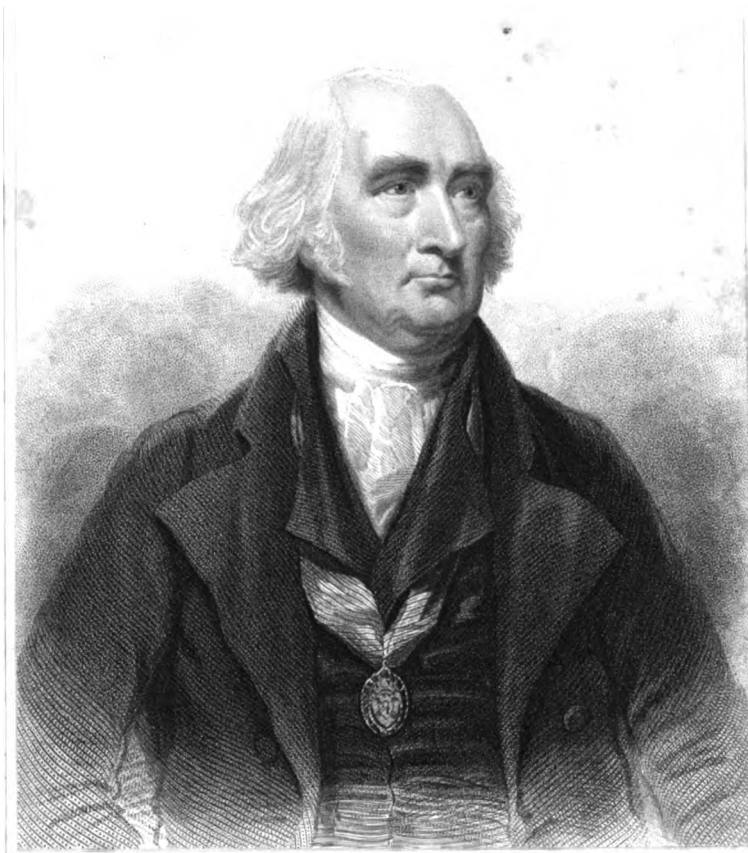
ANDREW FLETCHER.
OF SALTON.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF THE EARL OF BUCHAN

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY, 1881



ROBERT HARRISON
 OF JULIEN
 1st BARRISTER AT LAW
 OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE KING
 IN THE ADMIRALTY AND THE COMMONS



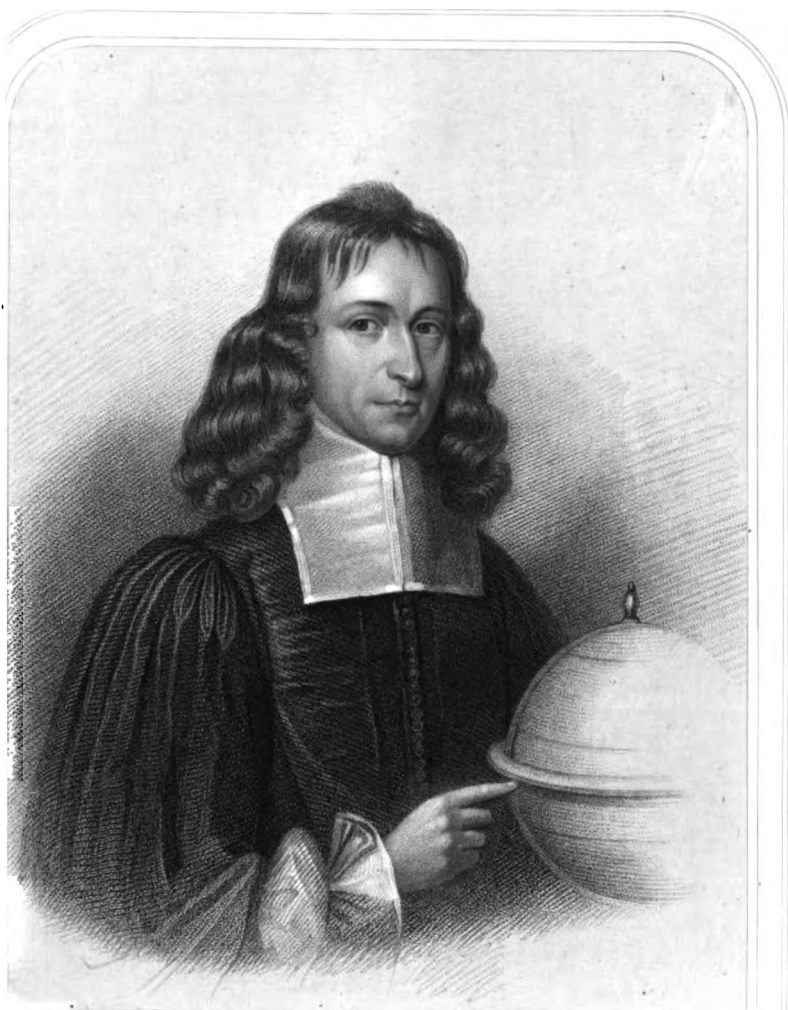
JOHN B. HARRIS, 1840

1840

JOHN B. HARRIS, 1840

JOHN B. HARRIS, 1840





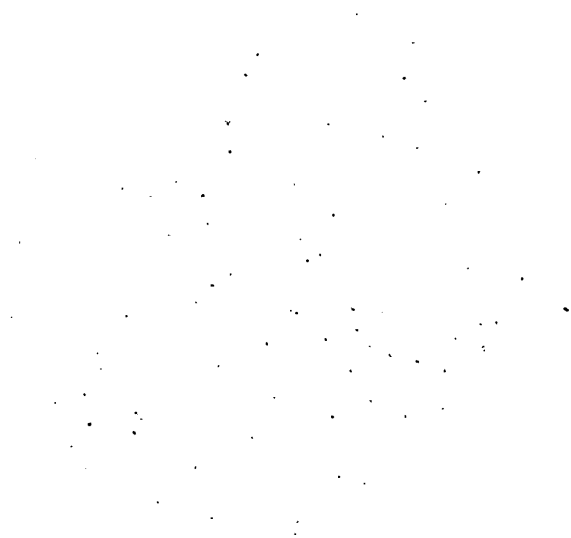
JOHANNES KEPLER

PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF
LINZ, 1600-1630

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE LIBRARY OF THE
MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, LONDON

REPRODUCED BY THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

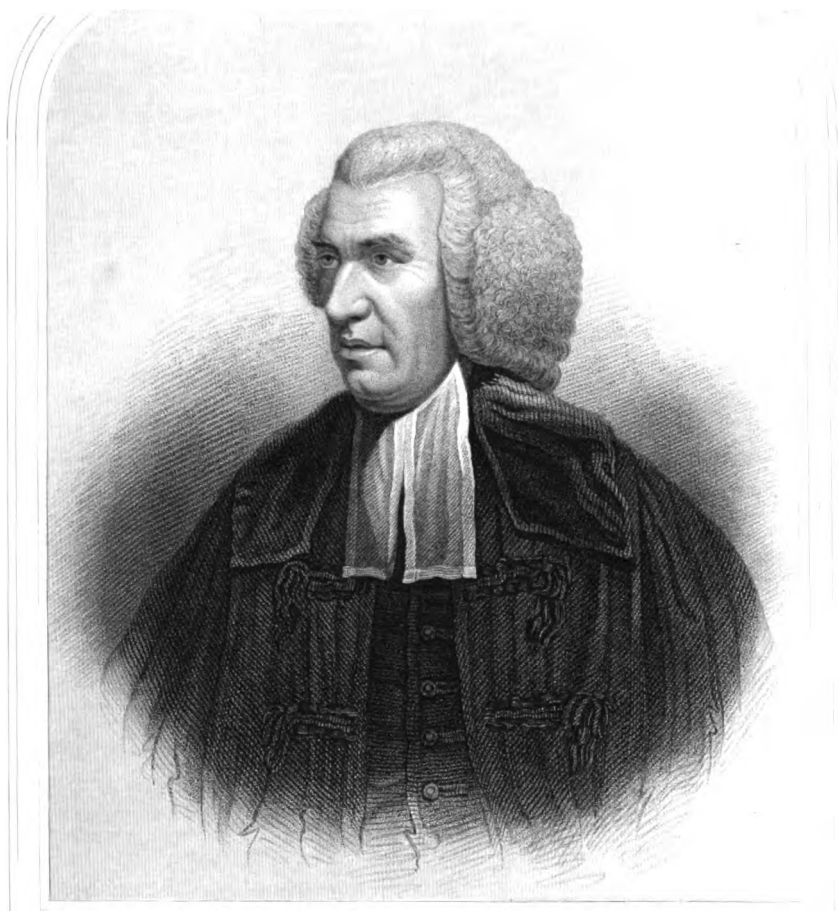






THE
LORD OF THE MANOR OF ST. JOHN'S

IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX



Portrait of William Pitt

After the original by Sir Godfrey Kneller

Engraved by Thomas Gainsborough

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

F.

FALCONER, HUGH, M.D. During the eighteenth century, when ethical and metaphysical speculation was accounted the highest effort of intellect, the Scottish mind heartily sympathized in the study. It was an outlet to the keen investigating character which formed one of the national distinctions, and the writings of Hume and others of his countrymen soon effected a revolution in the world of abstract thought. But in the nineteenth century, when the tide had entirely changed—when metaphysics was exchanged for physics, and the theoretic for the practical, so that the present age came to be called the age of utilitarianism—Scotland was not found wanting. Hence in every department of natural science we find her children among the foremost; and not the least of these was Hugh Falconer, the subject of the present biographical notice. He was born at Forbes, Morayshire, on the 29th of February, 1808. Having prosecuted his literary and general education at King's College, Aberdeen, where he took the degree of A.M., after completing the usual curriculum, he went to Edinburgh about the year 1826, and studied at its university until he had finished his medical education, and received the diplomas of surgeon and M.D. But although he acquired a competent knowledge of the medical profession, it was not to the mysteries of the healing art that he exclusively, or even chiefly, confined his attention: his enthusiasm was directed to natural science, while his comprehensive intellect ranged over its wide and diversified field—and the lessons of Professors Jameson and Graham, as well as the society of their chief pupils, aided and animated him in his scientific career. He was also a member of the Plinian Society, where he found associates with whom he maintained a close intimacy that lasted till his death.

Having graduated for the medical profession, Hugh Falconer commenced his active course as assistant-surgeon in the East India Company's service, and on his arrival in Bengal he was so fortunate as to find a field already prepared for him. His favourite study had been botany, and in this his proficiency was so marked, as to show him a fit successor to the Roxburghs and Wallichs, by whom the gardens of the Honourable East India Company had been superintended. He was therefore placed in charge of them, first at Seharunpoor, and latterly at Calcutta. His gratification at the appointment, and modest estimate of his own claims to such distinction, are thus mentioned in one of his letters written from Mussooree, 7000 feet in height among the Himalaya Mountains:

VOL. II.

"Botany is now a sort of profession with me. I am superintendent of a botanic garden in India. I had the luck to get it before I was a year in the country, and perhaps long before I could have expected anything of the kind; but as there are few in the medical service in India who trouble themselves with botany, I got the charge in lack of a fitter man."

Of his superior fitness for such a charge, even though able competitors had been at hand, it was soon evident that there could be little question. During a tenure of office that lasted twenty years, his researches extended from Calcutta to Cashmere in a northerly and westerly, and from Calcutta to Burmah in a south-easterly direction, while his inquiries were directed to every branch by which the resources of India could be developed, and the interests of natural science promoted. In Indian botany he may be pronounced the creator of the teas of Assam, the first attempt to transfer the Chinese plant to other regions, by which the world at a future day may be made independent of its exclusive supplies of tea from China. It was he also who developed the resources of the great teak forests of Martaban, where the sound of the woodman's axe had never been heard; and who first suggested the naturalization of the Jesuit's bark of Peru in the Himalaya Mountains and the Neigherry Hills. But independently of these strictly professional duties, were Falconer's discoveries in palæontology while in India. In the Sewalik Mountains, the lowest range of the Himalayas, he classified, described, and brought to England the largest collection of fossils, the organic beings of a former state of the world, that any individual had ever hitherto collected. Thus briefly we are compelled to comprise the narrative of a twenty years' scientific life in India—a life filled with active adventure, scientific discovery, and successful experiment, by which the boundaries of knowledge were enlarged, and the welfare of society promoted. And, with the exception of the usual furlough to Europe, these years had been passed, and these toils undergone, in the diversified climates and under the burning sun of the East. Having thus so ably discharged his task, Dr. Falconer retired from the service, and returned to England; but although his constitution was considerably shattered, his mental activity was as great and his love of scientific research as strong as ever. As soon, therefore, as his health was partially recruited, he resumed those palæontological inquiries among the fields of Europe, which he had so successfully prosecuted in India.

38

And for this also he was admirably qualified, as, independently of his enthusiasm in the pursuit, and his intellectual adaptation for such a task as that of collecting the fragments of a past existence, and out of these educing the forms and characters of the creatures to which they had belonged—a work in which he showed himself equal to the most distinguished palæontologists of the day, he possessed an amount of experience derived from the earliest eastern fields of prehistoric life to which they could not lay claim. In the course of his investigations he visited the drift of Amiens, the caverns of southern France, and those of Sicily. He also, in the autumn of 1864, made a voyage to Gibraltar in company with Professor Busk, the eminent naturalist and anatomist, for the purpose of exploring its caves, in which not only the fossilized bones of extinct animals were discovered, such as mastodons, cave-lions, cave-bears, and elephants, but those of man himself. This journey, however, terminated his life as well as his scientific inquiries. On returning to England through Spain, exposure to the weather tried his constitution so severely that he was unable to rally from its effects, and he died in Park Crescent, London, on the 31st of January, 1865, being only fifty-five years old. Such was Dr. Hugh Falconer, a man whose many-sided mind this brief sketch can but imperfectly delineate. In every department of natural science, and the departments of knowledge connected with them, he was completely versed. A perfect master of geology, botany, and zoology, he was also an excellent ethnologist and archaeologist, while in literature he was not only well acquainted with the classical but oriental languages. Having died a bachelor, he left no children to succeed him, and it was unfortunate that his busy life allowed him no leisure to construct such a work as might have shown the amount of his acquirements, and been a lasting monument to his fame. His two principal publications, of which, however, the labour was shared with others, were—1. "*Fauna Antiqua Sivalonis*," being the Fossil Zoology of the Sewalik Hills, in the North of India" (in conjunction with T. Cautley), Lond. fol. 1846-49; and, 2. "*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fossil Remains of Vertebrata in the Museum of Bengal*" (in conjunction with H. Walker). Calcutta, 8vo, 1859. Besides these, he contributed several papers to the chief scientific societies, especially the Geological and Philosophical, which are published in their *Transactions*.

FALCONER, WILLIAM, author of *The Shipwreck*, a poem, was born in Edinburgh about the year 1730. His father was a barber and wig-maker in a well-known street called the Netherbow, where he ultimately became insolvent. A brother and sister of the tuneful Falconer—the only individuals who stood in that relation to him—were born deaf and dumb; and the latter, on account of her infirmities, was a constant inmate of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, some time after the beginning of the present century. The father of the poet was a cousin-german of the Rev. Mr. Robertson, minister of the parish of Borthwick; so that this humble bard was a very near relation of the author of the *History of Scotland*, and also of Lord Brougham and Vaux. Old Falconer, being reduced to insolvency, was enabled by his friends to open a grocer's shop; but being deprived of his wife, who was a prudent and active woman, his affairs once more became deranged, and he terminated his life in extreme indigence.

The education of young Falconer was of that humble kind which might have been expected from his father's circumstances. A teacher of the name of

Webster gave him instructions in reading, writing, and arithmetic. He used to say that this was the whole amount of his school education. It appears that he possessed, even in early youth, an ardour of genius, and a zeal in the acquisition of knowledge, which in a great measure supplied his deficiencies. In his poem of the *Shipwreck* he evidently alludes to his own attainments in the following lines:—

"On him fair science dawned in happier hour,
Awakening into bloom young fancy's flower;
But soon adversity, with freezing blast,
The blossom withered and the dawn o'ercast;
Forlorn of heart, and, by severe decree,
Condemned, reluctant, to the faithless sea;
With long farewell, he left the laurel grove,
Where science and the tuneless sisters rove."

When very young he was torn from his self-pursued studies, and entered as an apprentice on board a merchant vessel belonging to Leith. He afterwards became servant to Mr. Campbell, the author of *Lexiphanes*, who was purser of the ship to which he belonged, and who, finding in him an aptitude for knowledge, kindly undertook to give him some instructions in person. He subsequently became second mate in the *Britannia*, a vessel in the Levant trade, which, on her passage from Alexandria to Venice, was shipwrecked off Cape Colonna, on the coast of Greece. Only three of the crew were saved, and Falconer was of the number. The event furnished him with the material of a poem, by which it is probable his name will be for ever remembered.

The poet was at this time about eighteen years of age. In 1751, when two or three years older, he is found residing in his native city, where he published his first known work, a poem, *Sacred to the Memory of His Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales*. He is said to have followed up this effort by several minor pieces which he transmitted to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Mr. Clarke, the editor of a respectable edition of his poems, points out *The Chaplain's Petition to the Lieutenants in the Wardroom*, the *Description of a Ninety-gun Ship*, and some lines *On the uncommon Scarcity of Poetry*, as among these fugitive productions. Mr. Clarke has likewise presented his readers with a whimsical little poem, descriptive of the abode and sentiments of a midshipman, which was one of the poet's early productions, and offers some reasons for supposing that he was the author of the popular song, *Cease, rude Boreas*.

Little is known of Falconer during this period of his life except that he must have been making considerable additions to his stock of knowledge and ideas. His poem *The Shipwreck* was published in 1762, being dedicated to Edward, Duke of York, brother of George III. This composition displays a degree of polish and an array of classical allusions which could only have been acquired by extensive reading. It was at once placed in the first rank of descriptive poetry, where it has ever since continued. "The distant ocean," says an eminent critic, "and its grand phenomena have employed the pens of the most eminent poets, but they have generally produced an effect by indefinite outlines and imaginary incidents. In Falconer we have the painting of a great artist, taken on the spot, with such minute fidelity, as well as picturesque effect, that we are chained to the scene with all the feelings of actual terror. In the use of imagery Falconer displays original powers. His sunset, midnight, morning, &c., are not such as have descended from poet to poet. He beheld these objects under circumstances in which it is the lot of few to be placed. His images, therefore, cannot be transferred or borrowed; they have an appropriation which must not be dis-

turbed, nor can we trace them to any source but that of genuine poetry." Another writer remarks, "*The Shipwreck* is didactic as well as descriptive, and may be recommended to a young sailor, not only to excite his enthusiasm, but improve his knowledge of the art. It is of inestimable value to this country, since it contains within itself the rudiments of navigation: if not sufficient to form a complete seaman, it may certainly be considered as the grammar of his professional science. I have heard many experienced officers declare that the rules and maxims delivered in this poem for the conduct of a ship in the most perilous emergency form the best, indeed the only opinions which a skillful mariner should adopt." Against such a poem it forms no proper objection that much of the language, being technical, is only perfectly understood by a class.

By his dedication the poet gained the notice and patronage of the Duke of York, who, it will be recollected, was himself a seaman. Almost immediately after the poem was published his royal highness induced Falconer to leave the merchant service, and procured him the rank of a midshipman in Sir Edward Hawke's ship, the *Royal George*. In gratitude, Falconer wrote an *Ode on the Duke of York's Second Departure from England as Rear-admiral*, which was published, but displays a merit more commensurate with the unimportance of the subject than the genius of the author. It is said that Falconer composed this poem "during an occasional absence from his messmates, when he retired into a small space formed between the cable tiers and the ship's side."

In 1763, the war being brought to a close, Falconer's ship was paid off,—long before he had completed that period of service which could have entitled him to promotion. He then exchanged the military for the civil department of the naval service, and became pursuer of the *Glory* frigate of 32 guns. Either in the interval between the two services, or before his appointment as a midshipman, he paid a visit to Scotland, and spent some time in the manse of Gladsmuir with Dr. Robertson, the historian, who, we are told, was proud to acknowledge the relationship that existed between him and this self-instructed and ingenious man.

Soon after this period Falconer married a Miss Hicks, daughter of the surgeon of Sheerness Yard. She has been described as "a woman of cultivated mind, elegant in her person, and sensible and agreeable in conversation." It is said that the match was entered into against the will of her parents, who, looking only to the external circumstances of the poet, thought her thrown away upon a poor Scottish adventurer. Notwithstanding this painful circumstance, and there is reason to fear real poverty besides, the pair lived happily. Falconer endeavoured to support himself by literature. He compiled a *Universal Marine Dictionary*, which, from its usefulness as a book of reference, soon became generally used in the navy. Like most other literary Scotsmen of that period, he was a zealous partisan of the Bute administration, and endeavoured to defend it against the attacks of its jealous and illiberal enemies. For this purpose he published a satire, called *The Demagogue*, which was more particularly aimed at Lord Chatham, Wilkes, and Churchill. We have not learned that it was attended with any particular effect. Falconer at this time lived in a manner at once economical, and highly appropriate to his literary character. "When the *Glory* was laid in ordinary at Chatham, Commissioner Hanway, brother to the benevolent Jonas Hanway, became

delighted with the genius of its pursuer. The captain's cabin was ordered to be fitted up with a stove, and with every addition of comfort that could be procured, in order that Falconer might thus be enabled to enjoy his favourite propensity, without either molestation or expense" (Clarke's *Life*).

In 1769 the poet had removed to London, and resided for some time in the former buildings of Somerset House. From this place he dated the last edition of the *Shipwreck* published in his own lifetime. That Falconer must have possessed the personal qualities of a man of the world, rather than those of an abstracted student or child of the muses, seems to be proved by Mr. Murray, the bookseller, having proposed to take him into partnership. He is supposed to have been only prevented from acceding to this proposal by receiving an appointment to the pursership of the *Aurora* frigate, which was ordered to carry out to India Messrs. Vansittart, Scrofton, and Forde, as supervisors of the affairs of the Company. He was also promised the office of private secretary to those gentlemen, a situation from which his friends conceived hopes that he might eventually obtain lasting advantages. It had been otherwise ordered. The *Aurora* sailed from England on the 30th of September, 1769, and, after touching at the Cape, was lost during the remainder of the passage, in a manner that left no trace by which the cause of the calamity could be discovered. It was conjectured that the vessel took fire at sea; but the more probable supposition is that she foundered in the Mosambique Channel. The widow of Falconer (who eventually died at Bath) resided for some years afterwards in his apartments at Somerset House, partly supported by Mr. Miller, the bookseller, who, in consideration of the rapid sale of the *Marine Dictionary*, generously bestowed upon her sums not stipulated for in his contract with the author. Mr. Moser, whom we have already quoted, mentions that he once met her walking in the garden, near her lodging, and, without knowing who she was, happened, in conversation, to express his admiration of the *Shipwreck*. She was instantly in tears. "She presented me," says Mr. M., "with a copy of the *Shipwreck*, and seemed much affected by my commiseration of the misfortunes of a man whose work appears in its catastrophe prophetic." They had never had any children.

"In person," says Mr. Clarke, "Falconer was about five feet seven inches in height; of a thin light make, with a dark weather-beaten complexion, and rather what is termed hard-featured, being considerably marked with the small-pox; his hair was of a brownish hue. In point of address, his manner was blunt, awkward, and forbidding; but he spoke with great fluency; and his simple yet impressive diction was couched in words which reminded his hearers of the terseness of Swift. Though he possessed a warm and friendly disposition, he was fond of controversy, and inclined to satire. His observation was keen and rapid; his criticisms on any inaccuracy of language or expression were frequently severe; yet this severity was always intended to create mirth, and not by any means to show his own superiority, or to give the smallest offence. In his natural temper he was cheerful, and frequently used to amuse his messmates by composing acrostics on their favourites, in which he particularly excelled. As a professional man, he was a thorough seaman; and, like most of that profession, was kind, generous, and benevolent."

FARQUHAR, JOHN. This remarkable character, who went to India a penniless youth and re-

¹ Letter by Joseph Moser, *European Magazine*, 1803, p. 424.

turned a millionaire, was the son of poor parents, and born in Crimond, Aberdeenshire, in 1751. In early life he went to India as a cadet in the Bombay establishment, and in the voyage was a chum of the late General Kerr. A dangerous wound in the hip, which affected his health and occasioned lameness, disqualified him for the military service, and by the advice of his friends he removed to Bengal, where he became a free merchant. Either his original tendencies, or the confinement occasioned by his wound, made him turn his mind to close study, in which chemistry and its practical application was the favourite pursuit. It was upon this that the foundation of his immense fortune was laid. The manufacturing of gunpowder in the interior at Pultah being defective, Mr. Farquhar was selected by Lord Cornwallis, the governor-general of India, to aid in rectifying it, and this he did so effectually as to secure the confidence of his superiors, and gradually to obtain the management of the concern, until at last he became the sole contractor with the government. Thus he rapidly rose to wealth and distinction, and won the particular favour and confidence of Warren Hastings; and that this rise was merited he showed by his close application, extraordinary mental vigour, and activity. He also evinced, by his habits of penuriousness, that he could keep a good hold of the wealth that flowed in so abundantly upon him. After years of labour he returned from India with a fortune estimated at half-a-million, the greater part of which was profitably invested by Mr. Hoare, his banker, in the funds.

On landing at Gravesend on his return to England, such was the appearance of this Indian Croesus, that no pickpocket however hungry would have thought him worth a search. His clothes were threadbare and could scarcely hang together, while his whole appearance was that of a pauper on his way to the workhouse. He took the outside of the coach to London to save expense, and his first visit was to his banker; but on asking to see Mr. Hoare, the clerks, who saw him covered with dust and dirt, treated him with hauteur, and obliged him to wait as a petitioner in the cash office. On Mr. Hoare passing through it, he exchanged a few words with the supposed mendicant, and was thunderstruck to find that this was no other than his great Indian customer. Farquhar drew only £25 and took his leave. He then went to the house of a relation, a baronet, and there took up his residence; but his poverty-stricken appearance was an eyesore and annoyance to the whole establishment. At last, a great Christmas entertainment was to be given in the mansion, in consequence of which his relative, a week previous, hinted the propriety of improving his costume, and recommended a Bond Street tailor who would drape him in the newest and most approved fashion. Indignant at this aspersion of his favourite costume, and the audacity of such interference, Mr. Farquhar immediately packed up his trunk, ordered the servant to call a coach, and took his departure. He then settled himself in Upper Baker Street, where his house was soon characterized by its forlorn appearance; the windows were uncleaned, the approach dirty and neglected, while the only menial of whom the establishment could boast was an old woman. His own favourite room was a sanctuary which she was not allowed to enter, or a brush or broom to profane; the floor was littered with books and papers, where they were thrown and allowed to lie, when their service was over; and the most active part of its furniture was an old pan or pipkin, in which he usually cooked his Brahminical meal of rice. His neighbours were alarmed at this appearance of ex-

trema destitution, and in several cases some of them offered him alms, supposing that he was a reduced gentleman starving in poverty. His relations, however, were too wise to neglect such a rich kinsman, let his dress and eccentricities be as annoying as they might, and he was often invited to their tables. But while he thus saved himself the expense of the day's provender, he was not the less careful for the morrow, and rolls or pieces of bread found their way into his pocket to furnish the next day's breakfast or dinner. His hosts were too wise to notice such abstractions, and in the end were no losers by their short-sightedness.

While Farquhar was thus saving in the common necessities of life, his mountain of money was not allowed to lie idle. He became a partner in the great agency house in the city having for its title "Basset, Farquhar, & Co.," and purchased the late Mr. Whitebread's share in the brewery. With part of his wealth he purchased estates, but the bulk of it was invested in stock, and allowed to increase on the principle of compound interest. Every half year he drew his dividends, his mercantile profits, and his rents, and purchased in the funds, so that his capital with every year was steadily and rapidly increasing. But the most wonderful of his mercantile transactions was in the case of that gorgeous Aladdin palace, Fonthill Abbey. In 1822 that splendid edifice with all its rich treasures was announced for sale, and while the public mind anticipated the whole wealth and aristocracy of Britain as bidders at the auction, the land was amazed to learn that Mr. Farquhar—that most frugal man and impersonation of poverty—had purchased the whole by private bargain for £330,000. Occasionally also he resided afterwards in the abbey, like a living sermon upon the vanity of its grandeur, until the fall of its tower in December, 1825. The remaining wing of the older mansion he converted into a woollen manufactory.

In this strange manner Mr. Farquhar held onward in his career until its course was terminated, astonishing the world by his vast wealth, but still more by his penurious habits. Whatever he touched seemed to turn into gold; but this, though he was able, he was unwilling to enjoy, so that his Midas-like famine was his own deliberate choice. But he was no ordinary miser; and while hoarding scraps of victuals and saving pence and farthings, he could freely part with hundreds of pounds in acts of charity and benevolence. Although slovenly in dress and disagreeable in the usages of the table, he could yet be courteous and gentlemanly in his manners and conversation. He was an accomplished scholar and well versed in the classics, and although disinclined to correspondence, when he prevailed upon himself to write, his style was terse, elegant, and correct. In mathematical, chemical, and mechanical science he also showed remarkable proficiency, while his conversation was rich, animated, and varied. But the possession of these endowments only increased the general odium occasioned by his insane love of money, as compared with his capability for higher and better pursuits. What were his religious opinions even the most intimate of his friends could not ascertain, but it was suspected, from his mode of living, and his admiration of the pure and abstinent precepts of Brahminism, that he was at least a half-convert to the Hindoo creed. It was also said that he offered to devote £100,000 in founding a college in Aberdeen on the most enlarged plan of education, from which, however, the subject of religion was to be excluded, but which the legislature refused to sanction, so that the plan was abandoned.

After having thus continued to be a wonder to society, John Farquhar was suddenly withdrawn from its gaze. On the 5th of July, 1826, he had taken an airing in his carriage, and returned to his house in the New Road, opposite the Regent's Park, at seven in the evening, and retired to rest between the hours of ten and eleven. At eight in the following morning his servant, according to custom, took up breakfast to his master in his bedroom, but found him a corpse. Suddenly and at midnight the rich man's soul had been required of him, and he had apparently died instantaneously and without a struggle. As Mr. Farquhar died intestate, his fortune, supposed to amount to a million and a half, was divided among seven nephews and nieces.

FERGUSON, DR. ADAM, was the son of the Rev. Adam Ferguson, parish minister of Logie Rait, in Perthshire, descended of the respectable family of Dunfallandy; his mother was from the county of Aberdeen. He was born in the year 1724, in the manse of his father's parish, and was the youngest of a numerous family. He received the rudiments of instruction at the parish school; but his father, who had devoted much of his time to the tuition of his son, became so fully convinced of the superior abilities of the boy, that he determined to spare no expense in the completion of his education. He was accordingly sent to Perth and placed under the care of Mr. Martin, who enjoyed great celebrity as a teacher. At this seminary Ferguson highly distinguished himself, as well in the classical branches of education as in the composition of essays; an exercise which his master was in the habit of prescribing to his pupils. His theses were not only praised at the time of their being delivered, but were long preserved and shown with pride by Mr. Martin, as the production of a youthful scholar. In October, 1739, Ferguson was, at the age of fifteen, removed to the university of St. Andrews, where he was particularly recommended to the notice of Mr. Tullidolph, who had been lately promoted to the office of principal of one of the colleges. At St. Andrews there is an annual *exhibition* for four bursaries, when the successful competitors in writing and translating Latin obtain gratuitous board at the college table during four years. Ferguson stood first among the competitors of the undergraduate course for the year he entered the college. At that period the Greek language was seldom taught in the grammar-schools in Scotland; and although young Ferguson had thus honourably distinguished himself by his knowledge of Latin, he seems to have been unacquainted with Greek. By his assiduity, however, he amply regained his lost time; for so ardently did he apply himself to the study of that language, that, before the close of the session, he was able to construe Homer; nor did his ardour cease with his attendance at college, for during the vacation he tasked himself to prepare one hundred lines of the *Iliad* every day, and facility increasing as he advanced in knowledge, he was enabled to enlarge his task, so that by the commencement of the succeeding session, or term, he had gone through the whole poem. This laborious course of study enabled him to devote the succeeding years of his attendance at college to the attainment of a knowledge of mathematics, logic, metaphysics, and ethics.

From St. Andrews, on the close of his elementary studies, Mr. Ferguson removed to Edinburgh to mix with, and form a distinguished member of that galaxy of great men which adorned the northern metropolis about the middle of the 18th century. Nor was it long before his acquaintance among those

who were thus to shed a lustre over Scotland commenced, for soon after his arrival in Edinburgh he became a member of a philosophical society, which comprehended Dr. Robertson, Dr. Blair, Mr. John Home the author of *Douglas*, and Mr. Alexander Carlyle. A society composed of young men of abilities so eminent, it may easily be believed, was an institution peculiarly well adapted to promote intellectual improvement and the acquisition of knowledge. This society afterwards merged in the Speculative Society, which has been the favourite resort of most of the young men of talent who have been educated in Edinburgh during the last hundred years.

"In his private studies" (we are informed by one of his most intimate friends) Mr. Ferguson, while in Edinburgh, devoted his chief attention "to natural, moral, and political philosophy. His strong and inquiring unprejudiced mind, versed in Grecian and Roman literature, rendered him a zealous friend of rational and well-regulated liberty. He was a constitutional Whig, equally removed from Republican licentiousness and Tory bigotry. Aware that all political establishments ought to be for the good of the whole people, he wished the means to vary in different cases, according to the diversity of character and circumstances; and was convinced, with Aristotle, that the perfection or defect of the institutions of one country does not necessarily imply either perfection or defect of the similar institutions of another; and that restraint is necessary, in the inverse proportion of general knowledge and virtue. These were the sentiments he cherished in his youth; these the sentiments he cherished in his old age."

Mr. Ferguson was intended for the church, and had not pursued the study of divinity beyond two years when, in 1744, Mr. Murray, brother to Lord Elibank, offered him the situation of deputy chaplain, under himself, in the 42d regiment. In order, however, to obtain a license as a preacher in the Church of Scotland, it was necessary at that time to have studied divinity for six years, and although the fact of Ferguson having some slight knowledge of the Gaelic language might have entitled him to have two of these years discounted, still no presbytery was authorized to have granted him his license. He was therefore obliged to apply to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, when, in consideration of the high testimonials which he produced from several professors, a dispensation was granted in his favour, and having passed his trials, he obtained his license as a preacher; immediately after which he joined his regiment, then in active service in Flanders. In a short time he had the good fortune to be promoted to the rank of principal chaplain.

Mr. Gibbon has declared that the manœuvres of a battalion of militia, of which he was colonel, had enabled him to comprehend and describe the evolutions of the Roman legion; and no doubt Mr. Ferguson owed his knowledge of military affairs, by which he was enabled to give such distinctness and liveliness to his descriptions of wars and battles, to the experience which he acquired while with his regiment on the Continent. Nor did his service prove less beneficial to him by throwing open a wide and instructive field of observation of the human character, and imparting a practical knowledge of the mainspring of political events.

On the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Mr. Ferguson obtained leave of absence, when he visited his native country. At home he spent his time partly in Perthshire, wandering about in comparative idleness, enjoying the beautiful scenery which surrounded his father's manse, and partly in the capital, where he renewed his acquaintance with the friends of his

youth. About this period he solicited the Duke of Athol for the living of Caputh, a beautiful and retired parish near Dunkeld, in Perthshire; he was, however, unsuccessful in his application, and it was owing perhaps to this disappointment that he did not ask the living of Logie Rait, on the death of his father, which took place shortly after. Having rejoined his regiment, he seems thenceforward to have abandoned all intention of undertaking a parochial charge. Indeed his talents did not peculiarly fit him for the office of a preacher; for although he had acquired a great facility in writing, his sermons were rather moral essays than eloquent discourses. This, in a great measure, disqualified him for becoming a favourite with a Presbyterian congregation, in which so much always depends on the preacher's capacity to excite and sustain a spirit of devotion among his hearers, by the fidelity, earnestness, and energy of his exhortations, and the fervour of his prayers. Although thus unfitted by the nature of his genius to shine as a preacher, Mr. Ferguson's great abilities, his polished manners, and the benevolence of his disposition, peculiarly fitted him for taking a prominent part in literature and in private society.

In the year 1757 Mr. Ferguson resigned the chaplaincy of the 42d regiment, after which he was employed for upwards of two years as private tutor in the family of the Earl of Bute; and in the year 1759 he was chosen professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh; which chair he retained until the year 1764, when he obtained the professorship of moral philosophy—a chair much better suited to his genius, and to the course of study which he had pursued.

In 1766 he published his *Essays on Civil Society*. The object of this work is—according to the favourite mode of the literary men with whom Ferguson associated—to trace man through the several steps in his progress from barbarism to civilization. This, which was his first publication, contributed not a little to raise Mr. Ferguson in public estimation, and the university of Edinburgh hastened to confer on him the honorary degree of LL.D. In the same year he revisited the scenes of his youth, and delighted the old parishioners of his father by recollecting them individually, while they were no less proud that their parish had produced a man who was held in such estimation in the world. During this year also he was married to Miss Burnet, from Aberdeenshire, the amiable niece of the distinguished Professor Black, of Edinburgh. In order to render his lectures more useful to his pupils, Dr. Ferguson about this time published his *Institutes or Synopsis of his Lectures*.

Dr. Ferguson continued to enjoy the literary society of Edinburgh, interrupted only by the recreation of cultivating a small farm in the neighbourhood of the city, until the year 1773; when he was induced by the liberal offers of Lord Chesterfield, nephew to the celebrated earl, to accompany him in his travels. After a tour through most of the countries of Europe, Dr. Ferguson returned in 1775 to the duties of his chair, which, during his absence, had been ably performed by the well-known Dugald Stewart. This relief from his academical duties proved not only highly advantageous to Dr. Ferguson in a pecuniary point of view, but contributed considerably to his improvement. His lectures on his return were not only numerously attended by the usual routine of students, but by men of the first rank and talents in the country. We have the testimony of one who, although young at the time, seems to have been well able to appreciate his talents, as to

Dr. Ferguson's manner as a lecturer:—"The doctor's mode of communicating knowledge was firm, manly, and impressive, but mild and elegant; he was mild, but justly severe in his rebukes to the inattentive and negligent. One day that he was engaged in that part of his course that treated of the practical application of the moral qualities which he had before described, and was speaking of the folly of idleness and inattention to the business in hand, some thoughtless young men were whispering and trifling in the gallery. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'please to attend; this subject peculiarly concerns you.'" In the year 1776 Dr. Ferguson answered Dr. Price's production on civil and religious liberty. The ground on which he differed with Dr. Price was on the applicability of his doctrine to society and to imperfect man.

We have an early notice of Dr. Ferguson's being engaged in the composition of his *History of the Roman Republic* in the following valuable letter, addressed by him to Edward Gibbon, dated Edinburgh, 18th April, 1776:—"Dear sir, I should make some apology for not writing you sooner an answer to your obliging letter; but if you should honour me frequently with such requests, you will find that, with very good intentions, I am a very dilatory and irregular correspondent. I am sorry to tell you that our respectable friend Mr. Hume is still declining in his health; he is greatly emaciated, and loses strength. He talks familiarly of his near prospect of dying. His mother, it seems, died under the same symptoms; and it appears so little necessary, or proper, to flatter him, that no one attempts it. I never observed his understanding more clear, or his humour more pleasant or lively. He has a great aversion to leaving the tranquillity of his own house to go in search of health among inns and hostlers. And his friends here gave way to him for some time; but now think it necessary that he should make an effort to try what change of place and air, or anything else Sir John Pringle may advise, can do for him. I left him this morning in the mind to comply in this article, and I hope that he will be prevailed on to set out in a few days. He is just now sixty-five.

"I am very glad that the pleasure you give us recoils a little on yourself through our feeble testimony. I have, as you suppose, been employed, at any intervals of leisure or rest I have had for some years, in taking notes, or collecting materials for a history of the destruction that broke down the Roman republic, and ended in the establishment of Augustus and his immediate successors. The compliment you are pleased to pay, I cannot accept of even to my subject. Your subject now appears with advantages it was not supposed to have had, and I suspect that the magnificence of the mouldering ruin will appear more striking than the same building when the view is perplexed with scaffolding, workmen, and disorderly lodgers, and the ear is stunned with the noise of destructions and repairs, and the alarms of fire. The night which you begin to describe is solemn, and there are gleams of light superior to what is to be found in any other time. I comfort myself that, as my trade is the study of human nature, I could not fix on a more interesting corner of it than the end of the Roman republic. Whether my compilations should ever deserve the attention of any one besides myself, must remain to be determined after they are farther advanced. I take the liberty to trouble you with the inclosed for Mr. Smith (Dr. Adam Smith), whose uncertain stay in London makes me at a loss how to direct for him. You have both such reason to be pleased with the world just now, that I hope you are pleased

with each other. I am, with the greatest respect, dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant, ADAM FERGUSON." This letter is not only valuable from its intrinsic worth and the reference it has to the composition of *The History of the Roman Republic*, but from its presenting, connected by one link, four of the greatest names in British literature. Mr. Ferguson, however, was interrupted in the prosecution of his historical labours, having been, through the influence of his friend Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, appointed secretary to the commissioners sent out to America in the year 1778, to negotiate an arrangement with our revolted colonies in that continent. The following historical detail will show the success of this mission:—

"In the beginning of June, 1778, the new commissioners arrived at Philadelphia, more than a month after the ratification of the treaty with France had been formally exchanged. The reception they met with was such as men the most opposite in their politics had foreseen and foretold. Dr. Ferguson, secretary to the commission, was refused a passport to the congress, and they were compelled to forward their papers by the common means.

"The commissioners, at the very outset, made concessions far greater than the Americans, in their several petitions to the king, had requested or desired—greater, indeed, than the powers conferred upon them by the act seemed to authorize. Amongst the most remarkable of these was the engagement to agree that no military force should be kept up in the different states of America without the consent of the general congress of the several assemblies—to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation—to admit of representatives from the several states, who should have a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain—to establish a freedom of legislation and internal government, comprehending every privilege short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force in which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends.

"These papers, when laid before the congress, were read with astonishment and regret, but from the declaration of INDEPENDENCE, they had neither the will nor the power to recede. An answer, therefore, brief but conclusive, was returned by the president, Henry Laurens, declaring, 'that nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his most Christian majesty, their ally, or to consider of propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation. The commission under which they act supposes the people of America to be still subject to the crown of Great Britain, which is an idea utterly inadmissible.' The president added, 'that he was directed to inform their excellencies of the inclination of the congress to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it had been conducted. They will, therefore, be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose; and the only solid proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.'" Conduct so haughty on the part of the Americans necessarily put a stop to all farther negotiation, and the commissioners having, in a valedictory manifesto, appealed to the people, returned home.

On his return to Scotland Dr. Ferguson resumed the charge of his class and continued the preparation of the *Roman History*. That work made its appearance in the year 1783; and two years afterwards, he resigned the chair of moral philosophy in favour of Mr. Dugald Stewart; while he was himself permitted to retire on the salary of the mathematical class which Mr. Stewart had held. Dr. Ferguson then took up his residence at Manor, in the county of Peebles, where he passed his time in literary ease and in farming; an occupation for which he had a peculiar taste, but which he ultimately found so unprofitable, that he was glad to relinquish it. He seems also to have devoted his attention to the correction of his lectures, which he published in 1793.

While exempt from all cares, and in the enjoyment of good health and of a competent fortune, Dr. Ferguson, in his old age, conceived the extraordinary project of visiting Rome. He accordingly repaired once more to the Continent, visiting the cities of Berlin and Vienna, where he was received with great attention. His progress southward was, however, stopped by the convulsions associated with the French revolution. To this great political phenomenon Dr. Ferguson's attention had been earnestly directed, and it is curious to know, that he had drawn up (although he did not publish it) a memorial pointing out the dangers to which the liberties of Europe were exposed, and proposing a congress with objects similar to those which occupied the congress of Vienna in 1814.

On his return home Dr. Ferguson retired for the remainder of his life to St. Andrews, a place endeared to him by early habits and admirably fitted for the retreat of a literary man in easy circumstances. There, in addition to the professors of that ancient university, he enjoyed the society of the patriotic George Dempster, of Dunnichen; and having had almost uninterrupted good health up to the patriarchal age of ninety-three, he died on the 22d of February, 1816. "He was," to use the words of an intimate friend of the family, "the last great man of the preceding century, whose writings did honour to the age in which they lived, and to their country; and none of them united in a more distinguished degree the acquirements of ancient learning to a perfect knowledge of the world, or more eminently added to the manners of a most accomplished gentleman the principles of the purest virtues."

In his person Dr. Ferguson was well formed, active, and muscular; his complexion was fair, his eyes blue, his features handsome, intelligent, and thoughtful. There is a very fine and correct portrait of him in an anteroom at Brompton Grove, the seat of Sir John Macpherson. Unlike many who have devoted themselves to the abstruse study of philosophy, he had an intimate knowledge of the world; having mixed much with courtiers, statesmen, politicians, and the learned and accomplished, not only in Great Britain, but throughout Europe. His knowledge of the human character was consequently accurate and extensive; his manners were polished, simple, and unostentatious; while his conversation was agreeable and instructive. Warned by an illness with which he was seized when about the age of fifty, resembling in its character an apoplectic fit, he abstained from the use of wine, and during the remainder of his life lived most abstemiously, and enjoyed an uninterrupted course of good health. His fortune was affluent; besides the fees and salaries of his class and the price of his works, he held two pensions, one from government of £400, and another from Lord Chesterfield of £200 a year. By these means, aided by a munificent gift from his pupil, Sir John Mac-

pherson, he was enabled to purchase a small estate near St. Andrews; he was also possessed of a house and garden in that city, on which he expended £1000.

Bred in the tenets of the Church of Scotland, he was a respectful believer in the truths of revelation; he did not, however, conceive himself excluded from cultivating the acquaintance of those who were directly opposed to him in their religious opinions, and his intimate friendship with David Hume subjected him to the reprehension of many of the Christian professors of his time. A list of those with whom Dr. Ferguson maintained an intimate acquaintance and intercourse, would include all who rose to eminence during the last half of the eighteenth, and the early part of the present century. Dr. Ferguson left six children; three sons and three daughters: Adam in the army, John in the navy, and the third son in the East India Company's service.¹

FERGUSON, JAMES, an ingenious experimental philosopher, mechanist, and astronomer. Of this miracle of self-instruction and native genius, we cannot do better than give his own account, as drawn up by himself a very few years before his death, and prefixed to his *Select Mechanical Exercises*. It is one of the most interesting specimens of autobiography in the language.

I was born in the year 1710, a few miles from Keith, a little village in Banffshire, in the north of Scotland; and can with pleasure say that my parents, though poor, were religious and honest; lived in good repute with all who knew them; and died with good characters.

As my father had nothing to support a large family but his daily labour, and the profits arising from a few acres of land which he rented, it was not to be expected that he could bestow much on the education of his children; yet they were not neglected; for at his leisure hours he taught them to read and write. And it was while he was teaching my elder brother to read the Scottish catechism that I acquired my reading. Ashamed to ask my father to instruct me, I used, when he and my brother were abroad, to take the catechism, and study the lesson which he had been teaching my brother; and when any difficulty occurred, I went to a neighbouring old woman, who gave me such help as enabled me to read tolerably well before my father had thought of teaching me.

Some time after, he was agreeably surprised to find me reading by myself: he thereupon gave me further instruction, and also taught me to write; which, with about three months I afterwards had at the grammar-school at Keith, was all the education I ever received.

My taste for mechanics arose from an odd accident. When about seven or eight years of age, a part of the roof of the house being decayed, my father, desirous of mending it, applied a prop and lever to an upright spar to raise it to its former situation; and, to my great astonishment, I saw him, without considering the reason, lift up the ponderous roof as if it had been a small weight. I attributed this at first

to a degree of strength that excited my terror as well as wonder: but, thinking further of the matter, I recollected that he had applied his strength to that end of the lever which was furthest from the prop; and finding, on inquiry, that this was the means whereby the seeming wonder was effected, I began making levers (which I then called bars); and by applying weights to them different ways, I found the power gained by my bar was just in proportion to the lengths of the different parts of the bar on either side of the prop.—I then thought it was a great pity, that, by means of this bar, a weight could be raised but a very little way. On this I soon imagined that, by pulling round a wheel, the weight might be raised to any height by tying a rope to the weight, and winding the rope round the axle of the wheel; and that the power gained must be just as great as the wheel was broader than the axle was thick; and found it to be exactly so, by hanging one weight to a rope put round the wheel, and another to the rope that coiled round the axle. So that, in these two machines, it appeared very plain that their advantage was as great as the space gone through by the working power exceeded the space gone through by the weight. And this property I also thought must take place in a wedge for cleaving wood; but then I happened not to think of the screw. By means of a turning lathe which my father had, and sometimes used, and a little knife, I was enabled to make wheels and other things necessary for my purpose.

I then wrote a short account of these machines, and sketched out figures of them with a pen, imagining it to be the first treatise of the kind that ever was written, but found my mistake when I afterwards showed it to a gentleman, who told me that these things were known long before, and showed me a printed book in which they were treated of; and I was much pleased when I found that my account (so far as I had carried it) agreed with the principles of mechanics in the book he showed me. And from that time my mind preserved a constant tendency to improve in that science.

But as my father could not afford to maintain me while I was in pursuit only of these matters, and I was rather too young and weak for hard labour, he put me out to a neighbour to keep sheep, which I continued to do for some years; and in that time I began to study the stars in the night. In the day-time I amused myself by making models of mills, spinning-wheels, and such other things as I happened to see.

I then went to serve a considerable farmer in the neighbourhood, whose name was James Glashan. I found him very kind and indulgent; but he soon observed that in the evenings, when my work was over, I went into a field with a blanket about me, lay down on my back, and stretched a thread with small beads upon it, at arm's-length, between my eye and the stars, sliding the beads upon it till they hid such and such stars from my eye, in order to take their apparent distances from one another, and then, laying the thread down on a paper, I marked the stars thereon by the beads, according to their respective positions, having a candle by me. My master at first laughed at me; but when I explained my meaning to him, he encouraged me to go on; and that I might make fair copies in the day-time of what I had done in the night, he often worked for me himself. I shall always have a respect for the memory of that man.

One day he happened to send me with a message to the Rev. Mr. John Gilchrist, minister at Keith, to whom I had been known from my childhood. I carried my star-papers to show them to him, and

¹ The following is a list of Dr. Ferguson's works:—
The History of Civil Society, in one volume, published 1766.
His Institutes of Moral Philosophy, 8vo, 1760.
His Answer to Dr. Price's Celebrated Observations on Civil and Political Liberty, 1776. This pamphlet is peculiarly remarkable for the liberality and delicacy with which he treats the principles and intentions of his antagonist.
The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic, 3 vols. 4to, 1783.

And lastly, his celebrated work, entitled, *The Principles of Moral and Political Science, being chiefly a Retrospect of Lectures delivered in the College of Edinburgh*, 2 vols. 4to, 1792.

found him looking over a large parcel of maps, which I surveyed with great pleasure, as they were the first I had ever seen. He then told me that the earth is round like a ball, and explained the map of it to me. I requested him to lend me that map, to take a copy of it in the evenings. He cheerfully consented to this, giving me at the same time a pair of compasses, a ruler, pens, ink, and paper; and dismissed me with an injunction not to neglect my master's business by copying the map, which I might keep as long as I pleased.

For this pleasant employment my master gave me more time than I could reasonably expect; and often took the threshing-flail out of my hands, and worked himself, while I sat by him in the barn, busy with my compasses, ruler, and pen.

When I had finished the copy I asked leave to carry home the map; he told me I was at liberty to do so, and might stay two hours to converse with the minister. In my way thither I happened to pass by the school at which I had been before, and saw a genteel-looking man, whose name I afterwards learned was Cantley, painting a sun-dial on the wall. I stopped a while to observe him, and the school-master came out and asked me what parcel it was that I had under my arm. I showed him the map, and the copy I had made of it, wherewith he appeared to be very well pleased; and asked me whether I should not like to learn of Mr. Cantley to make sun-dials? Mr. Cantley looked at the copy of the map, and commended it much; telling the schoolmaster, Mr. John Skinner, that it was a pity I did not meet with notice and encouragement. I had a good deal of conversation with him, and found him to be quite affable and communicative; which made me think I should be extremely happy if I could be further acquainted with him.

I then proceeded with the map to the minister, and showed him the copy of it. While we were conversing together, a neighbouring gentleman, Thomas Grant, Esq., of Achoyne, happened to come in, and the minister immediately introduced me to him, showing him what I had done. He expressed great satisfaction, asked me some questions about the construction of maps, and told me that if I would go and live at his house, he would order his butler, Alexander Cantley, to give me a great deal of instruction. Finding that this Cantley was the man whom I had seen painting the sun-dial, and of whom I had already conceived a very high opinion, I told 'squire Grant that I should rejoice to be at his house as soon as the time was expired for which I was engaged with my present master. He very politely offered to put one in my place, but this I declined.

When the term of my servitude was out I left my good master and went to the gentleman's house, where I quickly found myself with a most humane good family. Mr. Cantley the butler soon became my friend, and continued so till his death. He was the most extraordinary man that I ever was acquainted with, or perhaps ever shall see; for he was a complete master of arithmetic, a good mathematician, a master of music on every known instrument except the harp, understood Latin, French, and Greek, let blood extremely well, and could even prescribe as a physician upon any urgent occasion. He was what is generally called self-taught; but I think he might with much greater propriety have been termed God Almighty's scholar.

He immediately began to teach me decimal arithmetic and algebra; for I had already learned vulgar arithmetic at my leisure hours from books. He then proceeded to teach me the elements of geometry;

but, to my inexpressible grief, just as I was beginning that branch of science, he left Mr. Grant, and went to the late Earl Fife's, at several miles' distance. The good family I was then with could not prevail with me to stay after he was gone; so I left them, and went to my father's.

He had made me a present of *Gordon's Geographical Grammar*, which at that time was to me a great treasure. There is no figure of a globe in it, although it contains a tolerable description of the globes, and their use. From this description I made a globe in three weeks at my father's, having turned the ball thereof out of a piece of wood; which ball I covered with paper, and delineated a map of the world upon it, made the meridian ring and horizon of wood, covered them with paper, and graduated them; and was happy to find that by my globe, which was the first I ever saw, I could solve the problems.

But this was not likely to afford me bread; and I could not think of staying with my father, who, I knew full well, could not maintain me in that way, as it could be of no service to him; and he had, without my assistance, hands sufficient for all his work.

I then went to a miller, thinking it would be a very easy business to attend the mill, and that I should have a great deal of leisure time to study decimal arithmetic and geometry. But my master, being too fond of tippling at an ale-house, left the whole care of the mill to me, and almost starved me for want of victuals; so that I was glad when I could have a little oatmeal mixed with cold water to eat. I was engaged for a year in that man's service; at the end of which I left him, and returned in a very weak state to my father's.

Soon after I had recovered my former strength, a neighbouring farmer, who practised as a physician in that part of the country, came to my father's, wanting to have me as a labouring servant. My father advised me to go to Dr. Young, telling me that the doctor would instruct me in that part of his business. This he promised to do, which was a temptation to me. But instead of performing his promise, he kept me constantly at very hard labour, and never once showed me one of his books. All his servants complained that he was the hardest master they had ever lived with; and it was my misfortune to be engaged with him for half a year. But at the end of three months I was so much overwrought that I was almost disabled, which obliged me to leave him; and he was so unjust as to give me nothing at all for the time I had been with him, because I did not complete my half-year's service; though he knew that I was not able, and had seen me working for the last fortnight as much as possible with one hand and arm, when I could not lift the other from my side. And what I thought was particularly hard, he never once tried to give me the least relief, further than once bleeding me, which rather did me hurt than good, as I was very weak, and much emaciated. I then went to my father's, where I was confined for two months on account of my hurt, and despaired of ever recovering the use of my left arm. And during all that time the doctor never once came to see me, although the distance was not quite two miles. But my friend Mr. Cantley, hearing of my misfortune, at twelve miles' distance, sent me proper medicines and applications, by means of which I recovered the use of my arm; but found myself too weak to think of going into service again, and had entirely lost my appetite, so that I could take nothing but a draught of milk once a day for many weeks.

In order to amuse myself in this low state, I made

a wooden clock, the frame of which was also of wood; and it kept time pretty well. The bell on which the hammer struck the hours was the neck of a broken bottle. Having then no idea how any time-keeper could go but by a weight and a line, I wondered how a watch could go in all positions; and was sorry that I had never thought of asking Mr. Cantley, who could very easily have informed me. But happening one day to see a gentleman ride by my father's house, which was close by a public road, I asked him what o'clock it then was; he looked at his watch and told me. As he did that with so much good nature, I begged of him to show me the inside of his watch; and though he was an entire stranger, he immediately opened the watch and put it into my hands. I saw the spring-box with part of the chain round it, and asked him what it was that made the box turn round; he told me that it was turned round by a steel spring within it. Having then never seen any other spring than that of my father's gun-lock, I asked how a spring within a box could turn the box so often round as to wind all the chain upon it. He answered that the spring was long and thin, that one end of it was fastened to the axis of the box, and the other end to the inside of the box, that the axis was fixed, and the box was loose upon it. I told him I did not yet thoroughly understand the matter:—"Well, my lad," says he, "take a long thin piece of whalebone, hold one end of it fast between your finger and thumb, and wind it round your finger, it will then endeavour to unwind itself; and if you fix the other end of it to the inside of a small hoop, and leave it to itself, it will turn the hoop round and round, and wind up a thread tied to the outside of the hoop."—I thanked the gentleman, and told him that I understood the thing very well. I then tried to make a watch with wooden wheels, and made the spring of whalebone; but found that I could not make the watch go when the balance was put on, because the teeth of the wheels were rather too weak to bear the force of a spring sufficient to move the balance; although the wheels would run fast enough when the balance was taken off. I inclosed the whole in a wooden case very little bigger than a breakfast teacup; but a clumsy neighbour one day looking at my watch, happened to let it fall, and turning hastily about to pick it up, set his foot upon it, and crushed it all to pieces; which so provoked my father that he was almost ready to beat the man, and discouraged me so much that I never attempted to make such another machine again, especially as I was thoroughly convinced I could never make one that would be of any real use.

As soon as I was able to go abroad I carried my globe, clock, and copies of some other maps besides that of the world, to the late Sir James Dunbar of Durn, about seven miles from where my father lived, as I had heard that Sir James was a very good-natured, friendly, inquisitive gentleman. He received me in a very kind manner, was pleased with what I showed him, and desired I would clean his clocks. This, for the first time, I attempted; and then began to pick up some money in that way about the country, making Sir James's house my home at his desire.

Two large globular stones stood on the top of his gate; on one of them I painted with oil-colours a map of the terrestrial globe, and on the other a map of the celestial, from a planisphere of the stars which I copied on paper from a celestial globe belonging to a neighbouring gentleman. The poles of the painted globes stood toward the poles of the heavens; on each the twenty-four hours were placed around the equinoctial, so as to show the time of the day

when the sun shone out, by the boundary where the half of the globe at any time enlightened by the sun was parted from the other half in the shade; the enlightened parts of the terrestrial globe answering to the like enlightened parts of the earth at all times. So that whenever the sun shone on the globe, one might see to what places the sun was then rising, to what places it was setting, and all the places where it was then day or night throughout the earth.

During the time I was at Sir James's hospitable house, his sister, the honourable Lady Dipple, came there on a visit, and Sir James introduced me to her. She asked me whether I could draw patterns for needle-work on aprons and gowns. On showing me some I undertook the work, and drew several for her; some of which were copied from her patterns, and the rest I did according to my own fancy. On this I was sent for by other ladies in the country, and began to think myself growing very rich by the money I got for such drawings, out of which I had the pleasure of occasionally supplying the wants of my poor father.

Yet all this while I could not leave off star-gazing in the nights, and taking the places of the planets among the stars by my above-mentioned thread. By this I could observe how the planets changed their places among the stars, and delineated their paths on the celestial map, which I had copied from the above-mentioned celestial globe.

By observing what constellations the ecliptic passed through in that map, and comparing these with the starry heaven, I was so impressed as sometimes to imagine that I saw the ecliptic in the heaven, among the stars, like a broad circular road for the sun's apparent course; and fancied the paths of the planets to resemble the narrow ruts made by cart-wheels, sometimes on one side of a plain road, and sometimes on the other, crossing the road at small angles, but never going far from either side of it.

Sir James's house was full of pictures and prints, several of which I copied with pen and ink; this made him think I might become a painter.

Lady Dipple had been but a few weeks there when William Baird, Esq. of Auchmedden, came on a visit; he was the husband of one of that lady's daughters, and I found him to be very ingenious and communicative; he invited me to go to his house and stay some time with him, telling me that I should have free access to his library, which was a very large one, and that he would furnish me with all sorts of implements for drawing. I went thither, and stayed about eight months; but was much disappointed in finding no books of astronomy in his library, except what was in the two volumes of Harris's *Lexicon Technicum*, although there were many books on geography and other sciences. Several of these indeed were in Latin, and more in French, which being languages that I did not understand, I had recourse to him for what I wanted to know of these subjects, which he cheerfully read to me; and it was as easy for him at sight to read English from a Greek, Latin, or French book, as from an English one. He furnished me with pencils and Indian ink, showing me how to draw with them; and although he had but an indifferent hand at that work, yet he was a very acute judge, and consequently a very fit person for showing me how to correct my own work. He was the first who ever sat to me for a picture; and I found it was much easier to draw from the life than from any picture whatever, as nature was more striking than any imitation of it.

Lady Dipple came to his house in about half a

year after I went thither; and as they thought I had a genius for painting, they consulted together about what might be the best way to put me forward. Mr. Baird thought it would be no difficult matter to make a collection for me among the neighbouring gentlemen, to put me to a painter at Edinburgh; but he found, upon trial, that nothing worth the while could be done among them: and as to himself, he could not do much that way, because he had but a small estate, and a very numerous family.

Lady Dipple then told me that she was to go to Edinburgh next spring, and that if I would go thither she would give me a year's bed and board at her house gratis; and make all the interest she could for me among her acquaintance there. I thankfully accepted of her kind offer; and, instead of giving me one year, she gave me two. I carried with me a letter of recommendation from the Lord Pitsligo, a near neighbour of Squire Baird's, to Mr. John Alexander, a painter in Edinburgh, who allowed me to pass an hour every day at his house for a month, to copy from his drawings; and said he would teach me to paint in oil-colours if I would serve him seven years, and my friends would maintain me all that time; but this was too much for me to desire them to do, nor did I choose to serve so long. I was then recommended to other painters, but they would do nothing without money; so I was quite at a loss what to do.

In a few days after this I received a letter of recommendation from my good friend Squire Baird to the Rev. Dr. Robert Keith at Edinburgh, to whom I gave an account of my bad success among the painters there. He told me, that if I would copy from nature I might do without their assistance, as all the rules for drawing signified but very little when one came to draw from the life; and by what he had seen of my drawings brought from the north, he judged I might succeed very well in drawing pictures from the life, in Indian ink, on vellum. He then sat to me for his own picture, and sent me with it and a letter of recommendation to the Right Honourable the Lady Jane Douglas, who lived with her mother, the Marchioness of Douglas, at Merchiston House, near Edinburgh. Both the marchioness and Lady Jane behaved to me in the most friendly manner, on Dr. Keith's account, and sat for their pictures, telling me at the same time that I was in the very room in which Lord Napier invented and computed the logarithms; and that if I thought it would inspire me, I should always have the same room whenever I came to Merchiston. I stayed there several days, and drew several pictures of Lady Jane, of whom it was hard to say whether the greatness of her beauty or the goodness of her temper and disposition was the most predominant. She sent these pictures to ladies of her acquaintance, in order to recommend me to them; by which means I soon had as much business as I could possibly manage, so as not only to put a good deal of money in my own pocket, but also to spare what was sufficient to help to supply my father and mother in their old age. Thus a business was providentially put into my hands, which I followed for six and twenty years.

Lady Dipple, being a woman of the strictest piety, kept a watchful eye over me at first, and made me give her an exact account at night of what families I had been in throughout the day, and of the money I had received. She took the money each night, desiring I would keep an account of what I had put into her hands; telling me that I should duly have out of it what I wanted for clothes, and to send to my father. But in less than half a year she told me that she would thenceforth trust me with being my

own banker; for she had made a good deal of private inquiry how I had behaved when I was out of her sight through the day, and was satisfied with my conduct.

During my two years' stay at Edinburgh I somehow took a violent inclination to study anatomy, surgery, and physic, all from reading of books, and conversing with gentlemen on these subjects, which for that time put all thoughts of astronomy out of my mind; and I had no inclination to become acquainted with any one there who taught either mathematics or astronomy, for nothing would serve me but to be a doctor.

At the end of the second year I left Edinburgh and went to see my father, thinking myself tolerably well qualified to be a physician in that part of the country, and I carried a good deal of medicines, plaisters, &c., thither; but to my mortification I soon found that all my medical theories and study were of little use in practice. And then, finding that very few paid me for the medicines they had, and that I was far from being so successful as I could wish, I quite left off that business, and began to think of taking to the more sure one of drawing pictures again. For this purpose I went to Inverness, where I had eight months' business.

When I was there I began to think of astronomy again, and was heartily sorry for having quite neglected it at Edinburgh, where I might have improved my knowledge by conversing with those who were very able to assist me. I began to compare the ecliptic with its twelve signs, through which the sun goes in twelve months, to the circle of twelve hours on the dial-plate of a watch, the hour-hand to the sun, and the minute-hand to the moon, moving in the ecliptic, the one always overtaking the other at a place forwarder than it did at their last conjunction before. On this I contrived and finished a scheme on paper for showing the motions and places of the sun and moon in the ecliptic on each day of the year perpetually; and consequently, the days of all the new and full moons.

To this I wanted to add a method for showing the eclipses of the sun and moon; of which I knew the cause long before, by having observed that the moon was for one half of her period on the north side of the ecliptic, and for the other half on the south. But not having observed her course long enough among the stars by my above-mentioned thread, so as to delineate her path on my celestial map, in order to find the two opposite points of the ecliptic in which her orbit crosses it, I was altogether at a loss how and where in the ecliptic, in my scheme, to place these intersecting points: this was in the year 1739.

At last I recollected, that when I was with Squire Grant of Auchynaney, in the year 1730, I had read, that on the 1st of January, 1690, the moon's ascending node was in the tenth minute of the first degree of Aries; and that her nodes moved backward through the whole ecliptic in 18 years and 224 days, which was at the rate of 3 minutes 11 seconds every 24 hours. But as I scarce knew in the year 1730 what the moon's nodes meant, I took no farther notice of it at that time.

However, in the year 1739, I set to work at Inverness; and after a tedious calculation of the slow motion of the nodes from January, 1690, to January, 1740, it appeared to me that (if I was sure I had remembered right) the moon's ascending node must be in 23 degrees 25 minutes of Cancer at the beginning of the year 1740. And so I added the eclipse part to my scheme, and called it the Astronomical Rotula.

When I had finished it I showed it to the Rev.

Mr. Alexander Macbean, one of the ministers at Inverness; who told me he had a set of almanacs by him for several years past, and would examine it by the eclipses mentioned in them. We examined it together, and found that it agreed throughout with the days of all the new and full moons and eclipses mentioned in these almanacs; which made me think I had constructed it upon true astronomical principles. On this Mr Macbean desired me to write to Mr. Maclaurin, professor of mathematics at Edinburgh, and give him an account of the methods by which I had formed my plan, requesting him to correct it where it was wrong. He returned me a most polite and friendly answer, although I had never seen him during my stay at Edinburgh, and informed me that I had only mistaken the radical mean place of the ascending node by a quarter of a degree; and that if I would send the drawing of my rotula to him, he would examine it, and endeavour to procure me a subscription to defray the charges of engraving it on copperplates, if I chose to publish it. I then made a new and correct drawing of it, and sent it to him: who soon got me a very handsome subscription, by setting the example himself, and sending subscription papers to others.

I then returned to Edinburgh, and had the rotula plates engraved there by Mr. Cooper.¹ It has gone through several impressions, and always sold very well till the year 1752, when the style was changed, which rendered it quite useless. Mr. Maclaurin received me with the greatest civility when I first went to see him at Edinburgh. He then became an exceeding good friend to me, and continued so till his death.

One day I requested him to show me his orrery, which he immediately did; I was greatly delighted with the motions of the earth and moon in it, and would gladly have seen the wheel-work, which was concealed in a brass box, and the box and planets above it were surrounded by an armillary sphere. But he told me that he never had opened it; and I could easily perceive that it could not be opened but by the hand of some ingenious clock-maker, and not without a great deal of time and trouble.

After a good deal of thinking and calculation, I found that I could contrive the wheel-work for turning the planets in such a machine, and giving them their progressive motions; but should be very well satisfied if I could make an orrery to show the motions of the earth and moon, and of the sun round its axis. I then employed a turner to make me a sufficient number of wheels and axles, according to patterns which I gave him in drawing; and after having cut the teeth in the wheels by a knife, and put the whole together, I found that it answered all my expectations. It showed the sun's motion round its axis, the diurnal and annual motions of the earth on its inclined axis, which kept its parallelism in its whole course round the sun; the motions and phases of the moon, with the retrograde motion of the nodes of her orbit; and consequently, all the variety of seasons, the different lengths of days and nights, the days of the new and full moons, and eclipses.

When it was all completed except the box that covers the wheels, I showed it to Mr. Maclaurin, who commended it in presence of a great many young gentlemen who attended his lectures. He desired me to read them a lecture on it, which I did without any hesitation, seeing I had no reason to be afraid of speaking before a great and good man who was my friend. Soon after that I sent it in a present to the

reverend and ingenious Mr. Alexander Irvine, one of the ministers at Elgin, in Scotland.

I then made a smaller and neater orrery, of which all the wheels were of ivory, and I cut the teeth in them with a file. This was done in the beginning of the year 1743; and in May that year I brought it with me to London, where it was soon after bought by Sir Dudley Rider. I have made six orreries since that time, and there are not any two of them in which the wheel-work is alike, for I could never bear to copy one thing of that kind from another, because I still saw there was great room for improvements.

I had a letter of recommendation from Mr. Baron Eldin at Edinburgh, to the Right Honourable Stephen Poyntz, Esq., at St. James's, who had been preceptor to his royal highness the late Duke of Cumberland, and was well known to be possessed of all the good qualities that can adorn a human mind. To me his goodness was really beyond my power of expression; and I had not been a month in London till he informed me that he had written to an eminent professor of mathematics to take me into his house, and give me board and lodging, with all proper instructions to qualify me for teaching a mathematical school he (Mr. Poyntz) had in view for me, and would get me settled in it. This I should have liked very well, especially as I began to be tired of drawing pictures; in which, I confess, I never strove to excel, because my mind was still pursuing things more agreeable. He soon after told me he had just received an answer from the mathematical master, desiring I might be sent immediately to him. On hearing this I told Mr. Poyntz that I did not know how to maintain my wife during the time I must be under the master's tuition. "What!" says he, "are you a married man?" I told him I had been so ever since May in the year 1739. He said he was sorry for it, because it quite defeated his scheme, as the master of the school he had in view for me must be a bachelor.

He then asked me what business I intended to follow? I answered that I knew of none besides that of drawing pictures. On this he desired me to draw the pictures of his lady and children, that he might show them, in order to recommend me to others, and told me that when I was out of business I should come to him and he would find me as much as he could; and I soon found as much as I could execute; but he died in a few years after, to my inexpressible grief.

Soon afterward it appeared to me, that although the moon goes round the earth, and that the sun is far on the outside of the moon's orbit, yet the moon's motion must be in a line, that is, always concave toward the sun; and upon making a delineation representing her absolute path in the heavens, I found it to be really so. I then made a simple machine for delineating both her path and the earth's on a long paper laid on the floor. I carried the machine and delineation to the late Martin Folkes, Esq., president of the Royal Society, on a Thursday afternoon. He expressed great satisfaction at seeing it, as it was a new discovery, and took me that evening with him to the Royal Society, where I showed the delineation, and the method of doing it.

When the business of the society was over, one of the members desired me to dine with him next Saturday at Hackney, telling me that his name was Ellicott, and that he was a watchmaker.

I accordingly went to Hackney, and was kindly received by Mr. John Ellicott, who then showed me the very same kind of delineation, and part of the machine by which he had done it; telling me that he had thought of it twenty years before. I could

¹ Cooper was master to the justly celebrated Sir Robert Strange, who was at that time his apprentice.

easily see by the colour of the paper, and of the ink lines upon it, that it must have been done many years before I saw it. He then told me what was very certain, that he had neither stolen the thought from me, nor had I from him. And from that time till his death Mr. Ellicott was one of my best friends. The figure of this machine and delineation is in the seventh plate of my book of *Astronomy*.

Soon after the style was changed I had my rotula new engraved; but have neglected it too much, by not fitting it up and advertising it. After this I drew out a scheme, and had it engraved, for showing all the problems of the rotula except the eclipses; and in place of that it shows the times of rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars; and the positions of the stars for any time of the night.

In the year 1747 I published a dissertation on the phenomena of the harvest-moon, with the description of a new orrery, in which there are only four wheels. But having never had grammatical education, nor time to study the rules of just composition, I acknowledge that I was afraid to put it to the press; and for the same cause I ought to have the same fears still. But having the pleasure to find that this my first work was not ill received, I was emboldened to go on in publishing my *Astronomy*, *Mechanical Lectures*, tables and tracts relative to several arts and sciences, the *Young Gentleman and Lady's Astronomy*, a small treatise on electricity, and the following sheets.

In the year 1748 I ventured to read lectures on the eclipse of the sun that fell on the 14th of July in that year. Afterwards I began to read astronomical lectures on an orrery which I made, and of which the figures of all the wheel-work are contained in the sixth and seventh plates of this book. I next began to make an apparatus for lectures on mechanics, and gradually increased the apparatus for other parts of experimental philosophy, buying from others what I could not make for myself, till I brought it to its present state. I then entirely left off drawing pictures, and employed myself in the much pleasanter business of reading lectures on mechanics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, electricity, and astronomy, in all which my encouragement has been greater than I could have expected.

The best machine I ever contrived is the ecliptic-sarcon, of which there is a figure in the thirteenth plate of my *Astronomy*. It shows the time, quantity, duration, and progress of solar eclipses at all parts of the earth. My next best contrivance is the universal dialing cylinder, of which there is a figure in the eighth plate of the supplement to my *Mechanical Lectures*.

It is now thirty years since I came to London, and during all that time I have met with the highest instances of friendship from all ranks of people, both in town and country, which I do here acknowledge with the utmost respect and gratitude, and particularly the goodness of our present gracious sovereign, who, out of his privy purse, allows me £50 a year, which is regularly paid without any deduction.

To this narrative we shall add the few particulars which are necessary to complete the view of Ferguson's life and character.¹

¹ The following is a succinct list of his published works:—
1. *Astronomical Tables, and Precepts for Calculating the True Times of New and Full Moons, &c.*, 1763.—2. *Tables and Tracts relative to Several Arts and Sciences*, 1767.—3. *An Easy Introduction to Astronomy, for Young Gentlemen and Ladies*, 2d edit. 1769.—4. *Astronomy Explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's Principles*, 5th edit. 1772.—5. *Lectures on Select Subjects in Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, and Optics*, 4th edit. 1772.—6. *Select Mechanical Exercises, with a Short Account of the Life of the Author, by Himself*, 1773.—7. *The Art of Drawing in Perspective Made Easy*, 1775.—8. *An Introduction to Electricity*, 1775.—9. *Two*

Ferguson was honoured with the royal bounty, which he himself mentions, through the mere zeal of King George III. in behalf of science. His majesty had attended some of the lectures of the ingenious astronomer, and often sent for him, after his accession, to converse upon scientific and curious topics. He had the extraordinary honour of being elected a member of the Royal Society without paying either the initiatory or the annual fees, which were dispensed with in his case from a supposition of his being too poor to pay them without inconvenience. From the same idea many persons gave him very handsome presents. But to the astonishment of all who knew him, he died worth about £6000.

"Ferguson," says Charles Hutton in his *Mathematical Dictionary*, "must be allowed to have been a very uncommon genius, especially in mechanical contrivances and inventions, for he constructed many machines himself in a very neat manner. He had also a good taste in astronomy as well as in natural and experimental philosophy, and was possessed of a happy manner of explaining himself in a clear, easy, and familiar way. His general mathematical knowledge, however, was little or nothing. Of algebra he understood but little more than the notation; and he has often told me that he could never demonstrate one proposition in *Euclid's Elements*, his constant method being to satisfy himself as to the truth of any problem with a measurement by scale and compasses." He was a man of very clear judgment in anything that he professed, and of unwearied application to study: benevolent, meek, and innocent in his manners as a child; humble, courteous, and communicative: instead of pedantry, philosophy seemed to produce in him only diffidence and urbanity—a love for mankind and for his Maker. His whole life was an example of resignation and Christian piety. He might be called an enthusiast in his love of God, if religion founded on such substantial and enlightened grounds as his was could be like enthusiasm. After a long and useful life, unhappy in his family connections, in a feeble and precarious state of health, worn out with study, age, and infirmities, he died on the 16th of November, 1776.

"Ferguson's only daughter," says Mr. Nichols in his life of Bowyer, "was lost in a very singular manner at about the age of eighteen. She was remarkable for the elegance of her person, the agreeableness and vivacity of her conversation, and in philosophic genius and knowledge worthy of such a father. His son, Mr. Murdoch Ferguson, was a surgeon, and attempted to settle at Bury, stayed but a little while, went to sea, was cast away, and lost his all, a little before his father's death, but found himself in no bad plight after that event. He had another son, who studied at Marischal College, Aberdeen, from 1772 to 1777, and afterwards, it is believed, applied to physic."

The astronomer has been thus elegantly noticed in *Eudisia, a Poem on the Universe*, by Mr. Capel Lloft:—

"Nor shall thy guidance but conduct our feet,
O honoured shepherd of our later days!
Thee from the flocks, while thy untutored soul,
Mature in childhood, traced the starry course,
Astronomy, enamoured, gently led
Through all the splendid labyrinths of heaven,
And taught thee her stupendous laws; and clothed
In all the light of fair simplicity,
Thy apt expression."

Letters to the Rev. Mr. John Kennedy, 1775.—10. *A Third Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Kennedy*, 1775. He communicated also several letters to the Royal Society, which are printed in their *Transactions*. In 1805 a very valuable edition of his lectures was published at Edinburgh by Dr. Brewster, in 2 vols. 8vo, with notes and an appendix, the whole adapted to the present state of the arts and sciences.

FERGUSON, ROBERT, an ingenious poet, like his successor Burns, drew his descent from the country north of the Forth. His father, William Ferguson, after serving an apprenticeship to a tradesman in Aberdeen, and having married Elizabeth Forbes, by whom he had three children, removed, in 1746, to Edinburgh, where he was employed as a clerk by several masters in succession. It appears that the father of the poet had himself in early life courted the Muses, and was at all periods remarkable as a man of taste and ingenuity. When acting as clerk to Messrs. Wardrop and Peat, upholsterers in Carrubber's Close, he framed a very useful book of rates; and he eventually attained the respectable situation of accountant to the British Linen Company, but whether in its ultimate capacity of a bank has not been mentioned. Previous to his arrival in Edinburgh he had two sons and a daughter, born in the following order: Henry, 1742; Barbara,¹ 1744; John (who seems to have died young), 1746. After removing thither he had at least two other children, Robert, born 1750, and Margaret,² 1753.

The subject of this memoir was born on the 17th of October,³ 1750, and was an exceedingly delicate child. Owing to the state of his health, he was not sent to school till his sixth year, though it is likely that his parents gave him a good deal of private instruction before that time. What renders this the more probable is, that he had not been six months under his first teacher (a Mr. Philp in Niddry's Wynd) when he was judged fit to be transferred to the high-school, and entered in the first Latin class. Here he went through the usual classical course of four years, under a teacher named Gilchrist. What degree of proficiency he might have attained under ordinary circumstances it is impossible to determine; but it is to be related to his credit, that, though frequently absent for a considerable period in consequence of bad health, he nevertheless kept fully abreast of his companions, a temporary application being sufficient to bring him up to any point which the class had attained in his absence. At the same time he acquired, in the leisure of confinement, a taste for general reading, and it is stated that the Bible was his favourite book. A remarkable instance of the vivid impressions of which he was susceptible occurred at an early period. In perusing the Proverbs of Solomon one passage struck his infant mind with peculiar force; and hastening to his mother's apartment in tears, he besought her to chastise him. Surprised at a request so extraordinary, she inquired the cause of it, when he exclaimed—"O mother! he that spareth the rod hateth the child!" So ingenuous by nature was the mind of this boy, and such the pure source whence his youth drew instructions, which, disregarded but not forgotten amid the gaieties of a long course of dissipation, at last reasserted in a fearful manner their influence over him.

Ferguson finished his elementary education at the grammar-school of Dundee, which he attended for two years. His parents had resolved to educate him for the church, and with that view removed him in his thirteenth year to the university of St. Andrews, which he entered with the advantage of a bursary, endowed by a Mr. Ferguson, for the benefit of young men of the same name. Here his abilities recommended him to the notice of Dr. Wilkie, author

of the *Epigoniad*, then professor of natural philosophy, and it has even been said that learned person made choice of him to read his lectures to his class when sickness or other causes prevented his own performance of the duty. Dr. Irving ridicules the idea of a youth of sixteen "mounting," as he expresses it, "the professorial rostrum;" and besides the inadequacy of years, Ferguson possessed none of that gravity of demeanour which was calculated to secure the respectful attention of his compeers. His classical attainments were respectable, but for the austere branches of scholastic and scientific knowledge he always expressed, with the petulance of a youth of lively parts who did not wish to be subjected to the labour of hard study, a decided contempt. Dr. Wilkie's regards must therefore have been attracted by other qualifications than those of the graver and more solid cast—namely, by the sprightly humour and uncommon powers of conversation for which Ferguson was already in a remarkable degree distinguished. The story of his reading the lectures in public arose from his having been employed to transcribe them. Professor Vilant, in a letter to Mr. Inverarity on this subject, says, "A youthful frolicsome exhibition of your uncle first directed Dr. Wilkie's attention to him, and he afterwards employed him one summer and part of another in transcribing a fair copy of his academical lectures." On the doctor's death, in 1772, Ferguson showed his gratitude in a poem dedicated to his memory. In this composition, which assumed the form of a Scottish eclogue, Wilkie's success as an agricultural improver was not forgotten. He had cultivated, with a very remarkable degree of skill, a farm in the vicinity of St. Andrews; and we must go back to the time when our fathers were contented to raise small patches of stunted corn here and there, on the unclosed moor, in order to appreciate fully the enterprise which merited the youthful poet's compliment:—

"Lang had the thistles and the dockens been
In use to wag their taps upo' the green
Where now his bonny rigs delight the view,
And thriving hedges drink the cauler dew."

Among his fellow-students Ferguson was distinguished for vivacity and humour, and his poetical talents soon began to display themselves on subjects of local and occasional interest, in such a way as to attract the notice both of his companions and of their teachers. We are warranted in concluding, that the pieces to which he owed this celebrity were distinguished by passages of no ordinary merit, for professors are not a set of men upon whom it is easy to produce an impression. It is indeed said that the youthful poet chose the ready instrument of sarcasm with which to move their calm collectedness; but if this were true, the satire must have been of a playful nature; for, from all that has appeared, these gentlemen manifested nothing but kindly feelings towards their pupil, and he a corresponding affection and respect for them. Besides the tribute which he paid to the memory of Wilkie, he wrote an elegy on the death of Mr. Gregory, the professor of mathematics, in which, though the prevailing tone is that of respectful regret, we probably have an example of the length to which he ventured in his satirical effusions. Bemoaning the loss that the scientific world had sustained by the decease of this learned person, and enumerating various instances of his sagacity, he says, with irrepressible waggery,

"By numbers, too, he could divine
That three times three just made up nine;
But now he's dead!

Another effusion of which the occasion may be referred to the time of Ferguson's attendance at college,

¹ Afterwards the wife of Mr. David Inverarity, joiner.

² Afterwards the wife of Mr. Alexander Duval, purser in the navy.

³ The date usually given is 5th September, which appears, however, from a list by Mrs. Duval, to have been the birthday of the elder sister, Barbara. The above is the date given by Mrs. Duval.

is his elegy on John Hogg, porter to the university; in this piece he alludes with some humour to the unwillingness with which he was wont to quit his comfortable bed in a morning after some frolic, when that functionary was sent to summon him before the college tribunal. The familiarity of the old door-keeper, together with the demi-professorial strain of his admonitions, is not unhappily portrayed in the stanza—

"When I had been fu' laith to rise,
John then begude to moralize—
'The tither nap—the sluggard cries,
And turns him round;
Sae spak auld Solomon the wise,
Divine profound!'"

If Fergusson thus remembered in a kindly manner the species of intercourse which his exploits had rendered necessary between him and the servants of the university, they seem on their part to have cherished a corresponding degree of partiality for him. Mr. James Inverarity, a nephew of the poet, had the curiosity to ask one of them if he recollected Robert Fergusson. "Bob Fergusson!" exclaimed the man; "that I do! Many a time I've put him to the door—ah, he was a tricky callant; but," he added, "a fine laddie for a' that." He seemed to feel great pleasure in the recollection of so lively and so amiable a boy.

While at college the young poet used to put in practice a frolic which marks the singular vivacity of his character. Whenever he received a remittance from his friends at Edinburgh, he hung out the money in a little bag attached by a string to the end of a pole fixed in his window; and there he would let it dangle for a whole day in the wind. He is supposed to have done this partly from puerile exultation in the possession of his wealth, and partly by way of making a bravado in the eyes of his companions; among whom, no doubt, the slenderness of their funds and the failure of supplies would be frequent subjects of raillery.

His talents of mimicry were great, and his sportive humour was ever too exuberant, and sometimes led him to overstep the bounds of justifiable indulgence. "An instance of this," says Mr. Tennant in the *Edinburgh Literary Journal* (No. 164), "was communicated to me by the late Rev. Dr. James Brown, his fellow-student at St. Andrews, who was also a poet,¹ and who, from kindred delights and sympathies, enjoyed much of Fergusson's society. On the afternoon of a college holiday they took a walk together into the country, and after perambulating many farms, and tripping with fraternal glee over field and hillock, they at last, being desirous of a little rest, be thought themselves of calling at a small farmhouse, or *pendicle*, as it is named, on the king's muirs of Denino. They approached the house and were kindly invited to a seat by the rustic and honest-hearted family. A frank and unceremonious conversation immediately took place, in the course of which it was discovered that a young person, a member of the family, was lying ill of fever. The playful Fergusson instantly took it into his head to profess himself a medical practitioner;—he started to his feet, begged to be shown to the sick-bed; approached, and felt the pulse of the patient; assumed a serious air; put the usual pathological interrogatories; and pronounced his opinion with a pomp and dignity worthy of a true doctor of physic. In short,

he personated his assumed character so perfectly, that his friend Brown, though somewhat vexed, was confounded into silent admiration of his dexterity. On leaving the house, however, Mr. Brown expostulated with him on the indefensibility of practising so boldly on the simplicity of an unsuspecting family, and of misleading their conceptions as to the cure of the distemper, by a stratagem, on which, however witty, neither of them could congratulate themselves."

The impulse of the moment seems to have been at all times irresistible with Fergusson, without any dread or consideration of the consequences which his levity might produce. His voice being good, he was requested, oftener than was agreeable to him, to officiate as precentor at prayers. His wicked wit suggested a method of getting rid of the distasteful employment, which he did not scruple to put in practice, though there was great danger that it would incense the heads of the college against him. It is customary in the Scottish churches for persons who are considered to be in a dangerous state of illness to request the prayers of the congregation, which it is the duty of the precentor publicly to intimate. One morning when Fergusson occupied the desk, he rose up, and, with the solemnity of tone usual upon such occasions, pronounced—"Remember in prayer, _____, a young man (then present) of whom, from the sudden effects of inebriety, there appears but small hope of recovery."

A proceeding so indecorous could not but be frowned upon by the professors; and another incident, which it was still less in their power to overlook, soon occurred. The circumstances attending the expulsion of the poet from the university have occasioned some controversy, and we therefore deem it best to give the account drawn up in 1801 by Dr. Hill, and attested by Professor Vilant, who was unable from sickness to do more at that time than affix his name to it. "Mr. Nicholas Vilant," says this document, "professor of mathematics, the only person now in the university who was then a member of it, declares, that in the year 1767, as he recollects, at the first institution of the prizes given by the Earl of Kinnoul, late chancellor of this university, there was a meeting one night, after the determination of the prizes for that year, of the winners in one room of the united college, and a meeting of the losers in another room at a small distance; that, in consequence of some communication between the winners and the losers, a scuffle arose, which was reported to the masters of the college, and that Robert Fergusson and some others who had appeared the most active were expelled; but that the next day, or the day thereafter, they were all received back into the college upon promises of good behaviour for the future." Dr. Wilkie's intercessions were exerted on this occasion in behalf of the poet; nor are we to suppose that the cordial co-operation of others was wanting, for Mr. Inverarity assures us that in Mr. Vilant, Fergusson had found a friend and judicious director of his studies. On the whole, this transaction affords a proof that Fergusson, whatever might be his indiscretions, had not, by refractory or disrespectful conduct, rendered himself obnoxious to the heads of the university, since, had that been the case, it is to be presumed they would have availed themselves of this infraction of academical discipline to make good his expulsion. If, therefore, the first aspirations of his muse were employed in satirical effusions against his instructors, it must have been with an absence of all bitterness, and in a vein of pleasantry which was not meant to be, and did not prove, offensive.

Of the progress made by Fergusson in his studies

¹ "Dr. Brown, who was for thirty years rector of a considerable parish in the neighbourhood of London, was the author of a poem called *Britain Preserved*, written about 1793, in reference to, and commendation of, Mr. Pitt's plan of policy, then adopted."

we have no means of forming a very exact estimate. "He performed," says Dr. Irving, "with a sufficient share of applause, the various exercises which the rules of his college prescribed." Yet it is acknowledged that he found more pleasure in the active sports of youth, and in social enjoyment, than in habits of recluse study. His time, however, does not seem to have been spent without some plans of more serious application. A book which belonged to him, entitled *A Defence of the Church Government, Faith, Worship, and Spirit of the Presbyterians*, is preserved; the blank leaves of this volume were devoted by him to the somewhat incongruous purpose of receiving scraps of speeches, evidently the germs of a play which he meditated writing. Another dramatic scheme of his assumed a more decided shape; he finished two acts of a tragedy, founded on the achievements and fate of Sir William Wallace, but abandoned the undertaking, having seen another play on the same subject, and being afraid that his own might be considered a plagiarism. Probably both productions were of a commonplace description; and the poet, perceiving the flatness of that of which he was not the author, and conscious of the similarity of his own, relinquished an undertaking to which his abilities certainly were not equal. It has been observed, that the choice of the subject affords an evidence of Fergusson's judgment; inasmuch as the fate of the illustrious Scottish hero, together with his disinterested patriotism and bravery, supply a much more eligible theme for the tragical muse, than the deaths of Macbeth, Richard III., Pizarro, or any other tyrant of ancient or modern times, whose catastrophes, being nothing more than the vengeance due to their crimes, cannot excite those sympathetic feelings that arise only from the contemplation of suffering virtue. This would be very justly said if it were true that the success of a dramatic author depends upon his enlisting the approbation of the audience in behalf of his hero. But the case is widely different. A view of human nature under the influence of some powerful emotion, with which mankind in general are not familiar, seems to be what is mainly required. All men are not acquainted with the workings of an ambitious and wicked heart; and hence, when the tyrant is exhibited before them, they learn something that is new and surprising, and the skill of the poet meets with its proportionate meed of applause. But there are few, indeed, who have not considered from their youth up the character of a great patriot like Wallace; their admiration and pity have been bestowed upon him from their tenderest years, and there is nothing left for poetry to effect. Nor was the genius of Fergusson fitted for the delineation of a majestic character. He had a fund of humour, an agreeable gaiety, but not much reach of passion or of feeling. In his English blank verses there is no stately flow nor elevation of sentiment. His mind, moreover, did not possess strength sufficient to accomplish more than can be done in a series of occasional verses; he had not as much resolution to carry him through the succession of efforts necessary for the completion of a dramatic poem; and, on the whole, we see no occasion either for surprise or regret that he never perfected his third act.

What were the reasons for Fergusson abandoning his academical career is nowhere mentioned. Probably he had no great heart for the profession to which he had been destined, and was prevented by want of pecuniary means from pursuing his studies with a view to any other. When the term of his bursary expired, which was at the end of four years, he quitted St. Andrews, and returned to Edinburgh,

to his mother's house, his father having died two years before. Here, if his prospects were not gloomy, his plans were unsettled, and never took any decided aim for his settlement in life. The profession of a teacher has been resorted to by many who have acquired some learning, but whose narrow circumstances did not allow them to aspire to more pleasant and profitable employments; and, even after qualifying themselves for superior offices, numbers of young men, failing to obtain the reward of their labours, fall back upon that humbler means of obtaining a subsistence. But for the patient duties of a schoolmaster Fergusson's ardent temperament completely disqualified him, and probably he never thought of the alternative. The study of medicine was suggested to him; but this was no less distasteful, for to such vivid nervous excitement was he liable, that he could not read the description of a disease without imagining that his own frame felt its symptoms.

After some time spent in vain hope that some opening would present itself, he paid a visit to Mr. John Forbes, a maternal uncle, near Aberdeen, who, being in easy circumstances, was expected to do something for his nephew. That gentleman, according to the usual account, entertained him for some time, hoping, perhaps, that after a reasonable stay, such as the hospitality of an uncle's roof might warrant, he would take his leave and give him no farther trouble. But time slipped on, and Fergusson still continued his guest. At last the habiliments of the dependent relative began to grow somewhat shabby, and an intimation was conveyed to him that he was no longer fit to appear at Mr. Forbes's table. The indignant poet immediately retired to an ale-house in the neighbourhood, where he penned a letter full of resentment of the usage he had received. This remonstrance produced some little effect, for his uncle sent him, by a messenger, a few shillings to bear his charges to Edinburgh. He performed the journey on foot, and returned to his mother's house so worn out with fatigue, and overwhelmed with mortification, that he fell into a serious illness. In a few days his strength of body revived, and he regained sufficient composure of mind to express his vexation in a poem, entitled *The Decay of Friendship*, and his grounds for philosophic resignation in another, *Against Repining at Fortune*. These pieces exhibit some fluency of versification, but do not breathe any poetic fire. In the first he bewails the ingratitude of man, and, according to ancient usage, determines to resort to some solitary shore, there to disclose his griefs to the murmuring surge, and teach the hollow caverns to resound his woes. In the second he declares that he was able to contemplate the gorgeous vanity of state with a cool disdain, and after reasoning the matter on the inadequacy of wealth to procure happiness, concludes that virtue is the sacred source of permanent and heart-felt satisfaction—a fact, the truth of which is so very generally acknowledged, that the statement and elucidation of it is no longer considered to constitute poetry.

The behaviour of Mr. Forbes in the matter just related has been reprobated as ungenerous in the extreme. But it seems questionable whether the censure be merited in its full extent. Every man is, no doubt, bound to assist his fellow-men, and more particularly those who are connected with his own family, or have other claims to his patronage, as far as lies in his power. But it is difficult to fix the limits to which his exertions ought, in any particular case, to be carried. It may seem very clear to every one at the present day that Fergusson was a man of genius, and ought to have been promoted to some

office which might have conferred independence, at the same time that it left him leisure for the cultivation of his literary talents. This was, however, by no means so apparent at the period to which we refer, nor perhaps at any future period during the poet's lifetime. He presented himself in his uncle's house an expectant of favour; but his expectations might not, to any ordinary-minded person, appear very reasonable. He was a young man that had addicted himself to the profitless occupation of rhyming (who could tell he was to render himself eminent by it?); he could not submit his mind to common business, and had aversions, that did not appear to rest on very feasible foundations, to certain employments which were proposed to him: and when we consider to how close a scrutiny it is reasonable that those who solicit patronage should be prepared to submit, it does not seem wonderful that he should have been regarded as a young man who was disposed to remain idle, and that his friends should have been discouraged from using their influence in behalf of one who did not seem willing to do what he could for himself. We know few of the circumstances that took place during Fergusson's residence with his uncle, and it is unjust to deal out reproaches so much at random.

Some time after his return to Edinburgh, Fergusson obtained employment as a copyist of legal papers, in the office of the commissary clerk of Edinburgh; a situation miserably inferior to his talents, but which his straitened circumstances and his total want of an aim in life compelled him to accept. With the exception of some months devoted to similar duties at the sheriff-clerk's office, he spent, in this humble employment, the remainder of his brief and unhappy life. The change from the one office to the other seems to have been dictated purely by that desire of an alternation of misery, which caused the soldier who suffered under flagellation to cry first "strike high," and then "strike low." Having experienced some trouble from the fretful temper of the deputy commissary clerk, Mr. Abercromby, under whom he performed his drudgery, he sought relief in the other office; but finding worse evils there in the painful nature of the sheriff's duties as an enforcer of executions, he speedily solicited re-admission to his former place, and was glad to obtain it. It is generally supposed that Fergusson's employment involved the study of law, and that in that lay the unpleasantness of his situation. But in reality, the study of law, allowing it to be as dry as several of Fergusson's biographers have represented it, and as unsuitable as they have supposed to the mercurial genius of a poet, would have been absolutely a daily delight of the highest kind, compared to the monotonous duties of perpetual transcription, which formed in reality the extent of the poet's professional labours.

This wretched drudgery, however, was relieved in two ways. Fergusson, during the whole period of his residence in Edinburgh as a clerk or copyist, wrote more or less poetry almost every day. At the same time he spent a part of almost every evening in those convivial regalements with which the citizens of Edinburgh of all classes were then accustomed to solace themselves after the drudgery of the day.

The mind of the poet was partly directed to English classical models: he wrote pastorals and dialogues, in the manner of Pope, Shenstone, and Somerville; but these are mere exhibitions of language, totally uninspired by the least force or originality of ideas, and would now weary even the most patient antiquary in the perusal. Fortunately he also adventured upon the course lately left vacant by

Ramsay, and there found themes for which his genius was better adapted. The humours and peculiarities of social life in the ancient city of Edinburgh attracted his attention, and became in his hands the materials of various specimens of Scottish poetry, which far surpassed the similar poems of Ramsay, and are but little inferior to those of Burns. In his *Leith Races*, *The Rising and Sitting of the Session*, *Cauler Oysters*, and *The King's Birth-day*, there is a power of humorous description which at once stamps him as a poet of superior genius, even if the nervous sense of his *Braid Claith*, *Cauler Water*, and other poems upon general subjects, and the homely grace of his *Farmer's Ingle*, which describes in the most vivid and genuine colours a scene worthy of the highest efforts of the muse, had not placed him still more unequivocally in that rank. The language employed by Fergusson is much more purely Scottish than that of Burns, and he uses it with a readiness and ease in the highest degree pleasing. He has not the firm and vigorous tone of Burns, but more softness and polish, such as might have been expected from his gentler and perhaps more instructed mind. The poet chiefly wrote these effusions for a periodical work, entitled *Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine*, where they attracted a considerable share of public attention, not only in Edinburgh but throughout the country.

The convivialities of Fergusson have been generally described as bordering on excess, and as characterizing himself in particular, amidst a population generally sober. The real truth is, that the poor poet indulged exactly in the same way, and in general to the same extent, as other young men of that day. The want of public amusements, the less general taste for reading, and the limited accommodations of private houses in those days, led partly to a practice which, as already mentioned, prevailed among all orders of people in Edinburgh of frequenting taverns in the evening for the sake of relaxation and exercise of the intellect. The favourite haunt of Robert Fergusson, and many other persons of his own standing, was Lucky Middlemass's tavern in the Cowgate, which he celebrates in his poem on *Cauler Oysters*. One of the individuals who almost nightly enjoyed his company there, communicated to the present writer, in 1827, the following particulars respecting the extent and nature of their convivialities:—

"The entertainment almost invariably consisted of a few boards of raw oysters, porter, gin, and occasionally a rizzared [dried] haddock, which was neither more nor less than what formed the evening enjoyments of most of the citizens of Edinburgh. The best gin was then sold at about five shillings a gallon, and accordingly the gill at Lucky Middlemass's cost only threepence. The whole debauch of the young men seldom came to more than sixpence or sevenpence. Mr. S—— distinctly recollects that Fergusson always seemed unwilling to spend any more. They generally met at eight o'clock, and rose to depart at ten; but Fergusson was sometimes prevailed upon to outsit his friends, by other persons who came in later, and, for the sake of his company, entreated him to join them in further potations. The humour of his conversation, which was in itself the highest treat, frequently turned upon the odd and obnoxious characters who then abounded in the town. In the case, however, of the latter, he never permitted his satire to become in the least rancorous. He generally contented himself with conceiving them in ludicrous or awkward situations, such, for instance, as their going home at night, and having their clothes bleached by an impure ablution from

the garrets—a very common occurrence at that time, and the mention of which was sufficient to awaken the sympathies of all present."

The personal appearance of the poet is thus described by the same informant:—"In stature Fergusson was about five feet nine, slender and handsome. His face never exhibited the least trace of red, but was perfectly and uniformly pale, or rather yellow. He had all the appearance of a person in delicate health; and Mr. S— remembers that, at last, he could not eat raw oysters, but was compelled by the weakness of his stomach to ask for them pickled. His forehead was elevated, and his whole countenance open and pleasing. He wore his own fair brown hair, with a long massive curl along each side of the head, and terminating in a queue, dressed with a black silk riband. His dress was never very good, but often much faded, and the white thread stockings which he generally wore in preference to the more common kind of gray worsted, he often permitted to become considerably soiled before changing them."

The following anecdote has been related for the purpose of showing the irksomeness of the poet under his usual avocations. In copying out the extract of a deed, one forenoon, he blundered it two different times, and was at length obliged to abandon the task without completing it. On returning in the evening he found that the extract had been much wanted, and he accordingly sat down with great reluctance to attempt it a third time. He had not, however, half accomplished his task, when he cried out to his office companion that a thought had just struck him, which he would instantly put into verse, and carry to *Ruddiman's Magazine* (on the eve of publication), but that he would instantly return and complete the extract. He immediately scrawled out the following stanza on one Thomas Lancashire, who, after acting the gravedigger in *Hamlet*, and other such characters, on the Edinburgh stage, had set up a public-house, in which he died:—

"Alas, poor Tom! how oft, with merry heart,
Have we beheld thee play the sexton's part!
Each comic heart must now be grieved to see
The sexton's dreary part performed on thee."

On his return towards the office he called at the shop of his friend Sommers, painter and glazier, in the Parliament Close, where he found a boy reading a poem on creation. This circumstance furnished him with the point of another epigram, which he immediately scribbled down, and left for Mr. Sommers's perusal. These proceedings occupied him about twenty minutes, and he then returned to his drudgery.

Uniform tradition, and every other testimony, ascribe to Fergusson an excellent voice, and a most captivating manner of singing the simple melodies of his native country. His *Birks of Invermay* long survived in the recollection of his associates as a musical gem of the first lustre. The following anecdote, communicated by his biographer Sommers, at once proves his vocal powers and reflects a light upon his character. "In one of his convivial frolics he laid a wager with some of his associates that, if they would furnish him with a certain number of printed ballads (no matter what kind), he would undertake to dispose of them as a street singer in the course of two hours. The bet was laid, and next evening, being in the month of November, a large bundle of ballads were procured for him. He wrapped himself in a shabby greatcoat, put on an old scratch wig, and in this disguised form commenced his adventure at the weigh-house, head of the West Bow. In his going down the Lawnmarket and High Street, he had the address to collect great

multitudes around him, while he amused them with a variety of favourite Scottish songs, by no means such as he had ballads for, and gained the wager by disposing of the whole collection. He waited on his companions by eight o'clock that evening, and spent with them in mirthful glee the produce of his street adventure."

Fergusson's disposition led him into many frolics; of which the following instances are recounted. His landlord happened to be a man very much given to intemperance, at the same time that he aspired to all the honours of a saint. One night he attempted to perform family worship in a state of complete intoxication, when, to his inconceivable horror, every sentence of his prayer was echoed by some unseen being at no great distance. Confounded with drunken terror, he ordered his family to retire, and *tak awa the buiks*. It was Fergusson who thus alarmed him from a neighbouring closet. Afterwards the poor man gave his family an impressive lecture on the necessity of their improving their ways, as he felt certain that something serious was about to befall them. He even unbosomed his own conscience to the waggish cause of all his terrors, and received, with marks of extreme contrition, the absolution which Fergusson administered to him in consideration of his repentance. On another occasion Fergusson went, with some companions, to the door of a similar zealot, and began to whine forth a psalm in burlesque of the hypocritical habits (as he considered them) of those within. With even less justifiable thoughtlessness, he once threw into the open window of a Glassite meeting-house a paper, on which he had inscribed some lines in imitation of the manner in which they were pleased to perform their devotions. A more innocent frolic was as follows: having procured a sailor's dress, he dressed himself in it, assumed a huge stick, and sallying out, paid a round of visits to his acquaintances. He was so effectually disguised that few or none of them knew him; and by throwing forth hints of some of their former indiscretions, he so much surprised them that they imputed his knowledge to divination. By this means he procured from many of them such a fund of information as enabled him to give them a greater surprise when he resumed the genuine character of Robby Fergusson. For in the sailor's habit he informed them of many frailties and failings, which they imagined it impossible for any one of his appearance to know; and in the habit of Robby Fergusson he divulged many things which they believed none but the ragged sailor was acquainted with. Fergusson's power of mimicry was indeed admirable, and he displayed a considerable turn for acting in general. Towards the end of his life he was the very life and soul of a particular spouting club to which he attached himself.

In the circle of his acquaintance, though it extended through nearly all ranks of society, he had few more respectable friends than Mr. Woods, a distinguished player long established in Edinburgh. Woods was a man of wit, taste, and good sense, to which good qualities he added a prudence of conduct, in which it is to be wished that the poet had uniformly imitated him. Through the influence of Mr. Woods, and in consideration perhaps of occasional poetical services, he enjoyed a free admission to the theatre, of which he took not unfrequent advantage. To quote a memorandum which has been supplied to us on this subject:—"He always sat in the central box, denominated the Shakespeare box; and his mode of expressing approbation in comic performances was very singular. Instead of clapping his hands, or using any exclamations, he used to show how much he was delighted by raising

his right hand clenched above his head, and bringing it down emphatically on the front of the box, with a sweeping blow."

His brother Henry, who was eight years older than himself, had before this period been obliged by some youthful indiscretions to go to sea. Henry was a youth of considerable acquisitions and ingenuity, and in particular had an extraordinary taste for fencing. Some letters are extant which the young sailor addressed to his mother and brother, and they certainly display powers of mind and habits of reflection which, if discovered on shipboard, must have astonished his superiors. Apparently quite tired of the hopeless drudgery of his office, and perhaps impelled by more pressing considerations, Robert Fergusson at one time contemplated the course of life now pursued by his brother, the wild dangers of which might have some charm to a poet's breast. He thus humorously alludes to his design in an epigram:—

"Fortune and Bob, e'er since his birth,
Could never yet agree;
She fairly kicked him from the earth,
To try his fate at sea."

He was not destined, however, to execute this resolution.

In 1773 Fergusson's poems were collected from the *Weekly Magazine* into one volume; but it does not appear that the poet reaped any pecuniary benefit from the publication. It is probable, indeed, that this admired son of genius never realized a single shilling by his writings.

For a brief number of years Fergusson led the aimless life which we have endeavoured to describe, obtaining the means of a scanty subsistence by a servile and unworthy drudgery, and cheering his leisure moments with mingled intellectual exertion and convivial dissipation. To many persons he was recommended by his fascinating conversation, his modesty, and his gentle and affectionate character. Of these, however, with but one exception, there were none who either felt called upon, or had it in their power, to advance his worldly fortunes. That exception was a Mr. Burnet, who, becoming much attached to the poet at Edinburgh, was afterwards enabled to send him a draught for a hundred pounds from India, with an invitation to come thither, in order to experience still more solid and lasting proofs of his friendship. Even of this single ray of kindness from his fellowmen the poor poet was destined to reap no advantage, being dead before the money and the invitation arrived. The unhappy youth continued, so long as his mind was sensible of anything, to feel that, with powers which elevated him above most of his fellows, and were likely to make him be remembered when all of them were forgotten, he yet ate every day a bitterer and a scantier meal, and moiled on and on in hopeless poverty, at once the instrument and the victim of their pleasures.

Early in the year 1774, when his frame was peculiarly exposed by the effects of a certain medicine to cold, he was induced to accompany some gentlemen, who were interested in an election business, to one of the eastern counties of Scotland. It is no uncommon thing for cold, contracted under such circumstances, to produce mental derangement; and such was the melancholy destiny of Fergusson! Being involved in the riotous scenes of the election, he easily caught the baneful distemper, the effects of which were quite as much mental as physical. While in this disordered state he happened one day to wander into the churchyard, where he was soon after accosted by the venerable John Brown, author

of many well-known works in divinity, and who exercised the humble but respectable functions of a dissenting clergyman in the town. After a few trivial remarks had passed between them, Mr. Brown was led by the nature of the scene to advert to the mortality of man, observing that in a short time they would soon be laid in the dust, and that therefore it was wise to prepare for eternity. To Mr. Brown the conversation seemed the most casual and unimportant that could well be. But such were not its effects. In the present state of the poet's mind his early religious impressions were fast reviving, and while the penalties of folly wrung his nerves, his thoughts wandered back over his misspent and unprosperous life. Upon a mind so prepared the accidental remarks of the divine (who did not even know who he was) sunk as deep as if they had been imprinted in characters of fire. He returned home an altered and despairing man.

One of his intimate friends, who met him in March, 1774, a short time after this event, found him somewhat tranquillized, but still in a very precarious state. The poor bard gave an account of the excesses which had lately produced such dreadful effects, and spoke with terror of what would be unavoidable in the event of a relapse—confinement in the common asylum for insane persons. He also introduced the subject of religion, and conversed with much earnestness on some of its fundamental doctrines. "Upon a particular occasion, which he specified, he said a Mr. Ferrier, at or near St. Andrews, had alarmed and rather displeased him by maintaining what are usually denominated the orthodox tenets of our Scottish creeds: and Fergusson appeared to differ, in a very considerable degree, from the commonly received notions on these subjects. He did not seem to be satisfied of the necessity of the fall of man, and of a mediatorial sacrifice for human iniquity; and he questioned, with considerable boldness, the consistency of such doctrines with the attributes of divine wisdom and goodness. At the same time, however, he confessed the imperfect nature of the human intellect, and the unfathomable depth of all such inquiries. This is the only gleam of infidelity which ever seems to have diminished the fearful gloom of superstitious terror: no consoling rays of genuine religion charmed his bosom; no sounds of peace gladdened his heart, and enabled him to sustain, with fortitude and calmness, the sorrows which oppressed him. He anticipated 'the last peal of the thunder of heaven' as the voice of eternal vengeance speaking in wrath, and consigning him to irremediable perdition."¹

After having partially recovered from his disorder, his mind is said to have received another shock from the following incident:—

"In the room adjoining to that in which he slept was a starling, which being seized one night by a cat that had found its way down the chimney, awakened Mr. Fergusson by the most alarming screams. Having learned the cause of the alarm, he began seriously to reflect how often he, an accountable and immortal being, had in the hour of intemperance set death at defiance, though it was thus terrible, in reality, to an unaccountable and sinless creature. This brought to his recollection the conversation of the clergyman, which, aided by the solemnity of midnight, wrought his mind up to a pitch of remorse that almost bordered on frantic despair. Sleep now forsook his eyelids; and he rose in the morning, not as he had formerly done, to mix again with the

¹ Peterkin's *Life of Fergusson*, prefixed to London edition of his poems, 1807.

social and the gay, but to be a recluse from society, and to allow the remembrance of his past follies to prey upon his vitals. All his vivacity now forsook him; those lips which were formed to give delight were closed as by the hand of death, and on his countenance sat horror plumed!"¹

It is probably to this period that we are to refer two anecdotes which have been related as giving the first proofs of a decided craze in his understanding. Mr. Tennant, in an article which has been already quoted, says:—"It is difficult, even in sane persons, to determine where wit ends and temporary reeling of the imagination begins; and in the case of Fergusson, whose conceptions were ever so vivid, and whose wit was so fantastical and irregular, it was difficult for his friends to discriminate between his wit and his madness—to set a boundary-line between those of his days that were but frolicsome and funny, and those that were desperately and invariably delirious. The first occurrence that startled his comrades, and put them in alarm for the safety of his understanding, took place one day in the High Street of Edinburgh, when Mr. B——, one of his friends (who, I believe, is still alive), was standing engaged in conversation with a knot of acquaintances. Fergusson came running up, apparently in a state of high perturbation; and, accosting them familiarly, as he was wont, acquainted them that, confused and perturbed as he was, it was a marvel that they saw him alive that day at all. On questioning him, with a desire that he should explain himself, he informed them that on the night before he had met with some Irish students in the street, with whom he had an altercation that led to a quarrel; that they scuffled and buffeted each other furiously; that the combat deepened to deadly ferocity, when one of them, the bloodiest homicide of the troop, at last drew out a cutlass, with which he smote off his head at one blow; that his head ran down the strand trembling and streaming blood for many paces; that had it not been for his presence of mind he must infallibly have been a dead man; but that, running instantly after the head, decapitated as he was, he snatched it up, and replaced it so nicely on its former position, that the parts coalesced, and no man could discover any vestiges of decapitation. This story was told with such wild looks and extravagant gesticulation as impressed the hearers with the suspicion that his mind had shifted from its wonted 'form and pressure'; a suspicion that was afterwards fully confirmed by other more decided and unfortunate indications."

The other anecdote, which indicates a more advanced stage of insanity, is as follows:—Mr. Woods, of the Theatre Royal, one day met him at the bottom of St. Anne Street, under the North Bridge (a street which does not now exist), and found him in a very disordered state. "I have just," said Fergusson in a confidential tone, "made a most important discovery." On Mr. Woods inquiring what it was, he answered, "I have found out one of the reprobates who crucified our Saviour; and in order to bring him to proper punishment I am going to lodge an information against him with Lord Kames." He then walked off towards the residence of that distinguished philosopher and judge.

Even from this second shock his reason was beginning to recover, when all was thrown into tenfold disorder by a fall which he met with one evening in descending a stair. Having cut his head severely, he lost a great deal of blood, and was carried home

to his mother's house in a state of delirium, and totally insensible of his deplorable condition. His reason seemed to be now in a great measure destroyed. He passed nights and days in total abstinence from food, sometimes muttering dolefully to himself, and at other times so outrageous that it required the strength of several men to keep him in his bed. Occasionally he sang his favourite melodies, but in a style of pathos and tenderness such as he had never before reached. In particular, he chanted *The Birks of Invermay* with such exquisite melody, that those who heard his notes could never forget the sound. While in this state, probably anticipating that miserable catastrophe which soon after happened, he burned all his manuscripts, remarking, when the task was done, "I am satisfied; I feel some consolation in never having written anything against religion." Like Collins he now used but one book, but he probably felt, with that unfortunate bard, "that it was the best." It is needless to mention that this sole companion of his moody hours was the Bible.

The circumstances of his widowed mother were not, unfortunately, of such a kind as to enable her to keep her son, and procure for him the attendance necessary for his malady in her own house. She was, therefore, compelled to make arrangements for consigning him to a very wretched public asylum, which, before the erection of an elegant building at Morningside, was the only place in connection with the Scottish capital where such accommodations could be obtained. This house was situated within a gloomy nook of the old city wall, with another large building closing it up in front, as if it had been thought necessary to select for the insane a scene as sombre and wretched as their own mental condition. To this horrid mansion it was found necessary to convey Fergusson by a kind of stratagem, for he was too well aware of what was contemplated, and too much alive to the horrors of the place, to have either gone willingly himself, or to have been conveyed thither without some indecent exposure. Two friends, therefore, were instructed to pay him a visit about night-fall, as if for the purpose of inquiring after his welfare. He met them with easy confidence, and after some conversation, in which he took part like a sane man, they proposed that he should accompany them on a visit to a friend at another part of the town. To this he cheerfully consented, and was accordingly placed in a sedan which they had in readiness at the bottom of the stair. The unhappy youth then permitted himself to be conveyed peaceably along the streets till he arrived at the place which he had all along feared would be his final abode. The chair was conveyed into the hall, and it was only when Fergusson stepped out that he perceived the deception which had been practised upon him. One wild halloo—the heart-burst of despair—broke from him, and was immediately echoed from the tenants of the surrounding cells. Thrilled with horror, his friends departed, and left the wretched Fergusson to his fate.

"During the first night of his confinement," says Mr. Sommers, "he slept none; and when the keeper visited him in the morning, he found him walking along the stone floor of his cell, with his arms folded, and in sullen sadness, uttering not a word. After some minutes' silence, he clapped his right hand on his forehead, and complained much of pain. He asked the keeper who brought him there? He answered, 'Friends.' 'Yes, friends, indeed,' replied Robert; 'they think I am too wicked to live, but you will soon see me a burning and a shining light.' 'You have been so already,' observed the

¹ Life by Mr. Inverarity, in Gleig's *Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica*.

keeper, alluding to his poems. 'You mistake me,' said the poet: 'I mean, you shall see and hear of me as a bright minister of the gospel.'

Fergusson continued about two months to occupy a cell in this gloomy mansion. Occasionally, when the comparative tranquillity of his mind permitted it, his friends were allowed to visit him. A few days before his dissolution his mother and sister found him lying on his straw bed calm and collected. The evening was chill and damp: he requested his mother to gather the bed-clothes about him, and sit on his feet, for he said they were so very cold as to be almost insensible to the touch. She did so, and his sister took her seat by the bedside. He then looked wistfully in the face of his affectionate parent, and said, "Oh, mother, this is kind indeed." Then addressing his sister, he said, "Might you not come frequently and sit beside me; you cannot imagine how comfortable it would be; you might fetch your seam, and sew beside me." To this no answer was returned: an interval of silence was filled up by sobs and tears. "What ails ye?" inquired the dying poet; "wherefore sorrow for me, sirs? I am very well cared for here—I do assure you, I want for nothing—but it is cold—it is very cold. You know I told you it would come to this at last—yes, I told you so. Oh, do not go yet, mother—I hope to be soon—oh, do not go yet—do not leave me!" The keeper, however, whispered that it was time to depart, and this was the last time that Fergusson saw these beloved relatives.

Mr. Sommers thus describes his last interview with the poet, which took place in company with Dr. John Aitken, another friend of the unfortunate maniac:—"We got immediate access to the cell, and found Robert lying with his clothes on, stretched upon a bed of loose uncovered straw. The moment he heard my voice he arose, got me in his arms, and wept. The doctor felt his pulse, and declared it to be favourable. I asked the keeper to allow him to accompany us into an adjoining back-court, by way of taking the air. He consented. Robert took hold of me by the arm, placing me on his right, and the doctor on his left, and in this form we walked backward and forward along the court, conversing for nearly an hour, in the course of which many questions were asked both by the doctor and myself, to which he returned most satisfactory answers; but he seemed very anxious to obtain his liberty. Having passed two hours with him on this visit, we found it necessary to take our leave, the doctor assuring him that he would soon be restored to his friends, and that I would visit him again in a day or two. He calmly and without a murmur walked with us to the cell, and, upon parting, reminded the doctor of his promise to get him soon at liberty, and of mine to see him next day. Neither of us, however, had an opportunity of accomplishing our promise, for in a few days thereafter I received an intimation from the keeper that Robert Fergusson had breathed his last."

Before this period Mrs. Fergusson had been enabled, by a remittance from her son Henry, to make some preparations for receiving the poor maniac back into her own house, where superior accommodations, and the tenderness of a mother's and a sister's love, might have been expected to produce some favourable effect. But it came too late: misery had already secured her victim. "In the solitude of his cell," says Mr. Peterkin, "amid the terrors of the night, 'without a hand to help or an eye to pity,' the poet expired. His dying couch was a mat of straw; the last sounds that pealed upon his ear were the howlings of insanity. No tongue whispered peace; and even a consoling tear of sympathy mingled not with

those of contrition and hope, which, in charity I trust, illumined his closing eye."

Robert Fergusson died on the 16th of October, 1774, aged one day less than twenty-four years. His body was interred in the Canongate Churchyard, where his grave remained quite undistinguished, until his successor, and (as he was pleased to acknowledge) his imitator, Robert Burns, appeared in Edinburgh. When Burns came to the grave of Fergusson he uncovered his head, and, with his characteristic enthusiasm, kneeling down, embraced the venerated clay. He afterwards obtained permission from the magistrates to erect a monument to Fergusson, which he inscribed with the following stanza:—

"No sculptured marble here, nor pompous lay,
'No storied urn, nor animated bust;
This simple stone directs pale Scotia's way
To pour her sorrows o'er her poet's dust."

On the reverse of the monument, which is literally a "simple stone," is the following honourable inscription:—"By special grant of the managers to Robert Burns, who erected this stone, this burial-place is ever to remain sacred to the memory of Robert Fergusson." In more than one of his effusions in prose and poetry the Ayrshire poet has bewailed the fate of Fergusson; but perhaps the following little elegy, which he inscribed on a copy of the works of that poet which he presented to a young lady (March 19, 1787), is less generally known than the rest:—

"Curse on ungrateful man, that can be pleased
And yet can starve the author of his pleasure!
Oh thou, my elder brother in misfortune,
By far my elder brother in the muses,
With tears I pity thy unhappy fate!
Why is the bard unthrift for the world,
Yet has so keen a relish of its pleasures!"

Whatever may be thought of the philosophy of this stanza, its feeling has an irresistible appeal.

The external appearance of Fergusson, so far as it is left undelineated in the sketch already quoted, was as follows:¹ His countenance was somewhat effeminate, but redeemed by the animation imparted to it by his large black eyes. Mingled with the penetrative glance of an acute and active mind was that modesty which gives to superior intellect its greatest charm. Unfortunately there is no authentic portrait in existence, though it may be worth while to mention that his grand-niece, the late Miss Inverarity, the actress, bore so strong a resemblance to him as to have struck the mind of an individual who remembered the appearance of Fergusson, and who had learned neither the name of the young lady nor her relation to the poet. Fergusson's manners were always accommodated to the moment: he was gay, serious, set the table in a roar, charmed with his powers of song, or bore with becoming dignity his part in learned or philosophical disquisition. "In short, he had united in him," says Mr. Alexander Campbell, "the sprightliness and innocence of a child, with the knowledge of a profound and judicious thinker." "Gentleness and humanity of disposition," says Dr. Irving, "he possessed in an eminent degree. The impulse of benevolence frequently led him to bestow his last farthing on those who solicited his charity. His surviving relations retain a pleasing remembrance of his dutiful behaviour towards his parents; and the tender regard with which his memory is still cherished by his numerous acquaintance fully demonstrates his value as a friend." It may be added that, to this day, there prevails but one universal impression in favour of Fergusson. Cut off in

¹ According to another individual who recollects seeing him, "he was very *smallly* and delicate, a little in-kneed, and *waigled* a good deal in walking."

the greenest of his days, he still lives in the feeling of the world exactly what he really was in life—a gentle and youthful being, of whom no one could think any ill, and who was the friend and brother of everybody.

FERRIER, JAMES FREDERICK, professor of morals and political economy in the university of St. Andrews. This profound metaphysician and eloquent writer in general literature, was born at Edinburgh in November, 1808. He was the nephew of Miss Ferrier, the talented and popular authoress of *Marriage and The Inheritance*, of whom a memoir will appear in our pages. He became a student in the university of Edinburgh when a new impulse had been given to the study of ethics and metaphysics by Dugald Stewart and Professor Brown, which was continued by the enthusiastic eloquence of John Wilson, afterwards the father-in-law of Ferrier—and under such influences, an acute active mind could scarcely be idle or undistinguished. Accordingly, in the class of moral philosophy James Ferrier displayed those intellectual powers which augured well for his future career; and a class poem which he produced during that year carried off the prize, and was long after remembered for its superiority to such class productions as have been successful in a general competition. This acknowledged superiority, so often the close of a student's career, was with Ferrier only the starting-point, and from the university of Edinburgh he passed to that of Oxford, where his studies were alternated with classics and philosophy until the latter secured his undivided attention, but not until he had become a ripe classical scholar. There also he graduated in arts, and passed the usual examinations with distinction. Desirous to enlarge his knowledge in general learning and metaphysics, he afterwards became a student in one of the German universities, and the mastery of the German language which he there acquired enabled him to advance into those profound speculations which as yet were little known in the colleges of Britain. The literature of Germany, and especially its poetry, occupied much of his study; and from his knowledge in this department, as well as his acquaintance with the niceties of the German language, he was enabled to aid the studies of those who were employed in a similar field. In this way he was of such service in interpreting the poetry of Goethe and Schiller, that Sir Bulwer Lytton in his translation of the latter poet dedicated the publication to Ferrier.

In 1832 James Ferrier was admitted to the Scottish bar. With a person of such a cast of mind, and so educated, the dry study of the law and oratory of the bar could have little congeniality, and his choice of such a profession might excite our wonder mixed with not a little astonishment. That he had no purpose, however, to involve himself in the occupations of a Scottish advocate, was evident from his neither attaining nor yet seeking such distinction. The charms of literature and peaceful contemplation had more attractions for him than the active stir of litigation and the prospect of a silk gown, while *Blackwood's Magazine* supplied a sufficient outlet for his first attempts in authorship. And to the pages of this distinguished periodical, now at the height of its reputation, the contributions of Ferrier were always welcome; for besides his Tory principles, he wrote with a vigour, eloquence, wit, and learning that recalled to memory the early articles of Wilson, Lockhart, and other distinguished founders of the magazine. For a series of years his contributions were continued; and while they were remarkable for their freshness of style and originality of thought,

they excited the attention of the reflective, among other subjects, to the Berklean philosophy; and the effects of German thought upon the writings of Coleridge.

With all this acknowledged excellence, Ferrier was worthy of a more permanent field of action, and this was opened to him in 1845 by his appointment to the professorship of moral philosophy and political economy in the university of St. Andrews. Into this important charge he brought an earnestness and eloquence, and an amount of scholarship not often exhibited in the chairs of that ancient seat of learning; and their effect was shown in the new intellectual impulse which he imparted to his students, and the devotedness with which they loved their distinguished teacher. The professorship of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh having become vacant by the retirement of John Wilson, his father-in-law, Ferrier became a candidate for the chair, but was unsuccessful. That the failure, however, was owing to no lack of qualification for the office was proved two years afterwards, when he published his *Theory of Knowing and Being*, a work of great power, but upon a doubtful and debatable subject. His attempts to solve the great metaphysical problem, of course, found as many opponents as advocates, but all were at one in their opinion of the originality and ingenuity of many of its accessory ideas, and the brilliant eloquence with which the work was pervaded. In 1854 he was again a competitor for an Edinburgh chair, in consequence of the death of Sir William Hamilton, by which the professorship of logic and metaphysics was left vacant in the university of the northern capital. Ferrier was one of the candidates, the competition was a keen one, and to a pamphlet written in favour of the successful candidate he published a stinging answer, under the title of *Scottish Philosophy: the Old and the New*. Once more defeated in his attempts to establish himself in the university of Edinburgh, Ferrier resumed his duties in St. Andrews with undiminished zeal and success, until his failing health warned him that evening was at hand when his day was little more than half ended. That mysterious and fatal disease so prevalent in our own period, to which people of ardent temperament and active brain are so peculiarly subject—commonly called disease of the heart—had manifested itself in repeated attacks of *angina pectoris*, and so unfitted him for his public duties, that he was obliged to devolve the charge of his class into other hands. Recovery from such a malady was hopeless, however the end might be delayed, and he died at St. Andrews on the 11th of June, 1864.

To this brief account of Professor Ferrier we subjoin a sketch of his character contained in a short memoir inserted in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, from which the foregoing statements have been taken. In a life otherwise so uneventful such a portrait is necessary, in order to see him more effectually both in his public and private relationships; and this, it is hoped, will justify the length and fulness of the quotation:—

"In private life the professor added to those solid qualities which are universally respected, a pleasantness and refinement of manner not always found in the occupants of our Scottish chairs. The visitor who entered his house at St. Andrews found there not hospitality only, but a certain *empressment* of politeness which recalled the old school, and which was so far from being stiff that it contributed by its grace to the charm of his fresh and lively conversation. He was not a philosopher alone, but a man of letters, and took an interest in the beautiful and

the humorous—in poetry and anecdotes of life and character—as well as in those severer studies to which he owed his fame. The worthy admirer of Berkeley was also the worthy friend of Wilson; and you felt yourself, when with him in his social hour, connected by a living link with those eminent Scotsmen of an older day whose great attraction was that they were learned without pedantry, and polished without priggishness.

“His death leaves a vacancy in the front rank of Scottish thinkers and men of letters which will not easily be filled up. Beloved by all his students, endeared to a large circle of friends by his generous character, his great accomplishments, his philosophical power, and his stores of wit and humour, Mr. Ferrier's death will be felt as another blank in the brilliant group of literary men of whom Wilson and Lockhart were the acknowledged chiefs, and whose congenial organ was *Blackwood's Magazine*. Tory as he was, he will leave few generous Scotsmen, of whatever party, unregretful of his premature decease; while scholars of whatever degree, and philosophers of whatever school, will join in mourning the loss of one whose literary sympathies were as wide as they were discriminating, and whose philosophy perhaps fell short of conclusiveness by its too ardent efforts after catholicity.”

FERRIER, SUSAN EDMONSTON. Of this highly talented novelist, whose works created such a popular sensation in their favour, little is known beyond the fact that she was the authoress of three highly popular novels, and that their sterling merits have secured for them a durability seldom accorded to works of this nature. Miss Ferrier was born in Edinburgh in 1782, and was the aunt of the learned professor whom we have previously recorded. Her father, James Ferrier, a writer to the signet, was one of the principal clerks of the Court of Session, and colleague in that office of Sir Walter Scott. Of the early years and educational training of Miss Ferrier we have no account; but the society of the eminent literary characters with which Edinburgh at that time abounded, and with whom her father lived in daily intimacy, is enough to prove that she had superior opportunities for the development of her intellectual powers, while her writings show that she had turned these opportunities to the best account. The society of such men, and especially of Sir Walter Scott, could not be enjoyed by a mind like that of our authoress without the improvement which mere reading would fail to impart; and the result was such as Sir Walter himself has recorded in his private diary. Speaking of Miss Ferrier, he describes her as “a gifted personage, having, besides her great talents, conversation the least *exigante* of any author, female at least, whom I have ever seen, among the long list I have encountered; simple, full of humour, and exceedingly ready at repartee; and all this without the least affectation of the blue-stocking.”

With all this intellectual vivacity and humour, and great conversational powers, Miss Ferrier could combine a tact which nothing but the most delicate benevolence could inspire. Of this a striking instance is given in Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*. When the great poet and novelist was in the decline both of his health and intellect, but still as eager for intellectual work and as industrious as ever, it was the aim of his family in his occasional visits to them from the study, to render these visits as long and frequent as possible, and for this purpose they invited his friend Miss Ferrier to Abbotsford. “Her coming,” adds the biographer, “was serviceable; for she

knew and loved him well, and she had seen enough of affliction akin to his to be well skilled in dealing with it. She could not be an hour in his company without observing what filled his children with more sorrow than all the rest of the case. He would begin a story as gaily as ever, and go on, in spite of the hesitation in his speech, to tell it with highly picturesque effect; but before he reached the point, it would seem as if some internal spring had given way: he paused, and gazed round him with the blank anxiety of look that a blind man has when he has dropped his staff. Unthinking friends sometimes pained him sadly by giving him the catch-word abruptly. I noticed the delicacy of Miss Ferrier on such occasions. Her sight was bad, and she took care not to use her glasses when he was speaking; and she affected to be also troubled with deafness, and would say, ‘Well, I am getting as dull as a post; I have not heard a word since you said so and so,’ being sure to mention a circumstance behind that at which he had really halted. He then took up the thread with his habitual smile of courtesy, as if forgetting his case entirely in the consideration of the lady's infirmity.”

From these brief glimpses, which reveal Miss Ferrier's character—and which so amiably reveal it that we are compelled to regret that they are so few—we pass to her literary productions. Her first work, entitled *Marriage*, was published in the year 1818, when she had attained the ripe age of thirty-six, and therefore, although her first production, the novel indicated a mind completely matured. As such, *Marriage* at once became popular, even although the “Great Unknown” was in the field, and occupying it without a rival; and the author of Waverley sanctioned this public judgment with his heartiest approbation. In the conclusion of his *Tales of My Landlord*, he welcomed his “sister shadow,” the author of “the very lively work entitled *Marriage*, as one of the labourers capable of gathering in the large harvest of Scottish character and fiction.” The great merit of the work, indeed, and that which distinguished her subsequent productions, was the force and fidelity of her Scottish portraits, in which department none perhaps but Sir Walter himself was her superior; and on this account her novels have still an intrinsic charm which keeps them alive after so much in the literary world of fiction has passed away. The publishing of her first work was therefore the opening of a picture-gallery, and the public who crowded in could not sufficiently admire the life-like sketches of Mrs. Violet Macshake, the grim, sarcastic, but really affectionate lady of ninety, a glorious relic of the old Scotch school, who pronounced everything new a folly and an abomination—and Lady Mac-lauchlan, shrewd, short, and snappish—and the three old spinster sisters, Miss Jacky, Miss Grizzy, and Miss Nicky—each having her separate originality, but all tugging at the same oar. But while excelling in female portraits, Miss Ferrier showed that she could also hit off male characters with almost equal power, whether by single touches or elaborate descriptions, and produce a narrative by which her readers would be spell-bound without going beyond the limits of every-day life. Her next novel, *The Inheritance*, with equal originality, was of a still more elaborate and finished description, and the religious element with which it is mixed is so judiciously introduced, as to throw an attractive sunshine over the whole tale. While the *Inheritance* also dealt with a higher sphere of life, and more important objects than *Marriage*, the comic, in which Miss Ferrier excelled, was not neglected; and her descriptions of the pompous old earl, of Uncle

Adam, and Miss Pratt, are among the choicest of her many delineations of the kind. Her last tale, entitled *Destiny; or, the Chief's Daughter*, appeared in 1831; but as the characters, incidents, manners, and scenery are Highland, it does not possess the same variety and attractiveness as her former works, and this production was on the whole a failure. After this she laid aside her pen, to the regret of those whom her writings had so greatly charmed, and retired into private life. Her death occurred near the close of 1854; but the particular date of it we are unable to ascertain.

FILLANS, JAMES. This excellent sculptor was the son of John Thomson Fillans, who had served as sailor in the *Speedy* under Lord Cochrane, but afterwards found employment in the ironworks of Carnwath. He was born at Wilsontown in Lanarkshire, on the 27th of March, 1808, and was the third but eldest surviving son of a family of thirteen children. In consequence of his father's misfortunes in trade, he was only a short time at school; but he had already chosen his future occupation, and commenced a course of self-training for its work, so that when a boy his chief delight was to mould the figures of men and animals from no better material than snow. From his eighth to his twelfth year, his regular occupation was to herd cattle at Busby in the Mearns, where he had ample opportunity of studying the beauty of nature; after which he removed with the members of his family to Paisley, and was there set to learn weaving as his future craft. In spite, however, of his dull employment at the loom—perhaps even invited by its dullness and monotony—his artistic bias became more intense; and he betook himself to fashioning in clay, such models of the animal form as astonished his companions, and even excited the admiration of more critical judges. While following this favourite bent, obstacles did not deter him; and on one occasion, when he was ambitious to model a helmet such as Sir William Wallace was supposed to wear, he kneaded his clay into proper ductility, and afterwards clapped it, for want of a block, upon his younger brother's head, where it remained until he had fashioned it into the likeness of a warlike and highly ornamented headpiece.

As weaving was not congenial to such a spirit, he quitted it in less than a twelvemonth, and with an eye to the practice of sculpture and the use of its tools, became apprentice to a stone-mason. He had now greater scope for the study of his favourite art, and while he continued to execute models in clay which were always advancing in improvement, his range of ideas was enlarged, and his perception of the grand and beautiful refined by reading works of history and biography. As a workman, also, those tasks were consigned to him which required a superior exertion of professional skill. His apprenticeship being finished while still in his minority, he continued to work as a journeyman, and in Paisley and Greenock carvings are still pointed out which were executed by his chisel. Over the door of a house at Lanend, that was once a smithy, is the figure of a horse which young Fillans copied from a living animal in the neighbourhood; and with this spirited figure the smith for whom it was made was so well pleased, that he rewarded the artist with two pounds for his trouble—the first professional fee which as yet he had touched. In 1828, when he had reached his twentieth year, Fillans was employed to carve some of the ornamental parts of the Glasgow Royal Exchange, then in the course of erection. The splendid Corinthian capitals in the interior of the

building, which were especially his workmanship, and his enthusiasm for Grecian art, were so conspicuous among his fellow-workmen, that they dubbed him, as a mark of honourable distinction, with the title of "Young Athens."

Although he had now acquired the character of a first-rate mason, this was but a step to the object of his ambition, and being encouraged by his friend Motherwell, who at this time was editor of the *Paisley Advertiser*, Fillans set up his studio as a statuary in the manufacturing town of Paisley, where his productions soon became popular, and commissions continued to flow upon him. Besides executing the busts of some of the principal citizens, he produced several ideal figures in groups, the fame of which quickly extended to Glasgow, and made its citizens desirous of securing the services of the young rising artist. In compliance with their invitations, he removed to this great city of the west, and opened his studio in Miller Street, where his professional engagements were so numerous, that he employed two of his brothers to assist in the mechanical operations of his art. He was now a thriving man; he had been married between two and three years to the object of his warmest affections; and everything seemed to promise that at last he had found his right home, and would select it as his permanent abode. But nothing short of perfection as a sculptor would satisfy him, and this could not be effected without the instructions that could only be obtained by travel. He accordingly commenced his professional pilgrimage in October, 1835, and after visiting Dublin and London, he arrived on the following month in Paris. After studying the masterpieces contained in the Louvre, Fillans returned after an absence of only three months, the shortness of his tour being occasioned by scanty funds and the exigencies of a growing family. He now resolved to settle in London as the most congenial home for an artist, and best mart for his productions, and in the capital he accordingly established his residence, first in South Bank, Regent's Park, and afterwards in Baker Street, Portman Square. To bring himself into notice in the wide world of London, it was necessary that his claims should be publicly exhibited, and accordingly he had no fewer than seven busts in marble in the exhibition of the Royal Academy in Trafalgar Square. One of these was a likeness of his friend Allan Cunningham, which not only excited general attention, but obtained the approbation of Chantrey himself. Still, however, his principal orders came from Scotland, among the chief of which was a bust of Mr. Hastie, M.P. for Paisley; and the model of a jug illustrative of the tale of *Tam O'Shanter*, in the style of Cellini. Other commissions succeeded so numerous that his life was spent alternately in London and Scotland, greatly to the interruption of his professional studies, although such calls were but the consequence of his acknowledged excellence. He naturally exulted, however, in these warm tokens of his increasing celebrity, while his friends, who triumphed in his success, exclaimed, "You have now the ball at your foot; keep it rolling!" A bust of Richard Oswald, Esq., of Auchincruive, which he was commissioned to execute, occasioned, in 1841, his journey to Florence, where that gentleman resided. It was a delightful tour; it was also a profitable one in an artistic point of view, as it afforded him ample leisure to study the rich collections of art in the city of Florence. When the bust was finished and brought home, his constituents, the Oswald committee, were loud and unanimous in their approbation; the local journals confirmed their suffrage; and when it was placed in the Assembly Rooms

of Ayr, it was universally acknowledged, that as a work of art nothing equal to it had ever been seen in that city.

Having been thus far so successful, Fillans did not relapse into idleness, and allow the ball at his foot to remain at rest; so that the various commissions which he was engaged to execute kept him in almost perpetual transition between England and Scotland. Of the works he accomplished at this time, nothing so highly excited the general applause as his group of statuary entitled "The Blind Teaching the Blind." It was an original and poetical idea, while the style of its execution was as happy as the conception. The following account of it is from one of the journals of the period:—"Mr. Fillans has not only the merit of being the first to depict the blind in this interesting light, but he has done so in a manner which seems to defy any attempt to surpass it. Indeed, we cannot imagine the subject treated differently and so well. The group is exquisitely simple. A young girl, with beautifully rounded features, is sitting upon a low seat with the Scriptures in raised letters open upon her knee, and her fingers resting on the inspired words; while another female, somewhat older and taller, but still young, is kneeling by her side, her head resting affectionately on that of her pupil, and one hand gently touching her heart, as if to impress the lesson upon her with greater earnestness. The former is the principal figure, and concentrates within itself the sentiment of the piece. If it be the highest effort of art to depict, not the mere outward forms of nature, but the invisible essence of mind which surrounds these like a fragrance, Mr. Fillans has been eminently successful. The whole figure of the learner is a visible embodiment of the ideal. The acute sense of touch almost apparent in the action of the hand, the half-parted lips—nay, the very sightless orbs uplifted, not in vain, to heaven, are instinct with awakening thoughts, and indicative of a radiance within, which burns only the more brightly from the daylight being quite shut out. Indeed the darkness which veils her eyes seems but the shadow of the illumined spirit enshrined in the perishable clay; and we can almost fancy, as we gaze upon her sainted and beaming aspect, that her eyes are closed only that she may receive the words of truth through some diviner sense, and, undisturbed by earthly visions, commune in secret with the angels. The draping is simple and appropriate, and the outline and general effect of the grouping is sweet, expressive, and beautiful." To this critique we may add the following incident, as related by the artist's biographer:—"Two of the best-looking inmates of the Blind Asylum were selected by Mr. Fillans to sit for the model. Delicate as beautiful, neither of them seems to have been capable of resisting those scourges of the sensitive and lovely—consumption and small-pox. The one died, and the other cannot now be recognized as one of the originals in this divine group. A friend who accompanied the sculptor to see the bust of Mr. Alston, saw this girl under very interesting circumstances. She was walking with a companion in front of the asylum, when Mr. Fillans asked if the governess was at home. Knowing his voice she sprang towards him, throwing up her arms with an exclamation of joy; but, instantly recollecting herself, stopped short, hung down her head, and answered his question in a subdued and tremulous voice. Nothing could more forcibly illustrate the impression produced on the mind of the blind and desolate girl at the recollection of the kindness and affability of the warm-hearted and generous sculptor, who seemed much affected at the sight of her altered appear-

ance, and the death of her still more beautiful companion."

In consequence of his high reputation, Fillans was now the sculptor generally employed on the busts and statues of eminent Scotsmen designed as public monuments. They are too numerous to particularize, so that we can only mention the monument at Beith to Captain Wilson, who fell in the Kyber Pass, Afghanistan; the statue of Sir James Shaw for Kilmarnock; and the bust of Professor Wilson for the coffee-room of Paisley. Scotland had now become proud of her favourite sculptor; public bodies united in their admiration of his excellence; and two public dinners were given in his honour; one at Paisley, the other at Burns' cottage, Ayrshire, and at both, the laudations heaped upon the artist, however ample, as post-prandial compliments are wont to be, could only have been called forth by an extraordinary amount of merit. Surely, then, he was securing an ample fortune as the natural fruit of such public distinction! But numerous and well-paid though his productions were, he still continued to be comparatively poor—and for this the nature of his occupations will account. Although his home was in London, his commissions for the greater part came from Scotland, so that his constant journeys thither were a serious drawback upon his funds. He was also liberal perhaps to a fault, so that he bestowed not merely his money but also his art in deeds of benevolence, giving statues or groups as contributions to the funds of charitable institutions. To add to his difficulties, an accident while employed upon a scaffold at Glasgow, by which his knee was sprained, laid him aside from work for a considerable period. On his recovery and return to London, he set himself in earnest to model a series of bas-reliefs under the title of "Taming the Wild Horse," and to represent the animal in its principal attitudes, and the mode of its capture as practised in the pampas of Southern America. The study of the horse was new to him; but the citizens of Glasgow were already talking of an equestrian statue to commemorate the queen's visit to their city, and the friends of Fillans were hopeful that he would be commissioned to execute it. Upon this new attempt, therefore, he laboured night and day in his studio in London; and as the apartment was damp, it is believed that there, and at this time, he laid the foundation of his future ill health. When this splendid series of bas-reliefs was finished, his next work was to model the Flying Dutchman, a celebrated race-horse belonging to the Earl of Eglinton. But the equestrian statue for Glasgow was not consigned to his workmanship after all, but to a foreign artist. This and other professional disappointments damped his spirit, while the failure of occupation induced him to break up his costly establishment in London, and take up his permanent abode in Glasgow. He accordingly removed to that city in December, 1851; but the change was made too late. The sprain of his knee and the effects of his damp London studio settled into a confirmed rheumatism, which gradually ascended from his limbs to the neighbourhood of the heart, and he died in Glasgow on the 27th of September, 1852, aged about forty-four years, leaving behind him a widow and eight young children. Among the many proofs of the affection and esteem in which Fillans was held, the following was of too amiable a character to be omitted. Immediately after his funeral a meeting of the friends of the deceased was called, a committee was formed, and such steps were adopted in raising a fund for the relief of the widow and family as placed them above immediate want. And, in the subsequent exhibition of

the West of Scotland Academy of Artists, where numerous productions of the deceased were exhibited, the academicians exerted themselves in their sale, that Mrs. Fillans and her children might reap the benefit.

Fillans might be called an artist in the widest acceptation of the term: his whole heart was pervaded with a love of the beautiful, and his emotions expressed themselves not merely in statuary, but in painting and poetry, in each of which he might have attained distinction had he not been so highly devoted to his first love. It was therefore as a sculptor that his fame will descend to posterity, and of all his productions, those will be most admired where the subject was of his own choosing, and in the handling of which he was allowed to follow the bent of his own genius. Of this his "Blind Teaching the Blind," "Boy and Fawn," colossal statue of Sir James Shaw, and bust of Professor Wilson, not to mention others, are sufficient evidence.

FLEMING, REV. JOHN, D.D., F.R.S.E., professor of natural science, New College, Edinburgh. This eminent naturalist was the son of Mr. Alexander Fleming, a small farmer in Linlithgowshire, and was born at Kirkroads, near Bathgate, in 1785. Like his father, he might have been destined to the occupation of a hard-working peasant, had he not in early life evinced talents that were worthy of a better condition; and this was aided by the wish of his mother, who, above all things, desired that her son John should be trained for the ministry. Accordingly, after his preliminary education was finished, he, at the age of seventeen, became a student at the university of Edinburgh. But the particular direction of his studies had been already fixed, as from his earliest youth he had shown an exclusive predilection for natural science; and before he went to college he was no ordinary proficient in zoology, botany, and geology. In his researches connected with these departments of science he had made several important discoveries, in consequence of which he had hoped to render the same service to his native Linlithgowshire which White had done for Selborne. Although his intention was frustrated by his lot being cast in a different locality, he partly accomplished it by diffusing the result of his explorations in the *Outline of the Flora of Linlithgowshire*, a paper read to the Wernerian Society in 1809, and several other scientific communications.

While Fleming was a student, the university of Edinburgh was distinguished by the eminence of its professors in natural science, and of such an opportunity he so carefully availed himself, that when little more than twenty years old he was already distinguished by the maturity of his attainments. In consequence of this, when he had been licensed as a preacher, he was commissioned by Sir John Sinclair, in 1807, to undertake a survey of the economical mineralogy of the northern isles. This he willingly did, and while employed in the task it unexpectedly procured for him a church living. That of the parish of Bressay having become vacant, and the patron failing within the specified time to exercise his right of presentation, the right devolved, by the ecclesiastical law of Scotland, upon the presbytery of Lerwick; and its members having been won by the rare attainments and agreeable manners of the young preacher and naturalist who resided among them, unanimously elected him minister of the parish. Soon after his ordination, and before he had completed his twenty-third year, Fleming drew up for publication *The Economical Mineralogy of the Orkney and Zetland Islands*, which is thus characterized by his biographer:

"There are evidences in it of great descriptive power, readiness in the application of the nomenclature of the science, correctness of eye, and such a quick appreciation of the economical value of the rocks described, as would not discredit the ablest mineralogist at the present time." This also was but a portion of his scientific writings in his island seclusion of Bressay, as in the same month in which his mineralogical report was published, he communicated to the Wernerian Society a paper *On the Narwal or Sea-unicorn*. At the close of the same year he also sent to the Wernerian Society several papers, entitled *Contributions to the British Fauna*.

It was fortunate for Fleming as well as for science that he was not long doomed to waste his energies among the listless solitudes of Shetland. In 1810 he was transferred to the parish of Flisk, Fifeshire, where, amidst a wide field for scientific investigation, and numerous associates in such pursuits, he had for his next neighbour Dr. Chalmers, who at that time was minister of the adjacent parish of Kilmany. In Fifeshire Mr. Fleming prosecuted his favourite studies with renewed ardour, and a reputation always increasing; and while faithfully discharging his clerical duties, his eye was continually on the watch for such productions as might enlarge the boundaries of natural science, or throw additional light upon former discoveries. On this account his communications were frequent both in letters to his scientific friends and in papers to the Wernerian Society. In these communications also he occasionally gives scope to that dry sarcastic spirit which had been one of his characteristics from boyhood, and which the theories of the day would not allow to slumber. But this causticity was especially reserved for those theorists who did not trouble themselves about facts, or who concluded from insufficient *data*. To him the book of nature was a sacred gospel, and woe be to the heretic who misinterpreted or perverted it! While he thus intently prosecuted his investigations in chemistry and mineralogy, in geology, botany, and zoology, he was so fortunate as to find a fit helpmate in Miss Melville Christie, second daughter of Andrew Christie, Esq., banker, Cupar, whom he married in March, 1813, and who entered into his pursuits with a zeal almost equal to his own. Having also artistic skill in a very high degree, she was able to assist him with her pencil, and the plates of his *Philosophy of Zoology* were taken from drawings which she had executed for the purpose. While such a blessing was added both to the comforts of his fireside and the requirements of his study, the honours which his philosophical achievements had merited were not withheld. He was already a member of the Antiquarian Society; in 1813 the university of St. Andrews conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity; and in January, 1814, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

Although minister of Flisk, the stipend was not more than £150 per annum, and Dr. Fleming, if he could have found a favourable opportunity, was willing to make the study of science the sole business of his life, instead of a divided occupation. An opportunity for this change seemed to occur in 1815 by the establishment of the Cork Institution, and its advertisement for a lecturer in natural history, which was inserted in the Edinburgh newspapers. He hoped also that in addition to the salary of £100 per annum which was attached to the lectureship, he might have private classes, the fees of which might more than remunerate him for the sacrifice of his parish stipend. On second thoughts, however, the abandonment of such a certainty as Flisk appeared so hazardous, that he resolved to proceed without committing himself, and

with this view offered to the Cork Institution to deliver one course of lectures by way of experimental trial. He accordingly repaired to Ireland in the spring of 1816, and delivered eighteen lectures on botany, his pulpit of Flisk during his absence being supplied by his brethren of the presbytery. Finding, however, no adequate inducement to accept the lectureship, he, greatly to the satisfaction of his friends, returned to his clerical charge in Fifehire. After his return from Ireland he published an outline entitled *Observations on the Mineralogy of the Neighbourhood of Cork*, and soon after read a paper to the Royal Society of *Observations on the Function of the Fresh Water of Rivers and the Salt Water of the Sea*. At this time the increasing expense of living, and the smallness of his income, made it impossible for him to further his studies by the resources of a library and costly apparatus, or even the aids of travelling. All was to be accomplished by his own personal observation, and within the limited sphere of his own district. Writing to a friend he says, "It is my intention to collect facts patiently, to read nature more than books, and trust to Providence more than to politicians." In 1819 Dr. Fleming wrote the article "Ichthyology" for the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, by which his scientific reputation was considerably increased. In producing this elaborate article, its author neglected no opportunity of perfecting his knowledge on the subject, having consulted the writings of twenty-four authors, and examined eighteen systems for the purpose.

Having finished the article on ichthyology, Dr. Fleming resumed his studies, which were directed to the construction of his great work, *The Philosophy of Zoology*. In this way the year 1820 was a busy period, as he communicated several zoological articles to the Wernerian Society, the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, the *Edinburgh Review*, and the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*. For the last-mentioned work he wrote two elaborate articles on *Insecta and Helminthology*. The importance of these patient researches, devoted to such insignificant creatures as insects and worms, he thus vindicated, in treating of the despised worm:—"Dew-worms, though in appearance a small and despicable link in the chain of nature, yet, if lost, might make a lamentable chasm. For, to say nothing of half the birds and some quadrupeds which are almost entirely supported by them, worms seem to be the great promoters of vegetation (which would proceed but ill without them), by boring, perforating, and loosening the soil, and rendering it pervious to rains and the fibres of plants; by drawing straws and stalks of leaves and twigs into it; and, most of all, by throwing up such infinite numbers of lumps called worm-casts, which form a fine manure for grain and grass. Worms probably provide new soil for hills and slopes when the rain washes the earth away; and they affect slopes, probably to avoid being flooded." In this philosophic way he broke ground upon a subject which at that time was comparatively new and little understood, but which has now become so greatly amplified and improved. After communicating papers to the Wernerian Society on "Dew-like Drops on Leaves of Corn," "The Water-rail," "Sertularia," "New Species of Vorticella," &c.; to the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* articles on "The Arctic and Skua Gulls," "Sertularia Gelatinosa," "Changes of Colour in the Feathers of Birds," &c., when these exertions made relaxation and change desirable, Dr. Fleming accompanied Robert Stevenson, his friend, the superintendent of Northern Lighthouses in one of his periodical cruises along the western coast in the government lighthouse yacht, and on arriving at Campbeltown the distinguished pair were compli-

mented by the magistrates with the freedom of the town. But in this otherwise delightful trip we find the doctor sighing for the want of a dredge on board, with which he might have fished up the zoophytes of the western sea, and congratulating himself that he had found an *Asterias niger* new to Britain, and a *Terebratula* different from that of Zetland.

On returning from his cruise among the northern lighthouses, Dr. Fleming resumed his clerical and philosophical labours with fresh vigour, and during that and the following year wrote three papers, entitled "Gleanings of Natural History during a Voyage in 1821," for the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*; and a notice of a submarine forest in the Firth of Tay, for the Royal Society. But it was in 1823 that Dr. Fleming's great work, *The Philosophy of Zoology*, appeared. It was upon this that he had been employed for years, and in which the most important of his discoveries and observations were contained. Its reception by the scientific world was gratifying in the highest degree. Baron Cuvier wrote to its author eulogizing its merits; it was translated into Italian by Zandrini, the accomplished professor of mineralogy and zoology at Pavia; and Dr. Turton, the celebrated conchologist, in writing to Dr. Fleming, thus expresses himself on his *Philosophy of Zoology*: "Thirty years and more have I been an anxious inquirer into the progress of natural science, and can safely say that, except from the works of Linné, I have never been so fully gratified. It is just what this department of science wanted: a brief but sufficiently comprehensive display of this attractive department of human knowledge. Lamarck is too diffuse; Stewart is too confined. Your work ranks you not only among the *scriptores feliciores*, but among the *fundatores*." Fleming was now indeed regarded by many competent judges as the first naturalist of the age. In the midst of all this well-merited laudation, instead of reposing under the shade of his own laurels, he was still busy, and still prosecuting his inquiries into the many departments of his beloved sciences; and soon after the publication of his great work, he transmitted several papers to Professor Jameson's philosophical journal. Among these were "The Influence of Society in the Distribution of British Animals," "Remarks on Modern Strata," and "The Geological Deluge, as interpreted by Baron Cuvier and Professor Buckland, inconsistent with the Testimony of Moses and the Phenomena of Nature."

The next separate work of Dr. Fleming, after *The Philosophy of Zoology*, was *The British Animals*, published in 1828. It was a subject upon which he had cogitated from his boyhood, and in his matured age the work was written as a handbook for students, to whom such a help was still wanting. "To this task," writes his biographer, "he had brought rare attainments in the knowledge of the literature of the sciences, and of the habits and habitats of the animals described, as well as of extinct species. It is not saying too much to aver that few, if any, recent British systematic naturalists have not been obliged to it. This is evident from the references to it in almost every monograph in different departments of zoology and palæontology. The palæontological part of the volume was a new feature in a work of this kind. . . . It is in every sense a *history* of British animals; and the strong antiquarian tastes which characterized its author enabled him to bring illustrations from many remote sources." The work was welcomed by the most eminent naturalists of the day. It is true, indeed, that in the progress of natural science many additions have been made to the species there mentioned, and such modifications been effected in systems of classification, that Fleming's work is

now nearly useless to mere beginners in the study; but to those who took from it their early lessons, and who have used it as a manual and book of reference, it is still invaluable.

In 1829 Dr. Fleming wrote a paper for the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* on "The Insufficiency of the Evidence of the Supposed Change of Climate of the Arctic Regions;" and in proof of his position he had referred, among other instances, to ruminating animals. "Observation," he said, "had discovered many animals with cloven hoofs which ruminate; but in such circumstances would it be safe to infer that all cloven-hoofed animals ruminate?" "Conceive ourselves," he added, "contemplating the footmarks of a sheep and sow. Under the guidance of Cuvier's declarations we would conclude that both ruminated—an inference true in the one case, and false in the other." This attack upon a favourite theory of the day excited the indignation of the Rev. W. Conybeare, author of the *Geology of England and Wales*, and a keen controversy between the reverend philosophers was the result, conducted with a severity of language at which the laity might well have been astonished. The debate at last was narrowed to such limits, that it mainly rested upon what Fleming had alleged concerning the sow; and from this circumstance it came to be termed the "pig's-foot controversy." Mr. Conybeare, who lived in the country, and, like other country parsons, kept porkers, thought he had triumphantly settled the question by the following declaration: "Now, my pigs are not bisulcous, but wear four distinct toes on their feet, although the middle ones, being most elongated, and armed with large hoofs, certainly produce an external resemblance to cloven-footed animals, which has occasioned their being classed in the Levitical law (which purports not to be a philosophical arrangement) as dividing the hoof, though chewing not the cud. The impression of their feet in walking may, if carefully examined, as Cuvier says, be distinguished from the genuine bisulca." Here was a question for the Scottish naturalists to settle. Are Scottish pigs bisulcous, or actually four-toed? The facts might be ascertained by watching their footsteps; but these sages had not been wont so to study pigs' feet. In this new dilemma the Wernerians of Edinburgh assembled, but being unable to decide, they referred the matter to a committee, who were to experiment, and report to the next meeting. The committee reported accordingly, and among other things stated, "That with some difficulty they caused the pigs to walk across a board spread over with soft clay—that the impressions were in some places bisulcated—that in others, besides the bisulcous marks, there were those of two posterior toes—that owing to the unruly nature of the animals they could not make them walk along the board when placed as an inclined plane, and that they had to place it horizontally," &c. It was a strange and humbling accident that had reduced the settlement of such an important theory to a question of pettitoes. The inquirers awoke from their philosophical reverie—roused, no doubt, by the laughter that surrounded them—while Dr. Fleming, leaving them to settle the question as they might, proceeded to the more serious branches of the argument.

Notwithstanding his many discoveries in natural science, and the distinction they had acquired not only for himself but his country, Dr. Fleming still remained in the obscure parish of Flisk. In writing of this to his friend, Mr. Neil, he says, "But I have no choice. I have been cast by Providence in a secluded situation, with a stinted income, and exposed to the malevolence of those who fancied that

I might interfere with their interests. In this way the best of my life has been lost to the public, but the accompanying discipline has not, I hope, been lost upon myself." Even the results of his geological researches, which he honestly and fearlessly announced, had subjected him to suspicions of being unsound in the faith; and because he demurred at the Mosaic account of the creation, as interpreted by the old-world divines, he was suspected of the wish to remove the foundation-stone of the whole structure of revelation. Alluding to this in the same letter, he says, "If you mean to say that I am *thought* heterodox, I can only reply that it is not intentional if I be so; and I have reason to believe, *aye, good reason*, that I am not thought so by those who have the best opportunities of judging." It was no wonder that he was desirous of change, or that the desire became so strong that sometimes he thought of emigrating to some of our colonies. The prospect of removal to a more eligible locality at length occurred by a vacancy in the parish church of Auchtermuchty, and 400 of the parishioners—every member of the church except *one*—signed a petition for his appointment as their minister. Although the patron did not assent to their desire, Fleming was gratified at what he justly termed "a unanimous call from the parish—the most complete even a worshipper of popularity could desire." It was not long, however, until his wishes for a removal from Flisk were gratified by a presentation to the parish of Clackmannan. This occurred in 1832, and although the removal was from the charge of a parish of less than 300 to one of more than 3000 souls, while much of the zeal and ardour of youth had departed from him, he addressed himself to the duties of his new charge with renewed diligence. Even here, however, he was not long to remain, as a still more congenial field of occupation awaited him. It had long been felt that a university was his proper sphere; and in 1834 a vacancy occurred in the natural philosophy chair of King's College, Aberdeen. The *senatus* of the college, who were patrons of the charge, offered it to Dr. Fleming, and by him it was gratefully accepted.

Occupying so congenial a position, Dr. Fleming entered heartily into its duties, and while instructing his class he continued those studies by which natural science might be improved, and new discoveries made in it. In this manner he quietly continued his course from year to year, and although the life of an Aberdonian professor is seldom abundant in incident, his investigations continued to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge, and add to his reputation. This was manifested in 1840, when Agassiz and Buckland visited him at Aberdeen: on this occasion the celebrated Swiss naturalist acknowledged that Dr. Fleming had the merit of being the first who had discovered the traces of fossil fishes in the old red sandstone. This important scientific discovery, which he had started in earlier life, and prosecuted step by step with increasing conviction, while each fresh conviction had been made the subject of a public announcement, was finally confirmed beyond question by the remains of a fish which he found connected with a bed of coal in Clackmannan. His account of the discovery is interesting, as it shows the patient watchfulness with which he regarded these phenomena of nature, and the caution with which he advanced to a conclusion. Writing of the process and its result to Professor Jameson, he says:—"When this organism was first exhibited to me, I was at no loss to recognize the resemblance between the plates or scales with which it was invested, and which occur in natural juxtaposition, and objects of a similar form

and structure, though detached or unconnected, which twenty years before I had procured in the county of Fife, from a bed covering the marine or mountain limestone on which the coal-formation of that district rests as its fundamental rock. As the consideration of the form, structure, and composition of the organisms from Fife had induced me to consider them as *the scales of a fish*, I was led, under the influence of this opinion, and observing the scales of the Clackmannan petrification occupying both sides of the specimen, to seek for traces of the appearance of the vertebral column, and I soon satisfied myself as to the indications of its existence at both extremities of the mass. In this conviction I despatched the example to Edinburgh, with directions to the lapidary for making a section confirmatory of the views of its nature which I entertained. When in the hands of the lapidary it was inspected by several members of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, whose zeal in the study of organic remains had received a fresh impulse from the numerous specimens which had been found in the limestone of Burdie House. In the opinion of more than one member of the society, labouring at the time under *saurian* or *sauroid* prejudices, my specimen was pronounced to be the fragment of a reptile, not of a fish."

In 1840, the Aberdeen Philosophical Society having been formed, Professor Fleming felt much interest in its progress, and at its first meeting, on the 7th of February, read to it a paper "On a Vein of Animal Origin occurring on a Reef of Rocks called Skerry Vore, on the West Coast of Scotland." In 1841 he communicated to the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* a paper on a more important subject, which was the "Description of a Species of Skate new to the British Fauna." The next subject that occupied the mind of Dr. Fleming was a proposal in which natural science was to be made subservient to the interests of humanity. While residing at Aberdeen he became aware of the yearly loss of life that occurred on the east coast, from the want of safe harbours for vessels overtaken by a storm. In this case he communicated in an extended form, to the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, a paper which he had previously read to the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, "On the Expediency of forming Harbours of Refuge on the East Coast of Scotland, between the Moray Frith and the Frith of Forth." In this communication his geological knowledge was employed both in pointing out the localities which should be chosen and those that were to be avoided, while his patriotism was indignant, and his causticity called forth by the indifference of our government authorities to an evil that had so long invoked the remedy. "That no public inquiry," he said, "should have been instituted respecting the exposed state of the east coast of Scotland, with a view to the formation of harbours of refuge, when it was granted elsewhere, may seem inexplicable, unless we bear in mind that lamentable apathy exhibited by our representatives in parliament whenever Scottish interests of a *general* character are concerned." Attention, although tardily, was directed to the subject, and it is hoped that the appeal will not finally be in vain.

Although Dr. Fleming was so devoted a follower of science, he had never been neglectful of the duties of his clerical office; and this was attested by the affection with which his parishioners of Bressay, Flisk, and Clackmannan had successively regarded him, and the regret they had shown in parting with him. Even when he became a professor, also, he never ceased to remember that he had been a minister, or to be indifferent about the welfare of the church. And now that the church was in difficulties

from which a disruption was inevitable, he was prepared to show, by his sacrifice both of position and emolument, how deeply he had felt upon the question at issue. It is true, indeed, that while the ten years' conflict was going on he had continued his studies as before, and only raised his head at intervals to ascertain the movements of the parties: but it must be remembered that he had neither talent nor liking for controversies of ecclesiastical polity, and he saw that the field was occupied by those who were better fitted for such contests. He therefore continued to find "sermons in stones," and not only sermons, but profound scientific truths, and calmly to announce them to the world while the battle was raging around him. When the time approached he was resolved to join the retiring party, and not abide by his professorship until he should be thrust out of it by those who had won the victory. But must he therefore abandon his beloved pursuits, in which he had hitherto been so successful, and commence life anew? Even this kind of martyrdom he was resolved to endure for what he considered the cause of conscience, and the inalienable rights of the church. Writing to Dr. Chalmers in 1843, soon after the Disruption had occurred, and announcing the likelihood of his departure from King's College, he thus expresses himself in regard to his prospects for the future:—"Now it becomes a measure of necessity to look the evil in the face and provide against it, especially after what has taken place in the House of Lords. . . . I might recommence preaching, and, although an old razor and rather rusty, I might yet get a call and be usefully employed. But while I labour under the conviction that in such a station I could not do *much good* to the Free Church, I have strong bodily and mental objections to such a course, as you may easily conceive, after having been nine years absent from a parish charge." He then suggests the mode in which he might be employed more profitably to the cause and the interests of religion at large. "Were a Free Church College started in Edinburgh, I could, in the chair of *natural history*, bring an amount of influence in that department, in which I formerly published a good deal, likely to be highly useful to the institution. Were a chair of *natural theology* attached to the Divinity Hall, I think I could occupy it with considerable advantage to the Free Church." He then gives his views of a course of this kind extending over three years, of which the first year should comprise the inorganic kingdom; the second biology and phytology, or the structure, functions, and distribution of plants; and the third, zoology. After mentioning the subjects that should be treated under each head of the three years' course, he proceeds to state the advantages that would result from it. "Such a course would qualify for conversing with farmers, miners, fishermen, &c., not merely by a knowledge of facts, but by an acquaintance with the philosophy of the subject, and, viewed in this light, it would give a certain amount of authority, as you are well aware, to a parish minister. But to a missionary what a power would be acquired! . . . I need not expatiate to you on the influence which such a course would exercise on the minds of the students of the Free Church, or the power of pulpit illustration which it would furnish. Multitudes do not see God in his works because they are not qualified to read the book of nature. They have not studied the subject sufficiently in its details to philosophize safely. Now, were the facts sufficiently numerous and varied in their character, the conclusions would be useful and stable. Such a course would supply to the divinity student the place of classes of mineralogy and geo-

logy, phytology and zoology, and constitute a theological commentary on the earth, its contents and inhabitants." After this enthusiastic but not overstrained description of the benefits which such a course would impart to the future teachers of religion, Dr. Fleming disinterestedly adds, "I beg of you, in judging of this scheme of a natural theology chair, to keep *me* out of view, and to determine respecting it wholly as a new branch of educational preparation exclusively on its own merits." To Dr. Chalmers such an application could not be made in vain. From the taste which had sprung up among the highest intellects for the study of geology and zoology, he saw that the church must keep ahead, or at least abreast, of such a scientific movement, in which the interests of religion were so deeply implicated, and that unless theological students were accomplished in such knowledge, they could no longer be the authoritative teachers and guides of the people. He therefore cordially received the proposal, and entered into it with his wonted enthusiasm. It was submitted to the founders and heads of the contemplated Free Church College, who regarded it with equal partiality. By their desire a new plan was drawn out by Dr. Fleming, in which a single year's course was substituted for one of three, and various modifications introduced into the details, to suit the wants of the age and the difficulties of a newly constructed church. The chair of natural science being established in the Free Church College, there was but one opinion as to the man best fitted to occupy it; and accordingly, in 1845, at the General Assembly of the Free Church held at Inverness, Dr. Fleming was unanimously appointed to the professorship.

After this the life of the venerable professor was spent partly in the duties of his charge, and partly in communicating through the press the discoveries he was still continuing to prosecute; and, in the latter case, his chief medium was the *North British Review*, established chiefly by Free Church influence, and placed under the editorship of Dr. Welsh. Old age, without abating the intellectual energy and activity, or blunting the wit of Dr. Fleming, which always had a keen edge, only mellowed his temper and repressed his pugnacity, so that he was not only at peace with the world at large, but in close friendship with his former rivals and antagonists in science, who now could only wonder why they had quarrelled with him. But to the last his chief intellectual characteristic, and one so necessary for a guide in the investigations of natural science, abode with him—to wit, his love of facts, and contempt for mere hypotheses. What he examined with his own senses, or received from testimony that could not be impeached, he admitted into his system—but theories he despised, and to the theorist he turned a deaf ear let him theorize never so wisely. Among the many incidents illustrative of this scrupulous allegiance to the hard requirements of science with which he startled and sometimes amused his students, was one which occurred while he was professor in the Free Church College. On a scientific excursion with his class he was explaining to them the boulder-clay, and the order of the successive strata that lay beneath it, when a dapper young student, impatient to chip the earth's shell and get to the bottom of things, abruptly asked, "But, doctor, what is at the centre of all?" "I don't know, sir," replied the professor, "for I never was there."

After he had held his professorship in the Free Church College for twelve years, Dr. Fleming died after a short illness; and it was characteristic of his love of science and indefatigable industry, that he was withdrawn while in the midst of active occupa-

tion. He had written his last work, *The Lithology of Edinburgh*, and had passed the whole of it through the press, with the exception of the last half-sheet, when his final brief sickness surprised him. But he scarcely could be said to be surprised who had been living in readiness to die; and he departed in the consciousness that he was removing to a sphere of clearer vision, and a more intimate knowledge of the Creator. His death occurred on the 18th of November, 1857, and his best epitaph is the following notice from the minutes of the Royal Physical Society:—"In his capacity as professor of natural science in the New College, it is believed that Dr. Fleming has been eminently successful in imparting much of his own healthy spirit to the many students who have listened to his prelections, while his own full testimony to the compatibility of a sincere belief in revealed truth with the acceptance of the facts and views of modern science, must have helped not a little to stem the torrent of speculative infidelity which threatened not long ago to break forth in our land."

FLEMING, ROBERT, an eminent divine and theological writer, was the son of the Rev. Robert Fleming, a clergyman, first at Cambuslang, and afterwards at Rotterdam, and author of a well-known work, entitled *The Fulfilling of the Scriptures*. The subject of this memoir received his education partly in his native country, and partly in the universities of Leyden and Utrecht. He first officiated as a clergyman to the English congregation at Leyden, and afterwards he succeeded to the church at Rotterdam, where his father died in 1694. In the year 1698 he removed to London to settle as pastor of the Scottish congregation in Lothbury, not only at the earnest invitation of the people, but by the desire of King William, with whom he had formed an intimacy in Holland. This monarch used frequently to send for Fleming, to consult with him upon Scottish affairs; an intercourse conducted, at the desire of the divine, with the greatest secrecy.

Fleming, though a dissenter from the Church of Scotland as now established, was an admirer of her fundamental and original institution. It was not inconsistent with this profession that he zealously upheld hereditary monarchy as a principle in government. Popery in the church, and tyranny in the state, were what he most detested. In personal character Fleming was a pious, mild, and affable man. In learning he stood very high, being conversant not only with the fathers and councils, and the ecclesiastical and civil historians, but with the oriental languages, the works of the Jewish rabbis, and the whole circle of polite authors, ancient and modern. On account of his amiable manners and extensive knowledge, he was held in great esteem both by the foreign universities and by the most learned persons at home. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and many other eminent dignitaries of the English church, extended their friendship to him. By the dissenting clergymen of the city, though connected with a different national church, he was chosen one of the preachers of the merchants' Tuesday lecture at Salters' Hall. Lord Carmichael, the secretary of state for Scotland, offered him the office of principal of the university of Glasgow, which he declined, from conscientious scruples.

Fleming published various works in divinity; but the most remarkable was a discourse, printed in 1701, on *The Rise and Fall of the Papacy*. Like many other sincerely pious men of that age, he was deeply affected by the position in which the Protestant religion stood in respect of the Papacy, threat-

ened as Great Britain was, by the power of France, and the designs of a Catholic claimant of the throne. Proceeding upon the mysteries of the Apocalypse and other data, he made some calculations of a very striking nature, and which were strangely verified. On the subject of the pouring out of the fourth vial, he says:—"There is ground to hope that, about the beginning of another such century, things may again alter for the better, for I cannot but hope that some new mortification of the chief supporters of antichrist will then happen; and perhaps the French monarchy may begin to be considerably humbled about that time: that, whereas the present French king takes for his motto *Nec pluribus impar*, he may at length, or rather his successors, and the monarchy itself (at least before the year 1794), be forced to acknowledge, that, in respect to neighbouring potentates, he is even *singulis impar*."

"But as to the expiration of this vial," he continues, "I do fear it will not be until the year 1794. The reason of which conjecture is this—that I find the pope got a new foundation of exaltation when Justinian, upon his conquest of Italy, left it in a great measure to the pope's management, being willing to eclipse his own authority to advance that of this haughty prelate. Now, this being in the year 552, this, by the addition of 1260, reaches down to the year 1811, which, according to prophetic account, is the year 1794. And then I do suppose the fourth vial will end, and the fifth commence, by a new mortification of the Papacy, after this vial has lasted 148 years; which indeed is long in comparison with the former vials; but if it be considered in relation to the fourth, fifth, and sixth trumpets, it is but short, seeing the fourth lasted 190 years, the fifth 302, and the sixth 393."

It is important to observe, that Fleming immediately subjoins, that he gave "his speculations of what is future no higher character than guesses." He adds: "therefore, in the fourth and last place, we may justly suppose that the French monarchy, after it has scorched others, will itself consume by doing so; its fire and that which is the fuel that maintains it, resting insensibly till towards the end of this century, as the Spanish monarchy did before, towards the end of the sixteenth age."

In the month of January, 1793, when Louis XVI. was about to suffer on the scaffold, the apparent predictions of Fleming came into notice in the British newspapers. Again, in 1848, the attempt to liberate Italy, and the temporary flight of the pope, attracted attention to Fleming's very remarkable calculation as to the time of the pouring out of the fifth vial. "This judgment," says he, "will probably begin about the year 1794, and expire about the year 1848; . . . for I do suppose that, seeing the pope received the title of supreme bishop no sooner than the year 606, he cannot be supposed to have any vial poured out upon his seat immediately (so as to ruin his authority so signally as this judgment must be supposed to do) until the year 1848, which is the date of the 1260 years in prophetic account, when they are reckoned from the year 606."

The anxiety of this worthy man respecting the fate of Protestantism and the Hanover succession, at length brought on a disease which obstructed his usefulness, and threatened his life. Though he recovered from it, and lived some years, his feeble constitution finally sank under his grief for the loss of some dear friends, the death of some noble patriots, the divisions amongst Protestants, and the confederacy of France and Rome to bind Europe in chains. He died May 24, 1716.

FLETCHER, ANDREW, so much celebrated for his patriotism and political knowledge, was the son of Sir Robert Fletcher of Salton and Innerpeffer, by Catharine Bruce, daughter of Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan, and was born in the year 1653. His descent was truly noble, his father being the fifth in a direct line from Sir Bernard Fletcher of the county of York, and his mother of the noble race of Bruce; the patriarch of the family of Clackmannan having been the third son of Robert de Bruce, Lord of Annandale, grandfather of Robert de Bruce, King of Scots. The subject of this memoir had the misfortune to lose his father in early youth; but he was, by that parent, on his death-bed, consigned to the care of Gilbert Burnet, then minister of Salton, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who carefully instructed him in literature and religion, as well as in the principles of free government, of which Fletcher became afterwards such an eminent advocate. After completing his course of education under his excellent preceptor, he went upon his travels, and spent several years in surveying the manners and examining the institutions of the principal continental states. His first appearance as a public character was in the parliament held by James, Duke of York, as royal commissioner in the year 1681. In this parliament Fletcher sat as commissioner for the shire of East Lothian, and manifested the most determined opposition to the arbitrary and tyrannical measures of the court. In a short time he found it necessary to withdraw himself, first into England, to consult with his reverend preceptor, Dr. Burnet, and afterwards, by his advice, to Holland. For his opposition to the test, and to the general spirit of the government, he was, not long after, summoned to appear before the lords of his majesty's privy-council at Edinburgh. Of the spirit of this court, the most abominable that has disgraced the annals of Great Britain, Fletcher was too well aware to put himself in its power; and for his non-appearance he was outlawed and his estate confiscated. Holland was at this time the resort of many of the best men of both kingdoms who had been obliged to expatriate themselves to escape the fury of an infatuated government, and with these Fletcher formed the closest intimacy. In the year 1683 he accompanied Baillie of Jerviswood to England, in order to concert measures with the friends of liberty there, and was admitted into the secrets of Lord Russell's council of six. This assembly consisted of the Duke of Monmouth, the Lords Russell, Essex, and Howard, Algernon Sydney, and John Hampden, grandson to the immortal patriot of that name. Tyranny was, however, at this time triumphant. Monmouth was obliged to abscond; Russell was apprehended, tried, and executed, principally through the evidence of his associate, the unprincipled Lord Howard. Essex was imprisoned, and either cut his own throat, or had it cut by assassins—history has never determined which. Sydney was executed, and Howard subjected to a fine of £40,000 sterling. Many other persons of inferior note were executed for this plot. Jerviswood fell into the hands of the Scottish administration, and was most illegally and iniquitously put to death. Fletcher too was eagerly sought after, and, had he been apprehended, would certainly have shared the same fate. He, however, escaped again to the Continent, where he devoted his time to the study of public law, and for some time seems to have had little correspondence with his native country.

In the beginning of the year 1685, when James VII. acceded to the throne of Britain, Fletcher came to the Hague, where were assembled Monmouth,

Argyle, Melville, Polworth, Torwoodlie, Mr. James Stuart, Lord Stair, and many other gentlemen, both Scottish and English, when the unfortunate expeditions of Argyle and Monmouth were concerted. It does not appear, however, that Fletcher was a leader among these gentlemen. His temper was of the most stern and unaccommodating character, and he was bent upon setting up a commonwealth in Scotland, or at least a monarchy so limited as to bear very little resemblance to a kingdom. He had drunk deep of the spirit of ancient Greece, with which the greater part of his associates, patriots though they were, had no great acquaintance; and he had a consciousness of his own superiority that could not go well down with those feudal chieftains who supposed that their birth alone entitled them to precedence in council, as well as to command in the field. His own country was certainly dearer to him than any other, and in it he was likely to put forth his energies with the greatest effect; yet from his dissatisfaction with their plans of operation, he did not embark with his countrymen but with the Duke of Monmouth, in whom, if successful, he expected less obstruction to his republican views. Fletcher was certainly at the outset warmly attached to Monmouth's scheme of landing in England, though he subsequently wished it to be laid aside; and he afterwards told Burnet that Monmouth, though a weak young man, was sensible of the imprudence of his adventure, but that he was pushed on to it against his own sense and reason, and was piqued upon the point of honour in hazarding his person with his friends. He accordingly landed at Lynn, in Dorsetshire, on the 11th of June, 1685, with about 100 followers, of whom the subject of this memoir was one of the most distinguished. Crowds of people soon flocked to join the standard of Monmouth, and had he been qualified for such an enterprise as that he had now undertaken the Revolution of 1688 might perhaps have been anticipated. He, however, possessed no such qualifications, nor did those on whom he had principally depended. Lord Gray, to whom he had given the command of the horse, was sent out with a small party to disperse a detachment of militia that had been assembled to oppose him. The militia retreated before the troops of Monmouth, who stood firm; but Gray their general fled, carrying back to his camp the news of a defeat, which was in a short time contradicted by the return of the troops in good order. Monmouth had intended to join Fletcher along with Gray in the command of his cavalry, and the Scottish patriot certainly would not have fled, so long as one man stood by him; but unfortunately, at the very time when Gray was out on the service in which he so completely disgraced his character, Fletcher was sent out in another direction, in which he was scarcely less unfortunate, having, in a personal quarrel about a horse which he had too hastily laid hold of for his own use, killed the mayor of Lynn, who had newly come in to join the insurgent army, in consequence of which he was under the necessity of leaving the camp immediately. The melancholy fate of Monmouth is generally known.

Though there cannot be a doubt that the shooting of the mayor of Lynn was the real cause of Fletcher's abandoning the enterprise so early, he himself never admitted it. He had joined, he said, the Duke of Monmouth on the footing of his manifestations, which promised to provide for the permanent security of civil liberty and the Protestant religion, by the calling of a general congress of delegates from the people at large, to form a free constitution of government, in which no claim to the throne was to be ad-

mitted, but with the free choice of the representatives of the people. From the proclaiming of Monmouth king, which was done at Taunton, he saw, he said, that he had been deceived, and resolved to proceed no further, every step from that moment being treason against the just rights of the nation, and deep treachery on the part of Monmouth. At any rate, finding that he could be no longer useful, he left Taunton, and embarked aboard a vessel for Spain, where he no sooner arrived, than he was thrown into prison, and, on the application of the British ambassador, was ordered to be delivered up and transmitted to London in a Spanish ship fitted up for that purpose. In this hopeless situation, looking one morning through the bars of his dungeon, he was accosted by a person who made signs that he wished to speak with him. Looking around him Fletcher perceived an open door, at which he was met by his deliverer, with whom he passed unmolested through three different military guards, all of whom seemed to be fast asleep, and without being permitted to return thanks to his guide, made good his escape, with the assistance of one who evidently had been sent for the express purpose, but of whom he never obtained the smallest information. Travelling in disguise, he proceeded through Spain, and considering himself out of danger, made a leisurely pilgrimage through the country, amusing himself in the libraries of the convents, where he had the good fortune to find many rare and curious books, some of which he was enabled to purchase and bring along with him, to the enriching of the excellent library he had already formed at his seat of Salton, in East Lothian. In the course of his peregrinations he made several very narrow escapes, among which the following is remarkable, as having apparently furnished the hint for a similar incident in a well-known fiction. He was proceeding to a town where he intended to have passed the night; but in the skirts of a wood, a few miles from thence, upon entering a road to the right, he was warned by a woman of respectable appearance to take the left-hand road, as there would be danger in the other direction. Upon his arrival he found the citizens alarmed by the news of a robbery and murder, which had taken place on the road against which he had been cautioned, and in which he would have certainly been implicated, through an absurd Spanish law, even although not seen to commit any crime. After leaving Spain he proceeded into Hungary, where he entered as a volunteer into the army, and distinguished himself by his gallantry and military talents. From this distant scene of activity, however, he was soon recalled by the efforts that at length were making to break the yoke of tyranny and the staff of the oppressor that had so long lain heavy on the kingdom of Britain. Coming to the Hague he found there his old friends, Stair, Melville, Polworth, Cardross, Stuart of Coltness, Stuart of Goodtrees, Dr. Burnet, and Mr. Cunningham, who still thought his principles high and extravagant, though they associated with him, and were happy to have the influence of his name and the weight of his talents to aid them on so momentous an occasion. Though not permitted to be a leader in the great work of the Revolution—for which, indeed, his principles, which were so different from those of the men who effected it, disqualified him—he came home in the train of his countrymen, who by that great event were restored to their country and to their rightful possessions; and, according to the statement of the Earl of Buchan,¹ made a noble appearance in the convention

¹ *Life of Fletcher of Salton.*

which met in Scotland after the Revolution for settling the new government. Lockhart of Carnwath, who was no friend to the new government, nor of the principles upon which it was founded, takes no notice of this portion of the life of Fletcher, though he is copious upon his speeches, and indeed every part of his conduct, when he afterwards became a violent opposititionist.

In the year 1692, when every effort to bring about a counter revolution was made, Fletcher, though strongly, and perhaps justly, disgusted with King William, renouncing every selfish principle, and anxious only to promote the welfare of the country, exerted himself to the utmost to preserve what had been already attained in the way of a free government, though it came far short of what he wished, and what he fondly, too fondly, hoped the nation had been ripe to bear. In all that regarded the public welfare he was indeed indefatigable, and that without any appearance of interested motives. He was the first friend and patron of that extraordinary man William Paterson, to whom the honour of the formation of the Bank of England ought, in justice, to be ascribed, and who projected the Darien Company, the most splendid idea of colonization that was ever attempted to be put in practice. "Paterson," says Sir John Dalrymple, "on his return to London, formed a friendship with Mr. Fletcher of Salton, whose mind was inflamed with the love of public good, and all of whose ideas to procure it had a sublimity in them. Fletcher disliked England, merely because he loved Scotland to excess, and therefore the report common in Scotland is probably true, that he was the person who persuaded Paterson to trust the fate of his project to his own countrymen alone, and to let them have the sole benefit, glory, and danger in it, for in its danger Fletcher deemed some of its glory to consist. Although Fletcher had nothing to hope for, and nothing to fear, because he had a good estate and no children, and though he was of the country party, yet, in all his schemes for the public good, he was in use to go as readily to the king's ministers as to his own friends, being indifferent who had the honour of doing good, provided it was done. His house of Salton, in East Lothian, was near to that of the Marquis of Tweeddale, then minister for Scotland, and they were often together. Fletcher brought Paterson down to Scotland with him, presented him to the marquis, and then, with that power which a vehement spirit always possesses over a diffident one, persuaded the statesman, by arguments of public good, and of the honour that would redound to his administration, to adopt the project. Lord Stair and Mr. Johnston, the two secretaries of state, patronized those abilities in Paterson which they possessed in themselves, and the lord-advocate, Sir James Stewart, the same man who had adjusted the Prince of Orange's declaration at the Revolution, and whose son was married to a daughter of Lord Stair, went naturally along with his connections." From the above it appears that Fletcher, next to the projector Paterson, who was, like himself, an ardent lover of liberty, had the principal hand in forwarding the colonization of Darien, and to his ardent and expansive mind we have no doubt that the plan owed some, at least, of its excellencies, and also perhaps the greatest of its defects. "From this period," remarks Lord Buchan, "till the meeting of the union parliament, Fletcher was uniform and indefatigable in his parliamentary conduct, continually attentive to the rights of the people, and jealous, as every friend of his country ought to be, of their invasion by the king and his ministers; for it is as much of the nature of kings

VOL. II.

and ministers to invade and destroy the rights of the people, as it is of foxes and weasels to rifle a poultry-yard, and destroy the poultry. All of them, therefore," continues his lordship, "ought to be *muzzled*." Among other things that Fletcher judged necessary for the preservation of public liberty, was that of national militia. In a discourse upon this subject he says, "A good and effective militia is of such importance to a nation, that it is the chief part of the constitution of any free government. For though, as to other things, the constitution be never so slight, a good militia will always preserve the public liberty; but in the best constitution that ever was, as to all other parts of government, if the militia be not upon a right footing, the liberty of that people must perish."

Scotland, ever since the union of crowns, had been stripped of all her importance in a national point of view, and the great object at this time was to exclude English influence from her councils, and to restore her to her original state of independence—a thing which could never be accomplished so long as the King of Scotland was the King of England. James VI., when he succeeded to the English crown, wiser than any of his statesmen, saw this difficulty, and proposed to obviate it by the only possible means, a union of the two kingdoms; but, owing to the inveterate prejudices of so many ages, neither of the kingdoms could at that time be brought to submit to the judicious proposal. Fletcher and his compatriots saw what had been the miserable evils, but they saw not the proper remedy; hence they pursued a plan that, but for the superior wisdom of the English, would have separated the crowns, brought on hostilities, and the entire subjection of the country by force of arms. In all the measures which had for their object the annihilating of English influence, Fletcher had the principal hand, and there were some of them of singular boldness. In case of the crowns of the two kingdoms continuing to be worn by one person, the following, after pointing out in strong terms the evils that had accrued to Scotland from this unfortunate association, were the limitations proposed by Fletcher:—"1st, That elections shall be made at every Michaelmas head court, for a new parliament every year, to sit the 1st of November next following, and adjourn themselves from time to time till next Michaelmas—that they choose their own president—and that everything shall be determined by balloting, in place of voting. 2d, That so many lesser barons shall be added to the parliament, as there have been noblemen created since the last augmentation of the number of the barons; and that in all time coming, for every nobleman that shall be created, there shall be a baron added to the parliament. 3d, That no man have a vote in parliament but a nobleman or elected members. 4th, That the kings shall give the sanction to all laws offered by the estates, and that the president of the parliament be empowered by his majesty to give the sanction in his absence, and have ten pounds sterling a day of salary. 5th, That a committee of one-and-thirty members, of which nine to be a quorum, chosen out of their own number by every parliament, shall, during the intervals of parliament, under the king, have the administration of the government, be his council, and accountable to the next parliament, with power on extraordinary occasions to call the parliament together, and that, in said council, all things be determined by balloting in place of voting. 6th, That the king, without consent of parliament, shall not have the power of making peace and war, or that of concluding any treaty with any other state or potentate. 7th, That

38

all places and offices, both civil and military, and all pensions, formerly conferred by our kings, shall ever after be given by parliament. 8th, That no regiment or company of horse, foot, or dragoons, be kept on foot in peace or war but by consent of parliament. 9th, That all the fencible men of the nation betwixt sixty and sixteen, be with all diligence possible armed with bayonets and firelocks all of a calibre, and continue always provided in such arms, with ammunition suitable. 10th, That no general indemnity nor pardon for any transgression against the public shall be valid without consent of parliament. 11th, That the fifteen senators of the college of justice shall be incapable of being members of parliament, or of any other office or pension, but the salary that belongs to their place to be increased as the parliament shall think fit; that the office of president shall be in three of their number, to be named by parliament; and that there be no extraordinary lords. And also, that the lords of the justice court shall be distinct from that of the session, and under the same restrictions. 12th, That if any king break in upon any of these conditions of government, he shall, by the estates, be declared to have forfeited the crown." The above limitations did not pass the house, though they met with very general support; yet, something little short of them was really passed, and received the royal assent. The so much applauded Act of Security made many provisions respecting the mode of proceeding in parliament in case of the queen's death, with the conditions under which the successor to the crown of England was to be allowed to succeed to that of Scotland, which were to be "at least, freedom of navigation, free communication of trade and liberty of the plantations to the kingdom and subjects of Scotland, established by the parliament of England." It also provided, "that the whole Protestant heritors, with all the burghs of the kingdom, should forthwith provide themselves with fire-arms for all the fencible men who were Protestants within their respective bounds; and they were further ordained and appointed to exercise the said fencible men once a month, at least." The same parliament passed an act anent peace and war, which provided, among other things, that after her majesty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no person, at the same time King or Queen of Scotland and England, shall have sole power of making war with any prince, state, or potentate whatsoever, without consent of parliament. A proposal made at this time for settling the succession, as the English parliament had done, in the house of Hanover, was treated with the utmost contempt, some proposing to burn it, and others insisting that the member who proposed it should be sent to the castle; and it was at last thrown out by a majority of fifty-seven voices. Another limitation proposed by Fletcher was, that all places, offices, and pensions, which had been formerly given by our king, should after her majesty and heirs of her body, be conferred only by parliament so long as the crowns remained united. "Without this limitation," he continues, "our poverty and subjection to the court of England will every day increase, and the question we have now before us is, whether we will be free men, or slaves for ever? whether we will continue to defend or break the yoke of our independence? and whether we will choose to live poor and miserable, or rich, free, and happy? Let no man think to object that this limitation takes away the whole power of the prince; for the same condition of government is found in one of the most absolute monarchies of the world, China." Quoting the authority of Sir William Temple for this fact, he continues, "and if, under the greatest absolute monarchy of

the world, in a country where the prince actually resides—if among heathens this be accounted a necessary part of government for the encouragement of virtue, shall it be denied to Christians living under a prince who resides in another nation? Shall it be denied to people who have a right to liberty, and yet are not capable of any, in their present circumstances, without this limitation?" We cannot refrain copying the following sentences on the benefits he anticipated from the measure:—"This limitation will undoubtedly enrich the nation by stopping that perpetual issue of money to England, which has reduced this country to extreme poverty. This limitation does not flatter us with the hopes of riches, by an uncertain project—does not require so much as the condition of our own industry; but by saving great sums to the country, will every year furnish a stock sufficient to carry on a considerable trade, or to establish some useful manufacture at home with the highest probability of success: because our ministers, by this rule of government, would be freed from the influence of English councils, and our trade be entirely in our own hands, and not under the power of the court, as it was in the affair of Darien. If we do not attain this limitation, our attendance at London will continue to drain this nation of all those sums which should be a stock for trade. Besides, by frequenting that court, we not only spend our money, but learn the expensive modes and ways of living of a rich and luxurious nation; we lay out, yearly, great sums in furniture and equipage, to the unspeakable prejudice of the trade and manufactures of our own country. Not that I think it amiss to travel into England, in order to see and learn their industry in trade and husbandry; but at court what can we learn, except a horrid corruption of manners and an expensive way of living, that we may for ever after be both poor and profligate? This limitation will secure to us our freedom and independence. It has been often said in this house, that our princes are captives in England, and, indeed, one would not wonder if, when our interest happens to be different from that of England, our kings, who must be supported by the riches and power of that nation in all their undertakings, should prefer an English interest before that of this country; it is yet less strange that English ministers should advise and procure the advancement of such persons to the ministry of Scotland, as will comply with their measures and the king's orders, and to surmount the difficulties they may meet with from a true Scottish interest, that places and pensions should be bestowed upon parliament men and others. I say, these things are so far from wonder, that they are inevitable in the present state of our affairs; but I hope they likewise show us that we ought not to continue any longer in this condition. Now, this limitation is advantageous to all. The prince will no more be put upon the hardship of deciding between an English and a Scottish interest, or the difficulty of reconciling what he owes to each nation in consequence of his coronation oath. Even English ministers will no longer lie under the temptation of meddling in Scottish affairs, nor the ministers of this kingdom, together with all those who have places and pensions, be any more subject to the worst of all slavery. But if the influences I mentioned before still continue, what will any other limitation avail us? What shall we be the better for our act concerning the power of war and peace, since by the force of an English interest and influence, we cannot fail of being engaged in every war and neglected in every peace? By this limitation our parliament will become the most uncorrupted senate of all Europe. No man will be tempted to vote against the interest of his

country, when his country shall have all the bribes in her own hands—offices, places, and pensions. It will be no longer necessary to lose one half of the customs, that parliament men may be made collectors; we will not desire to exclude the officers of state from sitting in this house, when the country shall have the nomination of them; and our parliament, free from corruption, cannot fail to redress all our grievances. We shall then have no cause to fear a refusal of the royal assent to our acts, for we shall have no evil counsellor nor enemy of his country to advise it. When this condition of government shall take place, the royal assent will be the ornament of the prince, and never be refused to the desires of the people; a general unanimity will be found in this house, in every part of the government, and among all ranks and conditions of men. The distinctions of court and country party shall no more be heard in this nation, nor shall the prince and people any longer have a different interest. Rewards and punishments will be in the hands of those who live among us, and consequently best know the merit of men, by which means virtue will be recompensed and vice discouraged, and the reign and government of the prince will flourish in peace and justice. I should never make an end if I should prosecute all the great advantages of this limitation, which, like a divine influence, turns all to good, as the want of it has hitherto poisoned everything, and brought all to ruin."

If Fletcher really believed the one half of what he ascribes in this speech to his favourite limitation, he was an enthusiast of no common order. We suspect, however, that his design was in the first place to render the king insignificant, and then to dismiss him altogether, it being one of his favourite maxims, that the trappings of a monarchy and a great aristocracy would patch up a very clever little commonwealth. The high-flying Tories of that day, however, or, in other words, the Jacobites, in the heat of their rage and the bitterness of their disappointment, clung to him as their last hope, supporting even his most deadly attacks upon the royal prerogative, from the desperate pleasure of seeing the kingly office, since they could not preserve it for their own idol, rendered useless, ridiculous, or intolerable to any one else who should enjoy it. By this means there was a seeming consistency in those ebullitions of national independence, and a strength and vigour which they really did not possess, but which alarmed the English ministry; and the union of the kingdoms, which good sense and good feeling ought to have accomplished at least one century earlier, was effected at last as a work of political necessity fully as much as of mercy. In every stage of this important business Fletcher was its most determined opponent, in which he was, as usual, seconded by the whole strength of the Jacobites. Happily, however, through the prudence of the English ministry, the richness of her treasury, and the imbecility of the Duke of Hamilton, the leader of the Jacobites, he was unsuccessful, and retired from public life under the melancholy idea that he had outlived not only his country's glory, but her very existence, having witnessed, as he thought, the last glimmering of hope, and heard the last sounds of freedom that were ever to make glad the hearts of her unfortunate children. He died at London in 1716.

The character of Fletcher has been the subject of almost universal and unlimited panegyric. "He was," says the Earl of Buchan, "by far the most nervous and correct speaker in the parliament of Scotland, for he drew his style from the pure models of antiquity, and not from the grosser practical ora-

tory of his contemporaries; so that his speeches will bear a comparison with the best speeches of the reign of Queen Anne, the Augustan age of Great Britain." Lockhart says, "He was always an admirer of both ancient and modern republics, but that he showed a sincere and honest inclination towards the honour and interest of his country. The idea of England's domineering over Scotland was what his generous soul could not endure. The indignities and oppression Scotland lay under galled him to the heart, so that, in his learned and elaborate discourses, he exposed them with undaunted courage and pathetic eloquence. He was blessed with a soul that hated and despised whatever was mean and unbecoming a gentleman, and was so steadfast to what he thought right, that no hazard nor advantage—not the universal empire, nor the gold of America—could tempt him to yield or desert it. And I may affirm that in all his life he never once pursued a measure with the least prospect of anything by end to himself, nor farther than he judged it for the common benefit and advantage of his country. He was master of the English, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian languages, and well versed in history, the civil law, and all kinds of learning. He was a strict and nice observer of all the points of honour, and had some experience of the art of war, having been some time a volunteer in both the land and sea service. He was in his private conversation affable to his friends (but could not endure to converse with those he thought enemies to their country), and free of all manner of vice. He had a penetrating, clear, and lively apprehension, but so exceedingly wedded to his own opinions, that there were few (and these too must be his beloved friends, and of whom he had a good opinion) he could endure to reason against him, and did for the most part so closely and unalterably adhere to what he advanced, which was frequently very singular, that he'd break with his party before he'd alter the least jot of his scheme and maxims; and therefore it was impossible for any set of men, that did not give up themselves to be absolutely directed by him, to please him, so as to carry him along in all points: and thence it came to pass, that he often in parliament acted a part by himself, though in the main he stuck close to the country party, and was their Cicero. He was no doubt an enemy to all monarchical governments; but I do very well believe, his aversion to the English and the union was so great, that in revenge to them he'd have sided with the royal family. But as that was a subject not fit to be entered on with him, this is only a conjecture from some inuendoes I have heard him make. So far is certain, he liked, commended, and conversed with high-flying Tories more than any other set of men, acknowledging them to be the best countrymen, and of most honour and integrity. To sum up all, he was a learned, gallant, honest, and every other way well accomplished gentleman; and if ever a man proposes to serve and merit well of his country, let him place his courage, zeal, and constancy as a pattern before him, and think himself sufficiently applauded and rewarded by obtaining the character of being like Andrew Fletcher of Salton."

—Of the general truth of these descriptions we have no doubt; but they are strongly coloured through a national prejudice that was a principal defect in Fletcher's own character. That he was an ardent lover of liberty and of his country his whole life bore witness; but he was of a temper so fiery and ungovernable, and besides so excessively dogmatic, that he was of little service as a coadjutor in carrying on public affairs. His shooting the mayor of Lynn on a trifling dispute, and his collaring Lord

Stair in the parliament house for a word which he thought reflected upon him, showed a mind not sufficiently disciplined for the business of life; and his national partialities clouded his otherwise perspicacious faculties, contracted his views, and rendered his most philosophical speculations, and his most ardent personal exertions, of little utility. Upon the whole, he was a man, we think, rather to be admired than imitated; and, like many other popular characters, owes his reputation to the defects, rather than to the excellencies, of his character.

FLETCHER, ANDREW, a distinguished judge, under the designation of Lord Milton, and for many years *sous ministre* of Scotland, under Archibald Duke of Argyle, was a nephew of the subject of the preceding memoir. His father, Henry Fletcher of Salton, was the immediate younger brother of the patriot, but, distinguished by none of the public spirit of that individual, was only known as a good country gentleman. The genius of Lord Milton appeared to have been derived from his mother, who was a daughter of Sir David Carnegie of Pitarrow, and granddaughter of David Earl of Southesk. During the troubles in which the family were involved, in consequence of their liberal principles, this lady went to Holland, taking with her a weaver and a millwright, both men of genius and enterprise in their respective departments, and by their means she secretly obtained the art of weaving and dressing the fine linen called *Holland*, of which she established the manufacture at Salton. Andrew, the son of this extraordinary woman, was born in 1692, and educated for the bar. He was admitted advocate in 1717, one of the lords of session in 1724, when only thirty-two years of age, and lord justice-clerk, or president of the criminal court, in 1735, which office, on being appointed keeper of the signet in 1748, he relinquished.

The acuteness of Lord Milton's understanding, his judgment and address, and his intimate knowledge of the laws, customs, and temper of Scotland, recommended him early to the notice and confidence of Lord Ilay, afterwards Duke of Argyle, who, under Sir Robert Walpole and subsequent ministers, was intrusted with the chief management of Scottish affairs. As Lord Ilay resided chiefly at the court, he required a confidential agent in Scotland, who might give him all necessary information, and act as his guide in the dispensation of the government patronage. In this capacity Lord Milton served for a considerable number of years; during which his house was, in its way, a kind of court, and himself looked up to as a person little short of a king. It is universally allowed that nothing could exceed the discretion with which his lordship managed his delicate and difficult duties; especially during the civil war of 1745. Even the Jacobites admitted that they owed many obligations to the humanity and good sense of Lord Milton.

In February, 1746, when the Highland army had retired to the north, and the Duke of Cumberland arrived at Edinburgh to put himself at the head of the forces in Scotland, he was indebted to Lord Milton for the advice which induced him to march northward in pursuit; without which proceeding the war would probably have been protracted a considerable time. After the suppression of the insurrection, Milton applied himself with immense zeal to the grand design which he had chiefly at heart—the promotion of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture in his native country; and it would be difficult to estimate exactly the gratitude due to his memory for his exertions towards that noble object. After a

truly useful and meritorious life of seventy-four years, his lordship expired at his house of Brunstane, near Musselburgh, on the 13th of December, 1766.

FORBES, ALEXANDER, Lord Pitsligo, was the only son of Alexander, third Lord Pitsligo, and Lady Sophia Erskine, daughter of John, ninth Earl of Marr. He was born on the 22d of May, 1678, and succeeded his father in his titles and estates in 1691, while yet a minor. He soon after went to France; and during his residence in that country, embraced the opinions of Madame Guion, to whom he had been introduced by Fenelon. On his return to Scotland he took the oaths and his seat in parliament, and commenced his political career as an oppositionist to the court party. He joined the Duke of Athole in opposing the union; but on the extension of the oath of abjuration to Scotland, he withdrew from public business. A Jacobite in principle, he took an active part in the rebellion of 1715; but escaped attainer, though he found it expedient to withdraw for a time to the Continent, after the suppression of that ill-judged attempt. In 1720 he returned to his native country, and devoted himself to the study of literature and the mystical writings of the Quietists, at his castle of Pitsligo, in Aberdeenshire. His age and infirmities, as well as experience, might have prevailed upon him to abide in silence the result of Prince Charles' enterprise in 1745; but, actuated by a sense of duty, he joined that enterprise, and was the means, by his example, of drawing many of the gentlemen of Aberdeenshire into the tide of insurrection; no one thinking he could be wrong in taking the same course with a man of so much prudence and sagacity. Lord Pitsligo arrived at Holyrood House some time after the battle of Prestonpans, and was appointed by Prince Charles to command a troop of horse, chiefly raised out of the Aberdeenshire gentry, and which was called Pitsligo's regiment. He accompanied the army through all its subsequent adventures, and having survived the disastrous affair of Culloden, was attainted by the government, and eagerly sought for by its truculent emissaries. The subsequent life of this unfortunate nobleman was a very extraordinary one, as will appear from the following anecdotes, which we extract from a memoir of his lordship published in connection with his *Thoughts on Man's Condition*, Edinburgh, 1829:—

"After the battle of Culloden, Lord Pitsligo concealed himself for some time in the mountainous district of the country, and a second time experienced the kindly dispositions of the country people, even the lowest, to misfortune. The country had been much exhausted for the supply of the prince's army, and the people who gave him shelter and protection were extremely poor, yet they freely shared their humble and scanty fare with the unknown stranger. This fare was what is called *water-brose*, that is, oatmeal moistened with hot water, on which he chiefly subsisted for some time; and when, on one occasion, he remarked that its taste would be much improved by a little salt, the reply was, 'Ay, man, but sa't's touchy,' meaning it was too expensive an indulgence for them. However, he was not always in such bad quarters; for he was concealed for some days at the house of Newmiln, near Elgin, along with his friends, Mr. Cummine of Pitullie, Mr. Irvine of Drum, and Mr. Mercer of Aberdeen, where Mrs. King, Pitullie's sister, herself made their beds, and waited upon them.

"It was known in London that about the end of April, 1746, he was lurking about the coast of Buchan, as it was supposed, with the view of finding an oppor-

tunity of making his escape to France; and it required the utmost caution on his part to elude the search that was made for him. To such an extremity was he reduced, that he was actually obliged on one occasion to conceal himself in a hollow place in the earth, under the arch of a small bridge at Craigmald, upon his own estate, about nine miles up into the country from Fraserburgh, and about two and a half from where New Pitsligo now is, which was scarcely large enough to contain him; and this most uncomfortable place seems to have been selected for his retreat just because there was little chance of detection, as no one could conceive it possible that a human being could be concealed in it. At this time he lay sometimes in the daytime concealed in the mosses near Craigmald, and was much annoyed by the lapwings flying about the place, lest they should attract notice to the spot, and direct those who were in search of him in their pursuit.

"As yet, the estate of Pitsligo was not taken possession of by government, and Lady Pitsligo continued to reside at the castle. Lord Pitsligo occasionally paid secret visits to it in disguise. The disguise that he assumed was that of a mendicant, and Lady Pitsligo's maid was employed to provide him with two bags to put under his arms, after the fashion of the *Edie Ochiltrees* of those days. He sat beside her while she made them, and she long related with wonder how cheerful he was while thus superintending this work which betokened the ruin of his fortune and the forfeiture of his life.

"When walking out in his disguise one day, he was suddenly overtaken by a party of dragoons scouring the country in pursuit of him. The increased exertion, from his desire to elude them, brought on a fit of asthmatic coughing which completely overpowered him. He could proceed no further, and was obliged to sit down by the road-side, where he calmly waited their approach. The idea suggested by his disguise and infirmity was acted upon, and, in his character of a mendicant, he begged alms of the dragoons who came to apprehend him. His calmness and resignation did not forsake him, no perturbation betrayed him, and one of the dragoons stopped, and, with great kindness of heart, actually bestowed a mite on the venerable old man, condoling with him at the same time on the severity of his cough.

"On another occasion Lord Pitsligo had sought and obtained shelter in a shoemaker's house, and shortly after a party of dragoons were seen approaching. Their errand was not doubtful; and the shoemaker, who had recognized the stranger, was in the greatest trepidation, and advised him to put on one of the workmen's aprons and some more of his clothes, and to sit down on one of the stools and pretend to be mending a shoe. The party came into the shop in the course of their search; and the shoemaker, observing that the soldiers looked as if they thought the hands of this workman were not very like those of a practised son of King Crispin, and fearing that a narrower inspection would betray him, with great presence of mind gave orders to Lord Pitsligo, as if he had been one of his workmen, to go to the door and hold one of the horses, which he did accordingly. His own composure and entire absence of hurry allayed suspicion, and he escaped this danger. He used afterwards jocularly to say, 'he had been at one time a Buchan cobbler.'

"One of the narrowest escapes which he made from discovery, when met in his mendicant's dress by those who were in search of him, was attended with circumstances which made the adventure singularly romantic and interesting. At that time there lived in that district of the country a fool called Sandy An-

nand, a well-known character. The kindly feelings of the peasantry of Scotland to persons of weak intellect are well known, and are strongly marked by the name of 'the innocent,' which is given to them. They are generally harmless creatures, contented with the enjoyment of the sun and air as their highest luxuries, and privileged to the hospitality of every house, so far as their humble wants require. There is often, too, a mixture of shrewdness with their folly, and they are always singularly attached to those who are kind to them. Lord Pitsligo, disguised as usual, had gone into a house where the fool happened to be at the time. He immediately recognized him, and did not restrain his feelings as others did in the same situation, but was busily employed in showing his respect for his lordship in his own peculiar and grotesque manner, expressing his great grief at seeing him in such a fallen state, when a party entered the house to search for him. They asked the fool who was the person that he was lamenting thus? What a moment of intense anxiety both to Lord Pitsligo and the inmates of the house! It was impossible to expect any other answer from the poor weak creature but one which would betray the unfortunate nobleman. Sandy, however, with that shrewdness which men of his intellect often exhibit on the most trying occasions, said, 'He kent him aince a muckle farmer, but his sheep a' dee'd in the '40.' It was looked upon as a special interposition of Providence which put such an answer into the mouth of the fool.

"In March, 1756, and, of course, long after all apprehension of a search had ceased, information having been given to the commanding officer at Fraserburgh that Lord Pitsligo was at that moment in the house of Auchiries, it was acted upon with so much promptness and secrecy, that the search must have proved successful but for a very singular occurrence. Mrs. Sophia Donaldson, a lady who lived much with the family, repeatedly dreamed on that particular night that the house was surrounded by soldiers. Her mind became so haunted with the idea, that she got out of bed, and was walking through the room in hopes of giving a different current to her thoughts before she lay down again, when, day beginning to dawn, she accidentally looked out at the window as she passed it in traversing the room, and was astonished at actually observing the figures of soldiers among some trees near the house. So completely had all idea of a search been by that time laid asleep, that she supposed they had come to steal poultry—Jacobite poultry yards affording a safe object of pillage for the English soldiers in those days. Under this impression Mrs. Sophia was proceeding to rouse the servants, when her sister having awakened, and inquired what was the matter, and being told of soldiers near the house, exclaimed in great alarm that she feared they wanted something more than hens. She begged Mrs. Sophia to look out at a window on the other side of the house, when not only soldiers were seen in that direction, but also an officer giving instructions by signals, and frequently putting his fingers on his lips, as if enjoining silence. There was now no time to be lost in rousing the family; and all the haste that could be made was scarcely sufficient to hurry the venerable man from his bed into a small recess behind the wainscot of an adjoining room, which was concealed by a bed, in which a lady, Miss Gordon of Towie, who was there on a visit, lay before the soldiers obtained admission. A most minute search took place. The room in which Lord Pitsligo was concealed did not escape. Miss Gordon's bed was carefully examined, and she was obliged to suffer the rude scrutiny of one of the party by feeling her chin, to ascertain that it was not a man in a

lady's night-dress. Before the soldiers had finished their examination in this room, the confinement and anxiety increased Lord Pittligo's asthma so much, and his breathing became so loud, that it cost Miss Gordon, lying in bed, much and violent coughing, which she counterfeited in order to prevent the high breathings behind the wainscot from being heard. It may easily be conceived what agony she would suffer, lest, by overdoing her part, she should increase suspicion and in fact lead to a discovery. The *ruse* was fortunately successful. On the search through the house being given over, Lord Pittligo was hastily taken from his confined situation, and again placed in bed; and as soon as he was able to speak, his accustomed kindness of heart made him say to his servant, 'James, go and see that these poor fellows get some breakfast, and a drink of warm ale, for this is a cold morning; they are only doing their duty, and cannot bear me any ill will.' When the family were felicitating each other on his escape, he pleasantly observed, 'A poor prize, had they obtained it—an old dying man.'

After this he resided constantly at Auchiries, overlooked, or at least unmolested, by the government, till the 21st of December, 1762, when he breathed his last in peace, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He left behind him a work entitled, *Thoughts concerning Man's Condition and Duties in this Life, and his Hopes in the World to Come*, the production evidently of a calm and highly devotional mind, but nowise remarkable in other respects.

FORBES, DUNCAN, a man whose memory is justly entitled to the veneration of his country, was born at Bunchrew, in the neighbourhood of Inverness, on the 10th of November, 1685. His great-grandfather, Duncan Forbes, was of the family of Lord Forbes, through that of Tolquhoun, and purchased the barony of Culloden from the laird of Mackintosh in 1625. His great-grandmother was Janet Forbes, of the family of Corsindy, also descended from Lord Forbes. But this early patriot was not more distinguished for honourable descent, than for public spirit and nobility of conduct during the struggle for religion and liberty that marked the reign of Charles I., in which he took a decided part against the court; and, being a member of parliament, and lord-provost of Inverness, must have been a partisan of no small consequence. He died in 1654, leaving his estate to his eldest son, John, who inherited his offices as well as his principles. Having acted in concert with the Marquis of Argyle, he was, upon the Restoration, excepted from the act of indemnity, and had a large share of the barbarous inflictions which disgraced the reign of the restored despot. He somehow, however, contrived to accumulate money, and about the year 1670 doubled his landed estate by purchasing the barony of Ferintosh and the estate of Bunchrew. He died a little before the Revolution, leaving, by his wife, Ann Dunbar, a daughter of Dunbar of Hemprigs, in the county of Moray, a large family, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Duncan, who had received a liberal education on the Continent, by which he was eminently qualified for performing a conspicuous part in that most auspicious of modern transactions. He was a member of the convention parliament, a decided Presbyterian, and strongly condemned those temporizing measures which clogged the wheels of government at the time, and in consequence of which many of the national grievances remained afterwards unredressed. He was, of course, highly obnoxious to the Jacobites, who, under Buchan and Cannon, in 1689, ravaged his estates of Culloden and Ferintosh;

destroying, particularly in the latter district, where distillation was even then carried on upon an extensive scale, property to the amount of £54,000 Scots. In consequence of this immense loss, the Scottish parliament granted him a perpetual license to distil, duty free, the whole grain that might be raised in the barony of Ferintosh, a valuable privilege, by which Ferintosh very soon became the most populous and wealthy district in the north of Scotland. He died in 1704, leaving, by his wife, Mary Innes, daughter to the laird of Innes, two sons: John, who succeeded him in his estates; and Duncan, the subject of this memoir; besides several daughters.

Of the early habits or studies of Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord-president, little has been recorded. The military profession is said to have been the object of his first choice, influenced by the example of his uncle John Forbes, who was a lieutenant-colonel in the army. He had also an uncle eminent in the law, Sir David Forbes of Newhall, and, whether influenced by his example or not, we find that he entered upon the study of that science at Edinburgh, in the chambers of Professor Spottiswood, in the year that his father died, 1704. The university of Edinburgh had as yet attained nothing of that celebrity by which it is now distinguished, its teachers being few in number, and by no means remarkable for acquirements; of course, all young Scotsmen of fortune, especially for the study of law, were sent to the Continent. Bourges had long been famous for this species of learning, and at that university Scotsmen had been accustomed to study. Leyden, however, had now eclipsed it, and at that famous seat of learning Duncan Forbes took up his residence in 1705. Here he pursued his studies for two years with the most unremitting diligence; having, besides the science of law, made no inconsiderable progress in the Hebrew and several other oriental languages. He returned to Scotland in 1707, where he continued the study of Scottish law till the summer of 1709, when he was, upon the 26th of July, admitted an advocate, being in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

The closest friendship had all along subsisted between the families of Argyle and Culloden; and the former, being at this time in the zenith of power, displayed its fidelity by bestowing upon Mr. Forbes, as soon as he had taken his place at the bar, the respectable appointment of sheriff of Mid-Lothian. The duke and his brother the Earl of Ilay, from the very outset of his career, intrusted him with the management of their Scottish estates, which he is said frankly to have undertaken, though, from professional delicacy, he declined receiving anything in the shape of fee or reward, for services which ought to have brought him some hundreds a year.

Mr. Forbes, from his first appearance at the bar, was distinguished for the depth of his judgment, the strength of his eloquence, and the extent of his practice, which was such as must have precluded him from performing anything like the duties of a mere factor, which the above statement evidently supposes. That he gave his opinion generally, when asked, upon the modes that ought to be adopted for improving the value of his grace's property, and the comfort of his vassals in the Highlands, there can be no doubt; for he continued to do this, not only to the duke, but to his neighbours generally, even after the highest duties of the judge had devolved upon him; and this was probably the utmost extent of his concern with the Argyle estate at any period of his life. That he was in a high degree generous, there cannot be a doubt; but we see no reason for supposing that he was in the habit of employing his legal talents gratuitously. He was but a younger brother,

and is said to have lost the greater part of his little patrimony by an unguarded or an unfortunate speculation; yet it is certain that he lived in a splendid and rather expensive manner, the first wits and the highest noblemen of the age finding their enjoyments heightened by his company; and it is equally certain that the fruits of his professional toil were all that he could depend upon for supporting a spirit that breathed nothing but honour, and a state that knew nothing but the most stubborn independence. His business, however, rapidly rose with his rising reputation, and his fortune probably kept pace with his fame, and he very soon added to his domestic felicity, by forming a matrimonial connection with Mary Rose, daughter to the laird of Kilravock, to whom he had been warmly attached almost from her earliest infancy.¹ She was a lady of great beauty, and highly accomplished; but she died not long after their marriage, leaving him an only son, John, who eventually succeeded to the estate of Culloden. The early demise of this lady, for whom Mr. Forbes seems to have had more than an ordinary passion, deeply affected him, and he never again entered into the married state.

Domestic calamity, operating upon a keen sensibility, has often withered minds of great promise, and cut off the fairest prospects of future usefulness. Happily, however, Mr. Forbes did not resign himself to solitude and the indulgence of unavailing sorrow. The circumstances of his family, and of his country, in both of which he felt a deep interest, did not indeed allow him to do so, had he been willing. The violence of party had been very great ever since the Revolution: it had latterly been heightened by the Union, and had reached nearly its acme at this time, when the unexpected death of the queen opened the way for the peaceable accession of the new dynasty.

With a very few exceptions, such as the Grants, the Monroes, and the Rosses, who had been gained over by the Forbesees of Culloden, the Highland clans were engaged to devote their lives and fortunes in behalf of the expatriated house of Stuart; and only waited for an opportunity of asserting the cause of the Pretender. The loyal clans, and gentlemen, and particularly Forbes of Culloden, were of course highly obnoxious to the Jacobite clans; and, for their own preservation, were obliged to be continually on the watch, and frequently saw the brooding of the storm, when others apprehended no danger. This was eminently the case in the year after the accession of the house of Brunswick; and, accordingly, so early as the month of February, we find Monro of Fowls writing to Culloden:—"I find the Jacobites are verie uppish, both in Edinburgh and in England, so that, if ye go to the parliament, as I hope ye will, you will recommend to some trusty, faithful friend, to take care of your house of Culloden, and leave orders with your people at Ferintosh, to receive directions from me, or from your cousin George (my son), as you are pleased to call him, which you may be sure will be calculate to the support of your interest, in subordination to the public cause;"—and he adds, in a postscript to the same letter,—"The vanity, insolence, arrogance, and madness of the Jacobites is beyond all measure insupportable. I believe they must be let blood. They still have the trick of presuming upon the lenity of a moderate government. It seems God either destines them for destruction, or infatuates others to allow them to be pricks in our sides and thorns in our eyes. I have accounts from

very good hands from Edinburgh, that, to their certain knowledge, saddles were making in that city for dragoons to serve the Pretender, and that all the Popish lords, and very many Popish and Jacobite gentlemen, are assembled there now; so that all friends and loyal subjects to his present majesty are advised to be upon their guard from thence against an invasion or an insurrection, which is suddenly expected, which the Jacobites expect will interrupt the meeting of the parliament." In the month of March, the same year, Culloden, writing to his brother, the subject of this memoir, has the following observation:—"You say you have no news; but we abound with them in this country. The Pretender is expected every moment, and his friends all ready; but since our statesmen take no notice of this, I let it alone, and wish they may not repent it when they cannot help it." Culloden was returned a member of parliament, and went up the following month (April) to London, whence he again writes to his brother as follows:—"As for your Highland neighbours, their trysts and meetings, I know not what to say; I wish we be not too secure: I can assure you the Tories here were never higher in their looks and hopes, which they found upon a speedy invasion. Whatever be in the matter, let things be so ordered, that my house be not surprised."

Had those who were intrusted with the government been equally sharp-sighted, much of the evil that ensued might undoubtedly have been prevented; but they were so intent upon their places, and the pursuit of little, low intrigues, that they were caught by the insurrection, in Scotland at least, as if it had been a clap of thunder in a clear day. John Forbes's direction, however, must have been attended to; for, when his house was surrounded by the insurgents, under Mackenzie of Coul, and Macintosh, with their retainers, his wife refused all accommodation with them, saying, with the spirit of an ancient Roman, "She had received the keys of the house, and the charge of all that was in it, from her husband, and she would deliver them up to no one but himself." In the absence of his brother, Duncan Forbes displayed, along with Hugh Rose of Kilravock, the most indefatigable zeal, and great judgment in the disposal of the men they could command, who were chiefly the retainers of Culloden, Kilravock, Culcairn, and the Grants, and by the assistance of Lord Lovat and the Frasers finally triumphed over the insurgents in that quarter. Nothing, indeed, could excel the spirit displayed by the two brothers of Culloden, the eldest of whom, John, spent on the occasion upwards of £3000 sterling out of his own pocket for the public service; of which, to the disgrace of the British government, he never received in repayment one single farthing.

Though they were ardent for the cause of religion and liberty, and zealous in the hour of danger, yet, when that was over, the two brothers strongly felt the impropriety of tarnishing the triumphs of order and liberality by a violent and vindictive inquisition into the conduct of persons, for whom so many circumstances conspired to plead, if not for mercy, at least for a candid construction of their motives. As a Scotsman and lawyer, Duncan Forbes was averse to the project of carrying the prisoners out of the country to be tried by juries of foreigners, and he wrote to Lord Ilay, when he heard of a design to appoint him lord-advocate, in order to carry on these prosecutions, that he was determined to refuse that employment. He also wrote to his brother in behalf of a contribution for the poor prisoners who had been carried to Carlisle, and were there waiting for trial. "It is certainly Christian," says he, "and by

¹ Her husband is said to have composed, in her honour, the beautiful Scottish song, *Ah, Chloris*.

no means disloyal, to sustain them in their indigent state until they are found guilty. The law has brought them to England to be tried by foreign juries—so far it is well—but no law can hinder a Scotsman to wish that his countrymen, not hitherto condemned, should not be a derision to strangers, or perish for want of necessary defence or sustenance out of their own country." To the forfeitures he was also decidedly hostile, and some of his reasons for this hostility threw a particular light upon the state of Scotland at that period. "There are," he says, "none of the rebels who have not friends among the king's faithful subjects, and it is not easy to guess how far a security of this kind, unnecessarily pushed, may alienate the affections even of these from the government. But in particular, as this relates to Scotland, the difficulty will be insurmountable. I may venture to say, there are not two hundred gentlemen in the whole kingdom who are not very nearly related to some one or other of the rebels. Is it possible that a man can see his daughter, his grandchildren, his nephews, or cousins, reduced to beggary and starving unnecessarily by a government, without thinking very ill of it? and where this is the case of a whole nation, I tremble to think what dissatisfactions it will produce against a settlement so necessary for the happiness of Britain. If all the rebels, with their wives and children and immediate dependants, could be at once rooted out of the earth, the shock would be astonishing; but time would commit it to oblivion, and the danger would be less to the constitution than when thousands of innocents, punished with misery and want for the offences of their friends, are suffered to wander about the country sighing out their complaints to Heaven, and drawing at once the compassion and moving the indignation of every human creature." "To satisfy," he adds, "any person that the forfeitures in Scotland will scarce defray the charges of the commission, if the saving clause in favour of the creditors takes place, I offer but two considerations that, upon inquiry, will be found incontestable. First, it is certain, that of all the gentlemen who launched out into the late rebellion, the tenth man was not easy in his circumstances, and if you abate a dozen of gentlemen, the remainder, upon paying their debts, could not produce much money clear; nor was there anything more open to observation, than that the men of estates, however disaffected in their principles, kept themselves within the law, when at the same time men supposed loyal, in hopes of bettering their low fortunes, broke loose. Besides, it is known that the titles by which almost all the estates in Scotland are possessed are diligences upon debts affecting those estates purchased in the proprietors' own name or in that of some trustee: now, it is certain, that when the commissioners of inquiry begin to seize such estates, besides the debts truly due to real creditors, such a number of latent debts will be trumped up, not distinguishable from the true ones by any else than the proprietors, as will make the inquiry fruitless and the commission a charge upon the treasury, as well as a nuisance to the nation."

Such were the arguments, drawn from expediency and the state of the country, by which forbearance on the part of the government was recommended by this excellent man, though it appears that they had little effect but to excite a suspicion of his own loyalty. In spite of all this, his character made him too powerful to be resisted. In 1716 he was rewarded for his services by the office of advocate-depute; that is, he became one of the inferior prosecutors for the crown. On the 20th of March he is found writing thus to his principal, the lord-advocate:—"Yester-

day I was qualified, the Lord knows how, as your depute. The justice-clerk shows a grim sort of civility towards me, because he finds me *plagued by stubborn*. I waited upon him, however, and on the other lords, to the end they might fix on a dyet for the tryall of the Episcopall clergy. The justice-clerk does not smile on their prosecution, because it is not his own contrivance; and declared it could not come on sooner than the first of June; but I told him that if, as I understood was designed, the May circuit were suspended this year by act of parliament, I would require his lordship to assign a dyet sooner." In 1722, with the acquiescence of the ministry, he was returned to sit in parliament for the Inverness district of burghs; and in 1725 he obtained the high and responsible appointment of lord-advocate. As the office of secretary of state for Scotland was at this time discontinued, it became part of his duty to carry on with his majesty's ministers, the correspondence regarding the improvements necessary to be made in her civil establishments, which he did in a manner highly creditable to himself, and with the happiest effect for his country. The year in which he was appointed lord-advocate was marked by the introduction of the malt-tax into Scotland, and the mob at Glasgow, known by the name of Shawfield's rabble, by which its introduction was attended. This was a riot of a very scandalous character (the magistrates of the city being deeply implicated in fomenting it), in which nine persons were killed outright, and the soldiers, who had been brought from Edinburgh for its suppression, were chased out of the city, and were glad to take refuge in Dumbarton Castle. General Wade, who was in Edinburgh at the time, on his way to the Highlands, was immediately ordered to Glasgow with all the troops he could muster, and he was accompanied by the lord-advocate in person, who first committed the whole of the magistrates to their own tolbooth, and afterwards, under a strong guard, sent them to Edinburgh, where they were thrown into the common jail, and it was certainly intended to proceed against them before the justiciary court. Doubts, however, were entertained of the legality of the proceedings, and whether the lord-advocate had not exceeded his powers in committing the whole magistracy of a city, upon the warrant of a justice of peace, to their own jail; public feeling at the same time recovering strongly in their favour, they were by the justiciary admitted to bail, nor was their case ever again called.

In 1734 he lost his brother, John Forbes, in consequence of whose death he fell heir to the extensive and valuable estate of Culloden. In 1736 a disgraceful affair, termed the Porteous mob, occurred in Edinburgh, in consequence of which it was resolved to deprive the city of her privileges. Mr. Forbes, on this occasion, exerted himself to the utmost in behalf of the city, and was successful in procuring many modifications to be made upon the bill before it passed the two houses of parliament. When we contemplate the condition of Scotland in those days, we scarcely know whether to wonder most at the good which Forbes was able to achieve, or the means by which he accomplished it. The period might properly be called the dark age of Scottish history, though it contained, at the same time, the germs of all the good that has since sprung up in the land. The pretensions of the house of Stuart were universally received, either with favour from direct affection to their cause, or at least without disfavour, the result of a justifiable disgust at the political status into which the country had been thrown by the union, and the unpopularity of the two first Brunswick

princes. The commencement of a strict system of general taxation was new; while the miserable poverty of the country rendered it unproductive and unpopular. The great families still lorded it over their dependants, and exercised legal jurisdiction within their own domains, by which the general police of the kingdom was crippled, and the grossest local oppression practised. The remedy adopted for all these evils, which was to abate nothing and to enforce everything, under the direction of English counsels and of Englishmen, completed the national wretchedness, and infused its bitterest ingredient into the brimful cup. How Forbes got his views or his character amidst such a scene, from the very heart of the very worst part of which he came, it is difficult to conceive; for with only one or two occasional exceptions, his papers prove that he had scarcely an associate, either in his patriotic toils or enjoyments.¹ However, it is sometimes true in the political, as it generally is in the commercial world, that supply is created by demand; and the very degradation of the country held out an immense reward to the man who should raise it up. No man, especially the hired servant of a disputed monarchy, could have achieved this work, except one whose heart was as amiable as his judgment was sound, and whose patriotism was as pure as it was strong. Forbes cultivated all these qualities, and not only directed the spirit of the nation, but conciliated its discordant members with a degree of skill that was truly astonishing.

The leading objects of his official and parliamentary life were suggested to him by the necessities of the country, and they are thus ably summed up in the work just quoted:—

1. To extinguish the embers of rebellion, by gaining over the Jacobites. He did not try to win them, however, in the ordinary way in which alleged rebels are won; but by showing them what he called the *folly* of their designs, by seeking their society, by excluding them from no place for which their talents or characters gave them a fair claim, and, above all, by protecting them from proscription. It is delightful to perceive how much this policy, equally the dictate of his heart and of his head, made him be consulted and revered even by his enemies; and how purely he kept his private affections open to good men, and especially to old friends, in spite of all political acrimony or alienation. He derived from this habit one satisfaction, which seems to have greatly diverted him, that of being occasionally abused by both sides, and sometimes suspected of secret Jacobitism by his own party.

2. Having thus, by commanding universal esteem as an upright and liberal man, enabled himself to do something for the country at large, his next object seems to have been, to habituate the people to the equal and regular control of the laws. It may appear at first sight unnecessary or inglorious to have been reduced to labour for an end so essential and obvious in all communities as this. But the state of Scotland must be recollected. The provincial despotism of the barons was common and horrid. Old Lovat, for example, more than once writes to him, as lord-advocate, not to trouble himself about certain acts of violence done in his neighbourhood, because he was very soon to take vengeance with his own hands.

Nor was this insubordination confined to individuals or to the provinces, for it seems to have extended to the capital, and to have touched the seats

of justice. There is a letter from Forbes to Mr. Scroope, in the year 1732, in which he complains "that it would surely provoke any man living, as it did me, to see the last day of our term in exchequer. The effect of every verdict we recovered from the crown, stopped upon the triflingest pretences that false popularity and want of sense could suggest. If some remedy be not found for this evil we must shut up shop. It's a pity, that when we have argued the juries out of their mistaken notions of popularity, the behaviour of the court should give any handle to their relapsing." He persevered to prevent this by argument, and by endeavouring to get the laws, especially those concerning the revenue, altered, so as to be less unacceptable to the people.

It is chiefly on account of his adherence to this principle, that it is important to notice this subject as a distinct part of his system. If he had been disposed to govern, as is usual in turbulent times, by mere force, he had pretences enough to have made scarlet uniforms deform every hamlet in the kingdom—but, except when rebellion or riot was raging, we cannot discover from his papers that he ever, on any one occasion, required any other assistance except the ordinary authority of which law is always possessed, when administered fairly. He rigidly investigated, though he did not severely punish, popular outrages; but he was unsparing in his prosecution of the provincial injustice by which the people were generally oppressed. The consequence of this was, that he not only introduced a comparative state of good order, but made his name a sanction that whatever he proposed was right, and that in him the injured was sure to find a friend. When Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman who was engaged in a mining concern in Glengarry (and who by-the-by is said to have been the first person who introduced the philibeg into the Highlands), had two of his servants murdered by the natives there, the lord-advocate was the only individual to whom it ever occurred to him to apply for protection. But his power in thus taming the people can only be fairly estimated by perceiving how universally he was feared by the higher ranks, as the certain foe of all sorts of partial, sinister, unfair, or illiberal projects. Few men ever wrote, or were written to, with less idea of publication than he. His correspondence has only come accidentally to light about seventy years after his death. Yet we have not been able to detect a single one of his advices or proceedings, by the exposure of which even a private gentleman of the most delicate honour and the most reasonable views, would have cause to feel a moment's uneasiness. On the contrary, though living in ferocious times—in public life—the avowed organ of a party—and obliged to sway his country by managing its greatest and greediest families, he uniformly maintains that native gentleness and fairness of mind with which it is probable that most of the men who are afterwards hardened into corruption, begin, and resolve to continue their career. How many other public men are there, of whose general correspondence above 500 letters could be published indiscriminately, without alarming themselves if they were alive, or their friends if they were dead?

Having thus freed himself from the shackles of party, and impressed all ranks with a conviction of the necessity of sinking their subordinate contests in a common respect for the law, his next great view seems to have been, to turn this state of security to its proper account, in improving the trade and agriculture of the kingdom. Of these two sources of national wealth, the last seems to have engaged the smallest portion of his attention; and it was perhaps

¹ We here pursue a train of remarks in the *Edinburgh Review* of the Culloden papers, an ample collection of the letters, &c., of the lord-president, published in 1816.

natural that it should do so. For, though agriculture precedes manufactures in the order of things, yet, for this very reason, that the cultivation of the land has gone on for ages, it is only in a more advanced era of refinement that the attention of legislators is called to the resources it supplies and the virtues it inspires. But projectors are immediately attracted towards improvements in manufactures, which are directly convenient by employing industry, and highly captivating, because their commencement and growth can be distinctly traced; so that they appear more the result of preparation and design than agriculture does; as to which, one generation seems only to follow the example of another, in passively taking what the scarcely assisted powers of nature give. Several efforts at trade had been made by Scotland before Forbes appeared; but it was both the cause and the evidence of the national poverty, that, slender as they were, they had failed, and that their failure almost extinguished the commercial hopes of the people. He was no sooner called into public life, than he saw what trade, chiefly internal, could do, by giving employment to the hordes of idlers who infested the country, by interesting proprietors in the improvement of their estates, and by furnishing the means both of paying and of levying taxes, and thereby consolidating the whole island into one compact body, instead of keeping the northern part a burden on the southern.

His exertions in prosecution of this great object were long and unceasing. We cannot enter here into any details; and therefore we shall only state, in general, that he appears to have made himself master of the nature and history of almost every manufacture, and to have corresponded largely both with the statesmen, the philosophers, and the merchants of his day, about the means of introducing them into Scotland. The result was that he not only planted the roots of those establishments which are now flourishing all over the country, but had the pleasure (as he states in a memorial to government) of seeing "a commendable spirit of launching into new branches" excited. He was so successful in this way, that the manufactures of Scotland are called, by more than one of his correspondents, "his ain bairns;"—an expression which he himself uses in one of his letters to Mr. Scroope, in which he says that one of his proposals "was disliked by certain chiefs, from its being a child of mine."

Notwithstanding the immense good which he thus accomplished, and the great judgment and forbearance he evinced in furthering his improvements, it is amusing to observe the errors into which he fell with respect to what are now some of the clearest principles of taxation and of political economy. These, in general, were the common errors of too much regulation, errors which it requires the firmest hold of the latest discoveries in these sciences to resist, and which were peculiarly liable to beset a man who had been obliged to do so much himself in the way of direction and planning. One example may suffice, being the strongest we have been able to find. In order to encourage agriculture by promoting the use of malt, he presented to government a long detailed scheme for preventing, or rather punishing, the use of tea.

"The cause," says he, "of the mischief we complain of is evidently the excessive use of tea; which is now become so common, that the meanest families, even of labouring people, particularly in boroughs, make their morning's meal of it, and thereby wholly disuse the ale which heretofore was their accustomed drink: and the same drug supplies all the labouring

women with their afternoon's entertainments, to the exclusion of the twopenny."

The remedy for this is, to impose a prohibitory duty on tea, and a penalty on those who shall use this seducing poison, "if they belong to that class of mankind in this country whose circumstances do not permit them to come at tea that pays the duty." The obvious difficulty attending this scheme strikes him at once, and he removes it by a series of provisions calculated to describe those who are within the tea line, and those who are beyond it. The essence of the system is, that when any person is suspected, "the *onus probandi* of the extent of his yearly income may be laid on him;" and that his own oath may be demanded, and that of the prosecutor taken. "These provisions," the worthy author acknowledges, "are pretty severe;" and most of his readers may be inclined to think them pretty absurd. But it must be recollected that he is not the only person (especially about his own time, when the first duty of a statesman was to promote the malt-tax) who has been eloquent and vituperative on the subject of this famous plant. Its progress, on the contrary, has been something like the progress of truth: suspected at first, though very palatable to those who had courage to taste it; resisted as it encroached; abused as its popularity seemed to spread; and establishing its triumph at last, in cheering the whole land, from the palace to the cottage, only by the slow and resistless efforts of time and its own virtues. Nor are the provisions for enforcing his scheme so extraordinary as may at first sight appear. The object of one half of our existing commercial regulations is to insure the use of our own produce and the encouragement of our own industry; and his personal restrictions, and domiciliary visits, are utterly harmless when compared with many excise regulations of the present day; and still more so when contrasted with certain parts of the earlier system for levying the tax upon property. We have noticed this example chiefly for the sake of showing that Forbes's views were as sound upon these subjects as those of the persons by whom he has been succeeded, and that if we could oftener withdraw our eyes from the objects of their habitual contemplation we should oftener see the folly of many things, which appear to us correct merely because they are common.

Being appointed president of the Court of Session in 1737, he applied himself with great zeal to a duty which has conferred lasting service on his country, that of improving the regulations of his court. Previously the chief judge, by having it in his power to postpone a cause, or to call it at his pleasure, was enabled sometimes to choose a particular time for its decision, when certain judges whom he knew to have made up their minds were absent. Forbes put an end to this flagrant error in the constitution of the court, by rendering it impossible for the judges to take up a case except as it stood on the roll. He also exerted himself to prevent any accumulation of undetermined causes.

The character of the Highlanders, and the improvement of the Highlands, had all along been objects of the first magnitude with the lord-president, nor did he lose sight of them when his elevation to the first place in Scottish society brought him to be conversant with others equally important. Viewing the aspect of the political horizon, and aware that the clans, in such times as appeared to be approaching, could scarcely fail to fall into the hands of political agitators, he digested a plan (the very same for which Chatham received so much applause for carrying into effect) for embodying the most disaffected of them into regiments, under colonels of tried loyalty, but

officered by their own chieftains, who would thus be less liable to be tampered with by the emissaries of the Stuarts, and be insensibly led to respect an order of things which, it might be presumed, they disliked chiefly because they did not comprehend it, and from which, as yet, they did not suppose they had derived any benefit. This proposal the lord-president communicated to the lord justice-clerk, Milton, who reported it to Lord Ilay, by whom it was laid before Sir Robert Walpole, who at once comprehended and admired it. When, however, he laid it before the council, recommending it to be carried into immediate effect, the council declared unanimously against it. "Were the plan of the Scottish judge," said they, "adopted, what would the patriots say? Would they not exclaim, Sir Robert Walpole had all along a design upon the constitution? He has already imposed upon us a standing army, in addition to which he is now raising an army of barbarians, for the sole purpose of enslaving the people of England." Walpole was too well acquainted with the temper of the patriots, as they called themselves, not to feel the full force of this reasoning; and the measure was given up, though he was fully convinced that it was conceived in wisdom, and would have been infallibly successful in its operation.

Though his advice was neglected, the event showed that his suspicions were well founded. The disturbed state of Europe encouraged the Jacobites, particularly in the Highlands, to sign an association for the restoration of the Pretender, which was sent to him at Rome, in the year 1742. During the following years there was a perpetual passing and repassing between the court of France, the Pretender, and the association, without the knowledge of the most vigilant observers on the part of the government. So cautiously, indeed, did the Highland chieftains conduct themselves, that even the lord-president, who was intimately acquainted with their characters and propensities, seems to have been perfectly unaware of any immediate rising, when he was acquainted by a letter from Macleod of Macleod, that Charles was actually arrived, and had by young Clanronald summoned himself and Sir Alexander Macdonald to join his standard. The truth was, both Macleod and Macdonald had pledged themselves to Prince Charles; but a French army to accompany him, and military stores, were positive parts of the engagement, which, not being fulfilled, led them to hesitate, and they were willing to fortify their hesitation by the advice of the president; whom they had long found to be an excellent counsellor, and whose views upon the subject they were probably anxious in a covert way to ascertain. Macleod of course wrote to the president that such a person was on the coast, with so many Irish or French officers, stating them greatly beyond the real number, and he adds, "His views, I need not tell you, was to raise all the Highlands to assist him. Sir Alexander Macdonald and I not only gave no sort of countenance to these people, but we used all the interest we had with our neighbours to follow the same prudent method, and I am persuaded we have done it with that success, that not a man north of the Grampians will give any sort of assistance to this mad rebellious attempt. As it can be of no use to the public to know whence you have this information, it is, I fancy, needless to mention either of us; but this we leave in your own breast, as you are a much better judge of what is or what is not proper to be done. I have wrote to none other, and as our friendship and confidence in you is without reserve, so we doubt not of your supplying our defects properly. Sir Alexander is here and has seen this scrawl. Young Clanronald has been here with us, and has

given us all possible assurances of his prudence." The above letter was dated August 3d, 1745, and speaks of Charles as only on the coast, though he had in reality landed, and the assurance of young Clanronald's prudence was a perfect farce. It was indeed, for obvious reasons, the aim of the rebels to lull the friends of government in their fatal security, and we have no doubt that Clanronald, acting upon this principle, gave the assurance to Macleod and Macdonald for the very purpose of being communicated to the lord-president, and it has been supposed that the misstatements in this letter laid the foundation for that pernicious counsel which sent Sir John Cope to the north, leaving the low country open to Charles, in consequence of which he overcame at once the most serious difficulties he had to contend with—want of provisions and want of money, made himself master of the capital of Scotland, and, to the astonishment of himself as well as of all Europe, penetrated into the very heart of England.

Being now certain that there was danger, though its extent was cautiously concealed from him, the lord-president, after pointing out to the Marquis of Tweeddale, who at that time was a principal manager in Scottish affairs, a few things necessary to be done in order to give full effect to his exertions, hastened to the north, and arrived at Culloden House on the 13th of August, six days before Charles unfurled his standard in Glenfinnan, and while many of his most devoted admirers were yet at a great loss whether to come forward to his assistance, or to remain undeclared till circumstances should enable them more accurately to calculate probabilities. To all these nothing could have been more unwelcome than the presence of the lord-president, to whom they, almost to a man, were under personal obligations. Lovat waited upon and dined with his lordship the very day after his arrival, and requested his advice, assuring him that his wishes, as well as his interest, still led him to support the present royal family. Macleod of Macleod and Sir Alexander Macdonald of Skye also wrote to him immediately on his arrival, in a loyal strain, though their presence was certainly expected at the unfurling of the insurgent standard at Glenfinnan, which was so soon to take place. The letters are not so very explicit as might have been wished, and, till the advice and the presence of the lord-president encouraged them, these gentlemen were undoubtedly not cordial for the government. Lovat most certainly was not, and had Charles, according to his advice, come east by Inverness, he would no doubt have joined him on the instant. But the clans having rushed down into the Lowlands, while Sir John Cope, with the whole regular troops that were in Scotland, came north, added weight to the lord-president's remonstrances, and for a time neutralized all who were not previously committed, till the unfortunate affair of Gladsmuir gave a new impulse to their hopes. Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of Macleod were assured by a special messenger, that their past conduct was not imputed to any want of zeal for the cause or want of affection to the person of Charles, who considered their services to be now more useful to him than ever, and was ready to receive them as his best friends. Lovat had a message of the same kind, and, sure that now his right master, as he called him, would prevail, set himself to forward the marching of his Frasers without delay. Still he continued his correspondence with the president, and laboured hard to keep up the farce of loyalty, as did Macleod of Macleod, at the very moment when he was pledging his faith to that arch-hypocrite to send his Macleods to join the

Fraser, the Mackintoshes, and the Mackenzies at Corryarrack, within a given number of days. Happily for Macleod, he was greatly under the influence of Sir Alexander Macdonald, whose judgment the lord-president had completely opened upon the subject, and he not only did not fulfil his engagement with Lovat, but actually raised and headed his men to fight on the opposite side.

The Frasers, in the meantime, formed a scheme for seizing upon the house of Culloden, and either killing or making the president a prisoner. The execution of this plot was intrusted to the laird of Foyers, who made the attempt on the night of Tuesday, the 15th of October, the day when the clans were engaged upon honour to assemble at the pass of Corryarrack, for the purpose of reinforcing the army of Charles at Edinburgh. The president, however, who, had arms been his profession, would probably have been as celebrated a soldier as he was a lawyer, knew his situation, and the men he lived among, better than to suffer himself to be so surprised. The castle itself was naturally strong; several pieces of cannon were planted upon its rampart; and it was occupied by a garrison able and willing to defend it; so that, leaving behind them one of their number wounded, the assailants were obliged to content themselves with carrying off some sheep and cattle, and robbing the gardener and the house of an honest weaver, who, it would appear, lived under the protection of the president. Like all other projectors of wicked things which fail in the execution, Lovat seems to have been very much ashamed of this affair, and he was probably the more so, that the Macleods, the Macdonalds, &c., who, that same day, were to have joined his clan at Corryarrack, had not only not kept their word, but were actually on the road to take their orders from the president, which compelled him once more to send, in place of troops, an apology to Charles, with an abundance of fair promises, in which he was at all times sufficiently liberal. The president had assured him that, by killing and eating his sheep in broad daylight, the men who had made the attack upon his house were all known, but that if they did no more harm he forgave them; only he wished they would send back the poor gardener and weaver their things, and if they sent not back the tenant his cattle, they knew he must pay for them. Lovat, with well-affected concern and high eulogiums upon his lordship's goodness, declares the actors in this villainous attempt to have been ruffians without the fear of God or man, and that he has ordered his son, and Gortuleg his kinsman and factor, to send back all the plunder, particularly his lordship's sheep, which he was ready to give double value for, rather than that his lordship should want them, and, in case they should not be found, offered to divide with him one hundred fat wedders, seeing that he was under greater obligations to him and his family than all the sheep, oxen, cows, and horses he ever possessed were worth. "And I beg, my lord," he adds, "that you may not be in the least apprehensive that any of those rogues, or any in my country, go and disturb your tenants, for I solemnly swore to Gortuleg that if any villain or rascal of my country durst presume to hurt or disturb any of your lordship's tenants, I would go personally, though carried in a litter, and *see them seized and hanged*. So, my dear lord, I beg you may have no apprehension that any of your tenants will meet with disturbance so long as I live in this country; and I hope that my son that represents me will follow my example: so let monarchies, government, and common-wealths take up fits of revolutions and wars, for God's sake, my dear lord, let us live in good friend-

ship and peace together." It was but a short time when, after the retreat from England, Charles was met at Glasgow by a messenger from Lovat, requesting him to send north a party to seize Inverness, and if possible secure the lord-president, who, he affirmed, had done him more harm than any man living, having by his influence prevented more than 10,000 men from joining him. Circumstances of another kind than Lovat's advice or request brought Charles to Inverness, and the lord-president, along with Lord Loudon, was under the necessity of taking refuge in the Island of Skye, where he remained till after the battle of Culloden, when he returned to reap, as many other good men have done, neglect and ingratitude for all his services. Of these services and of this neglect the reader will not be displeased to find the following graphic description from his own pen. It is a letter to Mr. George Ross, then at London, inclosing letters on the same subject to Mr. Pelham, Mr. Scroope, and the Duke of Newcastle, date Inverness, May 13th, 1746.

"Dear George, my peregrinations are now over. Some account of my adventures you surely have had from different hands; to give an exact one is the work of more time than I can at present afford. The difficulties I had to struggle with were many; the issue, on the main, has been favourable; and, upon a strict review, I am satisfied with my own conduct. I neither know nor care what critics, who have enjoyed ease in safety, may think. The commissions for the independent companies I disposed of in the way that, to me, seemed the most frugal and profitable to the public; the use they have already been of to the public is very great; preventing any accession of strength to the rebels, before they marched into England, was no small service; the like prevention, in some degree, and the distraction of their forces when the duke was advancing, was of considerable use; and now they are, by the duke, employed, under the command of E. Loudon, in Glengarry, and must be the hands by which the rebels are to be hunted in their recesses. My other letter of this date gives the reason why the returns of the officers' names, &c., was not sooner made. I hope the certificate will be sufficient to put them upon the establishment, and to procure the issuing of money for them. The returns of the several companies in the military way E. Loudon will take care of. What distressed us most in this country, and was the real cause why the rebels came to head after their flight from Stirling, was the want of arms and money, which, God knows, had been enough called for and expected. Had these come in time, we could have armed a force sufficient to have prevented them looking at us on this side Drumachter. The men were prepared, several hundreds assembled in their own counties, and some hundreds actually on the march; but unfortunately the ship that brought the few arms that were sent, and the sum of money that came, did not arrive in our road sooner than the very day on which the rebels made themselves master of the barrack of Ruthven. It was then too late to fetch unarmed men from distances, it was even unsafe to land the arms and the money; so we were forced to suffer them remain on board and to retreat with the force we had, to preserve them for the further annoyance of the enemy. Another ill consequence the scrimping us of money had, was that—as there were a great many contingent services absolutely necessary, and as all the money that could be raised upon Lord Loudon's credit and mine was not sufficient to answer these extraordinary services—we were obliged to make free with the cash remitted for the subsistence of the companies. This at the long run will

come out as broad as it is long when accounts are made up and allowances made for the contingent expense; but in the meantime it saddles us with the trouble of settling and passing an account.

"If any one will reflect on the situation I was in, and consider what I had to do, he will soon be convinced that the expense I laid out could not be small. So far as I could command money of my own, you will easily believe it was employed without hesitation; and of that I say nothing at present. But when the expedient proposed by the Marquis of Tweeddale of taking bills to be drawn on Mr. Pelham failed, I had no resource but to take up money where I could find it, from well-disposed persons, on my own proper notes. That money so picked up was at the time of great service; and now that peace is restored, the gentlemen with great reason expect to be repaid. You can guess how ill I like a dun, and I should hope now that the confusions are over, there can be no great difficulty in procuring me a remittance, or leave to draw upon Mr. Pelham or some other proper person, to the extent of the sum thus borrowed, which does not exceed £1500 sterling. . . . I am heartily tired of this erratic course I have been in, but as the prevention of any future disturbance is a matter of great moment, and which requires much deliberation and some skill, if those on whom it lies to frame the scheme for that purpose imagine I can be of any use to them, I should not grudge the additional fatigue of another journey; but it is not improbable their resolutions may be already taken," &c. There is in this letter an honest feeling, and a frankly expressed conviction of the value of his services; and though possessed with a prophetic anticipation of their being latterly to be overlooked, an equally open and straightforwardly expressed determination to continue them as long as they should be useful to his country, strongly indicative of that high-minded devotion to the best interests of his species, which peculiarly characterized this great man. At the same time, there is manifested the most delicate feeling with regard to the money part of the transaction. What portion, and that was a large one, had been advanced from his own treasury he makes for the present no account of; but he pleads in the most gentlemanly manner in behalf of those who had assisted him at the time, and could scarcely be expected to have the same disinterested regard to the public service, and the same degree of philosophic patience. They expect with reason, he remarks, to be paid, and he interposes in the most delicate manner his own repugnance to be dunned, as the most pressing of all arguments in their favour. Surely never was so small a request, and so exceedingly well founded, so modestly prepared, yet never perhaps did a reasonable one meet with a more careless reception. Upwards of a month elapsed before he had an answer from George Ross, with a bill for £500, which perhaps was not for his own use. It has been generally said that he never received one farthing, and to his generous spirit, if he received only this small portion, which we dare not affirm he did, taken in connection with the manner in which he did receive it, it must have been nearly, if not more mortifying than if he had not. His grace of Newcastle took no notice of his letter till he was under the necessity of writing to him upon another subject, two months afterwards, and then in the most cold and formal manner imaginable. Of any reply from Pelham and Scroope we have not found a vestige, and would fondly hope that, courtiers as they were, they had so much grace remaining as to be

unable to put pen to paper upon a business so disgraceful.

To a mind so pure and so gentle as was that of President Forbes, this ingratitude on the part of the government must have been exceedingly painful; but we do not believe that it was the only or the principal thing that weighed down his spirit. To the morality of courts and the gratitude of courtiers he was, in theory at least, no stranger, and as a prudent and practical man, must have been in some measure prepared to grapple with them; but for the base duplicity and the ingratitude of his friends and neighbours, many of whom had betrayed his confidence in the grossest manner, he could scarcely be prepared, and they must have affected him deeply. These, while they wrung his heart with the most pungent feelings of sorrow, furnished to the ignorant, the suspicious, and the envious, fruitful topics of detraction and misrepresentation, against which, he must have been aware, the best intentions and the most upright actions have too often been found to afford no protection. The care of the Highlands had been imposed upon him for many years, he had been a father and a friend to almost every principal family they contained, and, with few exceptions, these families had in return made the strongest professions of loyalty to the government, and of friendship and affection to himself. This they had done too with such apparent sincerity, as induced him to report them perfectly loyal at the very moment they were signing associations, purchasing arms, and ready to appear in the field against the government. How must he have felt to see the very men he had saved from total destruction, procured them the favourable notice of the government, and even high and honourable situations, rushing, from mistaken views of their own or their country's interests, upon the ruin of both! It was this, we have no doubt, gave the secret but incurable wound, which, though he continued to perform the duties of his station with inflexible firmness, and with imperturbable patience, brought him by slow degrees to an untimely grave.

Though the lord-president continued to discharge his office with his usual fidelity and diligence, and though he uttered no complaints, it had long been matter of grief to his friends to observe his health rapidly declining, and in the month of November it was judged necessary to send for his son from England, who arrived only in time to receive his last advice and blessing. He died on the 10th day of December, 1747, in the sixty-second year of his age. The same day he died the following memorandum was made by his son:—"My father entered into the everlasting life of God, trusting, hoping, and believing through the blood of Christ, eternal life and happiness. When I first saw my father upon the bed of death, his blessing and prayer to me was—"My dear John, you have just come in time to see me die. May the great God of heaven and earth bless and preserve you! You have come to a very poor fortune, partly through my own extravagance, and partly through the oppression of power. I am sure you will forgive me, because what I did was with a good intention. I know you to be an honest-hearted lad. Andrew Mitchell loves you affectionately; he will advise you, and do what he can for you. I depend upon Scroope, too, which you may let him know. I will advise you never to think of coming into parliament. I left some notes with the two William Forbeses in case I had not seen you. They are two affectionate lads, and will be able to help you in some affairs better than you would have done yourself. John Hossack will help you in your affairs in the north. My heart bleeds for poor John

Steel; I recommended him to you. When I was in the north I paid some considerably large sums that I never dreamed of before, towards defraying the charges occasioned by the rebellion. There is but one thing I repent me of in my whole life—not to have taken better care of you. May the great God of heaven and earth bless and preserve you! I trust in the blood of Christ. Be always religious, fear and love God. You may go, you can be of no service to me here." This shows how deeply this first of patriots felt the unrequited sacrifices he had made for his country, though he had never allowed these feelings to interfere with the discharge of his public duties. His fears were certainly not without foundation, for his estate, in consequence of the sacrifices he had made, was encumbered with debts to the amount of £30,000 sterling; and for several years after his death there did not appear to be any possibility of going on with it, but by selling the one half to preserve the other. Matters, however, proceeded at Culloiden much better than was expected. In 1749 the government bestowed a pension of £400 sterling a year upon John Forbes, the lord-president's son, a worthy man, but possessed of no great talents for public business; and warned by the example, and profiting by the prudent advice of his father, he spent his days in retirement, probably with a higher enjoyment of life than if he had been surrounded with all the splendours of the most exalted station, and in less than thirty years had not only cleared his estate of all encumbrances, but added to it considerably by the purchase of contiguous lands, and thus, in his case, were verified the words of inspiration, "The good man is merciful and lendeth, and his seed is blessed."

Though the signal services of the Lord-president Forbes were overlooked by those who ought most highly to have esteemed them, and whose proper province it was to have rewarded them, they were not lost sight of by his grateful countrymen, all of whom seem to have regarded his death as a national calamity. He had been a public character upwards of thirty years, during which scarcely one motion had been made for the public benefit but what had originated with or had received its most powerful support from him. In the infant manufactures of his country he took unceasing interest, and his upright and pure spirit breathed into her tribunals of justice an order and an equitable impartiality to which they were before total strangers, and which to this day happily never has forsaken them. Besides the new order of court as to the hearing of causes, which he had the merit of introducing, and which has been already alluded to, he wrought great and happy changes in the manner of the judges. Before his time the senators often delivered their opinions with a warmth that was highly indecorous, detracting greatly from the dignity of the court and the weight and authority of its decisions: this, by the candour, the strict integrity, and the nice discernment, combined with that admirable command of temper which marked his character, he was enabled completely to overcome, and to introduce in its place a dignified urbanity and a gentlemanly deference among the members of court to the opinions of each other, which succeeding lords-president have found no difficulty to sustain.

The following character has been drawn of him by a late historian, with which we shall conclude this memoir:—"In person, the Lord-president Forbes was elegant and well formed, his countenance open and animated, his manner dignified, but easy and prepossessing. His natural talents were of the very first order, enlarged by an excellent education, com-

pletely disciplined and fully matured by habits of intense study, and of minute, and at the same time extensive, observation; and they were all employed most honourably and conscientiously in the real business of life. His learning was profound and extensive beyond that of his compeers; and, in forcible, manly, and persuasive eloquence at the Scottish bar, he had no competitor. Yet with all this vast and visible superiority, he was never dogmatical. His was not the paltry ambition that could gratify itself by uttering tiny conceits or sparkling witticisms; nor did he ever, like too many who have shone in his profession, attempt to dispose of an unmanageable subject by heaping upon it a mountain of words, or enveloping it in a whirlwind of bombast and nonsense; everything like artifice he held in abhorrence; and truth and justice being at all times the objects he aimed at, the law of kindness was ever on his lips, and an impress of candour and sincerity gave an oracular dignity to every sentiment which he uttered. Of the volume of inspiration, which he could consult with advantage in the original tongues, he was a diligent student; and that he had experienced its transforming influence in no mean degree was evident from the tone of his mind, and the whole tenor of his life and conversation. Like another of Scotland's most eminent benefactors, John Knox—with whom alone, from the magnitude and for the difficulty of his services, though they were considerably dissimilar, he deserves to be compared—he probably felt himself called upon rather for active personal exertion than for those efforts of mind which can be well and successfully made only in the seclusion of the closet, and through the medium of the press; of course his writings are not numerous, but they exhibit, particularly his *Thoughts on Religion, Natural and Revealed*, strong traces of a pure, a pious, and an original mind. In private life he was everything that is amiable—as a husband and a father, affectionately tender—as a friend, generous in the extreme, often distressing himself that he might fully and seasonably perform the duties implied in the character. His neighbours he was always ready to oblige; and merit of every description found in him a prompt, a steady, and a disinterested patron. He was sprung from a family whose hospitality had been proverbial for ages; and when his health, which was generally delicate, and his numerous vocations would permit, few men could enjoy a bottle and a friend with a more exquisite relish. To be of his party in these moments of relaxation was a felicity eagerly coveted by the greatest and the wittiest men of his age; and, to sum up all in one word, such was the sterling worth of his character, that he was universally feared by the bad, and as universally loved by the good of all parties."

FORBES, JOHN, second son of Bishop Forbes, was born May 2d, 1593, and received the rudiments of his religious and literary education under the care of his father. In 1607 he was sent to King's College, Aberdeen, where he studied philosophy. Afterwards he spent some years on the Continent, studying theology, first at Heidelberg, under the celebrated Pareus, and subsequently at Sedan and other celebrated universities in Upper and Lower Germany. He devoted much of his attention to the writings of the fathers, and made great progress in the study of Hebrew, both of which branches of knowledge he considered as of the first importance to a theologian. The learning which he thus acquired enabled him, in 1618, to maintain a public dispute against the archbishop and the Lutherans at Upsal. Returning next year to Scotland, he was, at the following synod

of the diocese of Aberdeen, called to the profession of the gospel, and soon after was elected professor of divinity in King's College. By the death of his elder brother in 1625, he became heir-apparent of his father as laird of Corse and O'Neil, to which honour he afterwards duly acceded. At the breaking out of the covenanting insurrection in 1638, Forbes published an admonition, in which he pointed out the evils likely to arise from the bond into which the nation was plunging itself, and loudly and earnestly implored that peace might be preserved. It is well known that this advice was not followed, although the people of the northern provinces generally abstained from entering into the covenant. In summer that year a deputation of the Covenanters, headed by the Earl of Montrose, arrived at Aberdeen, for the purpose of arguing the inhabitants into an acceptance of their bond; but, owing to the exertions of Forbes and other preachers and professors, they met with little success. The Aberdeen doctors, as they were called, maintained a disputation against the deputies of the covenant with such spirit and effect as forms a curious episode in the history of the civil war. They were warmly thanked by the king for their loyalty, and attracted the respectful notice of the church party in England, on account of their pro-episcopal arguments. In a grateful letter addressed to them by the king from Whitehall, January 31, 1639, the name of Forbes stands first in the list. But the Covenanters were now too warmly engaged in their opposition to the king, to pay much attention to argument. Early in 1639, instead of a deputation to argue, an army came to coerce; so that, finding no longer any safety in Aberdeen, the bishop and two of the doctors took shipping for England, while Forbes retired to his house of Corse. After the pacification of Berwick he returned to the city, and preached for some time in one of the vacant pulpits. Hostilities, however, were soon after renewed, and as the Covenanters were resolved to urge the bond upon every public person, Forbes, as well as others, was summoned before the synod of Aberdeen, to answer for his recusancy. It was in vain that he urged his conscientious objections: the times were not such as to allow of a refined toleration, and he was deposed for contumacy. He appears to have now devoted himself, in the library of King's College, to the composition of his great work, the *Historico-Theological Institutions*, which he was about to finish when the solemn league and covenant occasioned a fresh application to men of his class, and he was obliged with great reluctance to leave his native country, April 5th, 1644. He resided for two years in Holland, and there completed and published his *Institutions*, which was by far the most learned and valuable work of the kind that had then been offered to the public. Returning to his native country in 1646, he lived for some time in unmolested retirement at Corse, where he busied himself in making some considerable additions to the work above mentioned, which were not published during the author's lifetime. After a life which his biographer has called a continual preparation for death, this learned, pious, and virtuous man expired, April 29th, 1648, at the immature age of fifty-five. He had, by his wife, who was a native of Middleburg, two sons, of whom one survived him, and was the heir of his learning and virtue, as well as of his estates. The friends of Dr. Forbes desired that he should be buried in the cathedral beside his father; but this was forbidden by the party then in power, and the mourners were obliged to carry his body to an ordinary churchyard, where it lies without any monument. It is painful to add another instance of

the narrow spirit to which religious hostility was carried in an age otherwise characterized by so much zealous piety. While professor, Forbes had purchased a house at Old Aberdeen, where King's College is situated, and made it over for the use of his successors; but, having forgot to secure his life-interest in it, he was afterwards deprived of it by the prevailing party.¹

FORBES, SIR JOHN, M.D., D.C.L., F.R.S. This eminent physician was the fourth son of Mr. Alexander Forbes of the Earie, Banffshire, and was born in 1787. He commenced his professional education at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and afterwards entered the university of Edinburgh, where, however, he attended only one session. He entered the royal navy as assistant surgeon, where he continued in active service until 1816, but still finding opportunity to attend several courses of medical lectures in Edinburgh, and in 1817 he graduated there as M.D. Being now on half-pay, he first settled as a physician at Penzance, and afterwards at Chichester. His leisure time was carefully devoted to the study of science in connection with his profession, particularly to geology and climatology, on which subjects he published the results of his observations. His first works which brought him into notice among his brethren were his translations of the writings of Avenbrugger and Laennec, on auscultation and the use of the stethoscope, especially his translation of Laennec, which has gone through five editions; and they had the merit of turning the attention of the medical faculty to the improved methods of physical diagnosis which now form so important a part of medical practice, especially in the detection of diseases of the heart and lungs.

In 1828 Dr. Forbes published a work entitled *Observations on the Climate of Penzance and Land's End*. He was also one of the founders of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association, now called the British Medical Association, which, among its other objects, was to collect information with regard to the medical topography of England; and to the first and second volumes of its *Transactions* he contributed an able and interesting account of the "Medical Topography of the Hundred of Penwith." In this paper he gave an ample and minute detail of the diseases of the districts included within that range, and their relation to the soil and other physical conditions of the country. Such inquiries would have turned the medical faculty into the right direction, and had they been seconded by the British Medical Association might have been productive of great public benefit. In the latter part of the year 1833 he arranged the plan of the *Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine*, which was completed in 1835; and being now its editor in conjunction with Dr. Conolly, he contributed to its pages several of its best articles. Of this *Cyclopædia* it is enough to state, that the diseases were arranged according to their alphabetical titles, and treated according to the latest and most improved discoveries. He was also the editor of the *British and Foreign Medical Review*, until its union with the *Medico-Chirurgical Review* changed its name into that of the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review*. This work, which has be-

¹ The works of Dr. Forbes are—1. *Irenicum Amatoribus Veritatis et Pacis in Ecclesia Scotica*, Aberdeen, 4to, 1629.—2. *Joannis Forbesii a Corse Institutiones Historico-Theologicae*, Amstel. folio, 1645.—3. *Annotations to the Latin Translation of his Father's Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, Amstel. 4to, 1646.—4. *Ten Books of Moral Theology*. His whole works were collected and published in two volumes folio, at Amsterdam, in 1703, with a Life prefixed by Mr. George Garden.

come so powerful an organ for the diffusion of sound medical information, was in its earliest state so ably conducted by Dr. Forbes, that in literary power alone it was as able and distinguished as the highest quarterly reviews of the day. In its management it mainly owed its rise to the assiduity of Forbes, who introduced into it articles written by the most eminent and ingenious medical writers of the period—and to his independent spirit, which would admit nothing inferior into its pages, however influentially patronized. But this very disinterestedness and independence of spirit not only created umbrage, but occasioned him pecuniary loss, and he retired from the editorship of the *British and Foreign Medical Quarterly* before he could reap the fruits of its success. He was not allowed, however, to depart into obscurity, or remain unrewarded. In 1840 he removed to London, where his well-established professional reputation had preceded his arrival, and he was appointed physician in ordinary to her majesty's household, and physician extraordinary to his royal highness Prince Albert. He was early elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him by the university of Oxford.

The last years in the life of Sir John Forbes were crowned with the honours he had merited, and passed in activity and usefulness. His love of literature abode with him to the last, and this he indulged by writing works of a lighter description than those in which he had hitherto been engaged. In 1849 he published *A Physician's Holiday, or a Month in Switzerland*, containing an interesting account of the principal localities in that romantic country. In 1852 he published an account of a tour he made in Ireland, under the title of *Memoranda made in Ireland in the Autumn of 1852*; and in 1856 the notice of another tour, under the title of *Sight-seeing in Germany and the Tyrol, in the Autumn of 1855*. Reverting again more immediately to his profession and past studies, he published in 1857 his treatise on *Nature and Art in the Cure of Disease*, which may be regarded as a confession of his medical creed; with this his public labours may be said to have terminated. He had already been subject to vertigo, from the sudden attacks of which he sometimes fell to the ground; his memory was impaired, so that he had but a dim recollection of objects and places; and he had a tendency to turn to the right side. Under such circumstances it was necessary to relinquish his practice, and this he did three years before he died, presenting at the same time his large and valuable library to Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he had first been educated. In the same spirit of benevolence and mindfulness of early benefits, he had two years before that period, in conjunction with Sir James Clark, established a library at Fordyce, where he had received his education as a school-boy. Sir John died at Whitchurch, Oxfordshire, on the 13th of November, 1861, aged seventy-four years.

FORBES, PATRICK, an eminent prelate, was by birth laird of Corse and O'Neil, in Aberdeenshire, and descended from Sir Patrick Forbes (third son of James, second Lord Forbes) armour-bearer to King James II., from whom in 1482 he got a charter of the barony of O'Neil. From the same branch of the noble family of Forbes are descended the Forbeses baronets of Craigievar, and the Forbeses earls of Granard in Ireland. The subject of this memoir was born in 1564, and received the rudiments of his education under Thomas Buchanan (nephew of the author of *The History of Scotland*), who was then schoolmaster of Stirling. He next studied philosophy

under Andrew Melville at Glasgow; and when that eminent reformer and learned man was removed to be principal of St. Andrews, Forbes followed him thither, and was his pupil in Hebrew and theology. Such was the progress he made in these studies, and such his gravity, wisdom, and blamelessness of life, that at an uncommonly early age he was solicited to become a professor in the college. His father, however, suddenly recalled his son, in order that he might settle in life as a country gentleman; and he soon after married Lucretia Spens, daughter of David Spens of Wormiston, in Fife. He lived for some time in rural retirement near Montrose, where his learning and piety attracted a great concourse of visitors, especially of the clergy. At the death of his father he removed to the family seat of Corse, where, to use the quaint phrase of his Latin biographer, Garden, he at once cultivated his books and his fields, regularly performing the duties of a clergyman every Sunday before his domestics.

At the time when Patrick Forbes entered into public life, the reformed Church of Scotland had not settled down into any regular system of ecclesiastical polity, and sometimes things were allowed to be done which would now be considered as at least eccentric, if not indecent. At the same time, the profession of a clergyman, though holding forth little pecuniary advantage, was invested with so much popular power as to be highly inviting. We hence find, in the instances of Erskine of Dun, Bruce of Kinnaird, and others, that it had temptations even for gentlemen of good estates. It appears that, in the loose system of polity then acted upon, the laird of Corse, merely because he was a devout man, and possessed of some territorial influence, was repeatedly entreated to perform the duties of a clergyman, as if it had been supposed that any little deficiency in point of clerical ordination that could be urged against him would be fully compensated by his weight as the laird of Corse. He accordingly did act temporarily as a minister during the time when the clergymen who had attended the proscribed General Assembly at Aberdeen in 1605 were suffering exile from their parishes. Instead of this exciting episcopal interference, we are told that Patrick Blackburn, Bishop of Aberdeen, no sooner heard of the excellent ministrations of the laird of Corse than he, in concurrence with the synod of his diocese, entreated him to take ordination, and become the minister of his own parish. Although this request was made oftener than once, Forbes steadily resisted it, alleging as a reason his sense of the weight of the priestly duties, and of the difficulty of the times. These things, however, being conveyed by some malevolent person to the ear of the primate (Gladstones, Archbishop of St. Andrews), that dignitary sent an order prohibiting Corse from preaching any more until he should take ordination. Having no alternative, the laird returned to his former practice of family worship, attending the church every Sunday as a private individual, and afterwards exercising upon a portion of the Scriptures before his servants. He went on thus for seven years, and was so far from exciting schism by his well-meant exertions, that no one in the neighbourhood was a more regular or respectful attendant upon parochial ordinances. At length the neighbouring gentlemen, and even the clergy, frequented the family worship at Corse, where they heard most able elucidations of the epistles of St. Paul, and also those commentaries on the Revelations of which an abridgment was afterwards published.

At the end of the period alluded to the minister of Keith, though a pious and worthy man, fell into a

fit of melancholy, and, after suffering for some time, made an attempt upon his own life. He had hardly inflicted the fatal wound when he was overtaken by deep remorse, and, having sent for the laird of Corse, was immediately attended by that devout man, who proceeded to reason with him in so earnest a manner as to open his soul fully to a sense of spiritual influences. The unfortunate man with his dying breath renewed the request which had so often been proffered to Forbes, that he would consent to undertake the pastoral charge of the parish; which request, taking place under such impressive circumstances, and enforced at the same time by the eloquence of the neighbouring clergymen and gentry, at length prevailed, and the laird of Corse immediately became minister of Keith. He was at this time forty-eight years of age.

In 1618 Forbes was appointed Bishop of Aberdeen, with the sincere approbation of all classes of the people. Attached from principle to the Episcopal form of church government, he concurred in the five articles of Perth, which were that year imposed upon the Scottish church. It does not appear, however, that Bishop Forbes used any severe means to carry these articles into practice, for we are informed by Burnet (*Life of Badell*) that, by his remarkable prudence, he "greatly allayed, and almost conquered, not only the distempered judgments, but the perverse and turbulent humours, of divers in his diocese." In his whole conduct as a bishop he appears to have been uniformly influenced by an honest and conscientious regard to the obligations of the character which he had assumed, and what he conceived to be the best means of promoting the interests of piety and virtue. He was not only careful to fix worthy clergymen in his diocese, but to make proper provision for their support and that of their successors. He succeeded in recovering many of the revenues which, in the tumults of the reforming period, had been lost or neglected; and he used all proper methods with heritors and titulars of teinds and others to make augmentation of stipends, which he had no sooner effected in some cases than he dissolved the pernicious union of parishes, and established a clergyman in each. Even from his own income, limited as it must have been, he bestowed much upon the poorer clergy. He was very strict in examining those who applied for ordination, and thus secured for future times a superior body of clergy. He was also indefatigable in visiting and inspecting the clergymen of his diocese—a duty which he generally performed in a somewhat singular manner. "It was his custom," says Burnet, "to go without pomp or noise, attended only by one servant, that he might the more easily be informed of what belonged to his cure. When he was told of the weakness or negligence of any of his clergy, he would go and lodge near his church on Saturday, in the evening, without making himself known, and the next day, when he was in the pulpit, he would go and hear him, that by this he might be able to judge what his common sermons were; and as they appeared to him, he encouraged or admonished him."

Sometime after his promotion to the bishopric he was appointed chancellor of King's College, Aberdeen, which institution he raised from a state of utter desolation and neglect, to be one of the most flourishing in the kingdom. He fully repaired the buildings; he increased the library, revived the professorships of divinity, canon law, and physic; and procured the addition of a new professorship in divinity. At length, finding himself drawing near his latter end, he sent for all the clergy of Aberdeen to receive the sacrament along with him, and two

days after, March 28th, 1635, breathed his last, with the most pious expressions of hope, and full of religious consolation. At his funeral, which took place in the cathedral church of Aberdeen, Dr. Barron preached an appropriate sermon to a numerous auditory, which was afterwards published.¹

This great ornament of the Episcopal church in Scotland is characterized, in the manner of the time, as a man of singularly clear genius, solid judgment, the highest prudence, piety, and integrity, of much authority in counsel, and invincible fortitude and constancy of mind. Bishop Burnet informs us that he "scarce ever suffered any man of merit to ask anything at his hands, but anticipated them; while those whose characters would not bear a severe scrutiny never dared to solicit him. He had a quick eye and sprightly countenance, which proved an additional ornament to his expressions, which were grave and majestic, and of peculiar insinuation and grace. In parliament he was elected one of the lords of the articles, and his judgment there and in council was considered as an oracle."

FORBES, SIR WILLIAM, of Pitsligo, an eminent banker and citizen, was born at Edinburgh on the 5th of April, 1739. He was descended, by the father's side, from a younger branch of the ancient and respectable family of Forbes of Monmusk, the proprietors, at the close of the seventeenth century, of the noble barony of that name on the banks of the Don, in Aberdeenshire; and by his paternal grandmother, from the still older and more dignified family of the Lords Pitsligo, in the same county. His mother was also a branch of the family of Forbes of Monmusk, one of the first families in Scotland who were invested with the badge of Nova Scotia baronets, which still is worn by their descendants. His father, who was bred to the bar, and was rising into eminence in that profession, died when he was only four years of age, leaving his mother, then a young woman, with two infant sons, and very slender means of support. She lived at first at Milne of Forgue, on the estate of Bogny in Aberdeenshire, with the proprietor of which territory she was connected through her mother, and afterwards fixed her residence at Aberdeen with her two sons, where she remained for several years, superintending their education. While there the younger son, who is represented as having been a most engaging boy, died, leaving her remaining hopes to centre on Sir William, then her only child.

Though reared in straitened circumstances, Sir William had not only the benefit of an excellent education, but was under the immediate care and superintendence of the most respectable gentlemen in Aberdeenshire. His guardians were Lord Forbes, his uncle Lord Pitsligo, his maternal uncle Mr. Morrison of Bogny, and his aunt's husband Mr. Urquhart of Meldrum, who were not only most attentive to the duties of their trust, but habituated him from his earliest years to the habits and ideas of good society, and laid the foundation of that highly honourable and gentlemanlike character which so remarkably distinguished him in after-life. It has been often observed, that the source of everything which is pure and upright in subsequent years, is to be found in the lessons instilled into the infant mind by maternal love; and of this truth the character of Sir William Forbes affords a signal example. He

¹ The only works of Bishop Forbes which have been published, are his *Commentary on the Revelation*, printed at London in 1613 (republished in Latin after his death by his son); and a treatise entitled *Exercitationes de Verbo Dei, et Dissertatio de Versionibus Vernaculis*.

himself uniformly declared, and solemnly repeated on his death-bed, that he owed everything to the upright character, pious habits, and sedulous care of his mother. She belonged to a class formerly well known in this country, who, though descended from ancient and honourable families, and intimate with the best society in Scotland, lived in privacy, and what would now be deemed poverty, solely engaged in the care of their children and the discharge of their social and religious duties. Both Sir William's father and his mother were members of the Scottish Episcopal church—a religious body which, although exposed to many vexations and disabilities since the Revolution in 1688, continued to number among its members many of the most respectable and conscientious inhabitants of the country. To this communion Sir William continued ever after to belong, and to his humane and beneficent exertions its present comparatively prosperous and enlarged state may be in a great measure ascribed.

As soon as the education of her son was so far advanced as to permit of his entering upon some profession, his mother, Lady Forbes, removed to Edinburgh in October, 1753, where an esteemed and excellent friend, Mr. Farquharson of Haughton, prevailed on the Messrs. Coutts soon after to receive him as an apprentice into their highly respectable banking-house—among the earliest establishments of the kind in Edinburgh. The mother and son did not, in the first instance, keep house for themselves, but boarded with a respectable widow lady; and it is worthy of being recorded as a proof of the difference in the style of living and the value of money between that time and the present, that the sum paid for the board of the two was only £40 a year. At Whitsunday, 1754, as Sir William was bound an apprentice to the banking-house, she removed to a small house in Forrester's Wynd, consisting only of a single floor. Even in these humble premises she was visited by persons of the very first distinction in Scotland, and frequently entertained them at tea parties in the afternoon—a mode of seeing society which, although almost gone into disuse with the increasing wealth and luxury of modern manners, was then very prevalent. At that period also, when dinner or supper parties were given by ladies of rank or opulence, which was sometimes though seldom the case, their drawing-rooms were frequented in the afternoon by the young and the old of both sexes, and opportunities afforded for the acquisition of elegance of manner, and a taste for polite and superior conversation, of which Sir William did not fail to profit in the very highest degree.

It was an early impression of Sir William's, that one of his principal duties in life consisted in restoring his ancient but now dilapidated family; and it was under this feeling of duty that he engaged in the mercantile profession. His apprenticeship lasted seven years, during which he continued to live with Lady Forbes in the same frugal and retired manner, but in the enjoyment of the same dignified and excellent society which they had cultivated upon their first coming to Edinburgh. After its expiry he acted for two years as clerk in the establishment, during which time his increasing emoluments enabled him to make a considerable addition to the comforts of his mother. In 1761 his excellent abilities and application to business induced the Messrs. Coutts to admit him as a partner, with a small share in the banking-house, and he ever after ascribed his good fortune in life to the fortunate connection thus formed with that great mercantile family. But without being insensible to the benefits arising from such a

connection, it is perhaps more just to ascribe it to his own undeviating purity and integrity of character, which enabled him to turn to the best advantage those fortunate incidents which at one time or other occur to all in life, but which so many suffer to escape from negligence, instability, or a mistaken exercise of their talents.

In 1763 one of the Messrs. Coutts died; another retired from business through ill health, and the two others were settled in London. A new company was therefore formed, consisting of Sir William Forbes, Sir James Hunter Blair, and Sir Robert Herries; and although none of the Messrs. Coutts retained any connection with the firm, their name was retained out of respect to the eminent gentlemen of that name who had preceded them. The business was conducted on this footing till 1773, when the name of the firm was changed to that of Forbes, Hunter, & Co., which it has ever since retained; Sir Robert Herries having formed a separate establishment in St. James Street, London. Of the new firm Sir William Forbes continued to be the head from that time till the period of his death; and to his sound judgment and practical sagacity in business, much of its subsequent prosperity was owing. His first care was to withdraw the concern altogether from the alluring but dangerous speculations in corn in which all the private bankers of Scotland were at that period so much engaged, and to restrict their transactions to the proper business of banking. They commenced issuing notes in 1783, and rapidly rose, from the respect and esteem entertained for all the members of the firm, as well as the prudence and judgment with which their business was conducted, to a degree of public confidence and prosperity almost unprecedented in this country. In 1770 he married Miss Elizabeth Hay, eldest daughter of Dr. (afterwards Sir James) Hay—a union productive of unbroken happiness to his future life. This event obliged him to separate from his mother, as her habits of privacy and retirement were inconsistent with the more extended circle of society in which he was now to engage. Blessed with a serene and contented disposition, enjoying the kindness, and gratified by the rising prosperity and high character which her son had obtained; and fortunate in seeing the fortunes of her own and her husband's family rapidly reviving under his successful exertions, she lived happy and contented to an extreme old age, until she died on the 26th December, 1789.

The benevolence of Sir William Forbes' character, his unwearied charity and activity of disposition, naturally led to his taking a very prominent share in the numerous public charities of Edinburgh. The first public duty of this kind which he undertook, was that of a manager of the charity workhouse, to which he was appointed in 1771. At this period the expenditure of that useful establishment was greater than its income, and it was necessary for the managers to communicate for several years after with the magistrates and other public bodies, as to providing for the deficits, and the state and management of the poor. Sir William Forbes was one of the sub-committee appointed by the managers to arrange this important matter, and upon him was devolved the duty of drawing up the reports and memorials respecting that charity, which, during the years 1772 and 1773, were printed and circulated to induce the public to come forward and aid the establishment—a duty which he performed with equal ability and success. The means of improving this institution, in which he ever through life took the warmest interest, occupied about this period a very large share of his thoughts, and in 1777 he embodied them in

the form of a pamphlet, which he published in reference to the subject, abounding both in practical knowledge and enlightened benevolence.

Another most important institution about the same period was deeply indebted to his activity and perseverance for the successful termination of its difficulties. The high-school having become ruinous, and unfit for the increasing number of scholars who attended it, a few public-spirited individuals formed a committee in conjunction with the magistrates of the city, to build a new one. Of this committee Sir William Forbes was chairman; and besides contributing largely himself, it was to his activity and perseverance that the success of the undertaking was mainly to be ascribed. The amount subscribed was £2300, a very large sum in those days, but still insufficient to meet the expenses of the work. By his exertions the debt of £1100 was gradually liquidated, and he had the satisfaction of laying the foundation-stone of the edifice destined to be the scene of the early efforts of Sir Walter Scott, and many of the greatest men whom Scotland has produced.

He was admitted a member of the Orphan Hospital directory on the 8th of August, 1774, and acted as manager from 1783 to 1788, and from 1797 to 1801. He always took a warm interest in the concerns of that excellent charity, and devoted a considerable part of his time to the care and education of the infants who were thus brought under his superintendence. He became a member of the Merchant Company in 1784, and in 1786 was elected master—an office which, though held only for a year, was repeatedly conferred upon him during the remainder of his life. He always took an active share in the management of that great company, and was the promoter of a plan adopted long after, of rendering the annuities to widows belonging to it a matter of right, and not of favour or solicitation. The same situation made him a leading member of the committee of merchants, appointed in 1772, to confer with Sir James Montgomery, then lord-advocate, on the new bankrupt act introduced in that year, and many of its most valuable clauses were suggested by his experience. In that character he took a leading part in the affairs of the Merchant Maidens' Hospital, which is governed by the officers of the Merchant Company, and was elected governor of that charity in 1786. The same causes made him governor of Watson's Hospital during the year that he was president or assistant of the Merchant Company; and president of the governors of Gillespie's Hospital, when that charity was opened in 1802. He faithfully and assiduously discharged the duties connected with the management of these hospitals during all the time that he was at their head, and devoted to these truly benevolent objects a degree of time which, considering his multifarious engagements in business, is truly surprising, and affords the best proof how much may be done, even by those most engaged, by a proper economy in that important particular.

From the first institution of the Society of Antiquaries, and the Royal Society in 1783, he was a constituted member of both, and took an active share in their formation and management. From 1785 downwards he was constantly a manager of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, and was indefatigable in his endeavours to ameliorate the situation and assuage the sufferings of the unfortunate inmates of that admirable establishment. At his death he left £200 to the institution, to be applied to the fund for the benefit of patients.

In 1787 he was appointed one of the trustees for the encouragement of manufactures and fisheries, of

which his friend Mr. Arbuthnot was secretary, and he continued for the remainder of his life to be one of its most active and efficient members.

One of the greatest improvements which Edinburgh received was the formation of the South Bridge in 1784, under the auspices and direction of his friend Sir James Hunter Blair. In the management and guidance of this great work that enterprising citizen was mainly guided by the advice of his friend Sir William Forbes, and he was afterwards one of the most active and zealous trustees who, under the 25 Geo. III. c. 28, carried into full execution after his death that great public undertaking. In selecting the plan to be adopted, the more plain design which afforded the accommodation required was preferred to the costly and magnificent one furnished by the Messrs. Adams: and with such judgment and wisdom was the work carried into effect, that it was completed not only without any loss, but with a large surplus to the public. Of this surplus £3000 was applied to another very great improvement, the draining of the Meadows, while the ten per cent. addition to the land-tax, which had been levied under authority of the act as a guarantee fund, and not being required for the purposes of the trust, was paid over to the city of Edinburgh for the use of the community. When these results are contrasted with those of similar undertakings of the present age, the sagacity of the subject of this memoir and his partner, Sir James Hunter Blair, receives a new lustre far above what was reflected upon them even at the time when the benefits of their exertions were more immediately felt.

In 1785 he was prevailed on to accept the situation of chairman of the sub-committee of delegates from the Highland counties for obtaining an alteration of the law passed the year before in regard to small stills within the Highland line. Nearly the whole labour connected with this most important subject, and all the correspondence with the gentlemen who were to support the desired alteration in parliament, fell upon Sir William Forbes. By his indefatigable efforts, however, aided by those of the Duke of Athol, the object was at length attained, and by the 25 Geo. III. this important matter was put upon an improved footing.

Ever alive to the call of humanity and the sufferings of the afflicted, he early directed his attention to the formation of a lunatic asylum in Edinburgh—an institution the want of which was at that time severely felt by all, but especially the poorer classes of society. Having collected the printed accounts of similar institutions in other places, he drew up a sketch of the intended establishment, and an advertisement for its support, in March, 1788. Though a sufficient sum could not be collected to set the design on foot at that time, a foundation was laid, on which, under the auspices of his son, Sir William, and other benevolent and public-spirited individuals, the present excellent structure at Morningside was ultimately reared.

The benevolent Dr. Johnston of Leith having formed in 1792 a plan for the establishment of a blind asylum in Edinburgh, Sir William Forbes, both by liberal subscription and active exertion, greatly contributed to the success of the undertaking. He was the chairman of the committee appointed by the subscribers to draw up regulations for the establishment, and when the committee of management was appointed, he was nominated vice-president, which situation he continued to hold till the time of his death. Without descending farther into detail, it is sufficient to observe that, for the last thirty years of his life, Sir William was either at the head,

or actively engaged in the management, of all the charitable establishments of Edinburgh, and that many of the most valuable of them owed their existence or success to his exertions.

Nor was it only to his native city that his beneficent exertions were confined. The family estate of Pitsligo having been forfeited to the crown in 1746, was brought to sale in 1758, and bought by Mr. Forbes, Lord Pitsligo's only son. His embarrassments, however, soon compelled him to bring the lower barony of Pitsligo to sale, and it was bought by Mr. Garden of Troup: Sir William Forbes being the nearest heir of the family, soon after purchased seventy acres of the upper barony, including the old mansion of Pitsligo, now roofless and deserted. By the death of Mr. Forbes in 1781 Sir William succeeded to the lower barony, with which he had now connected the old mansion house, and thus saw realized his early and favourite wish of restoring to his ancient family their paternal inheritance.

The acquisition of this property, which, though extensive, was, from the embarrassments of the family, in a most neglected state, opened a boundless field for Sir William's active benevolence of disposition. In his character of landlord he was most anxious for the improvement and happiness of the people on his estates, and spared neither time nor expense to effect it. He early commenced their improvement on a most liberal scale, and bent his attention in an especial manner to the cultivation of a large tract of moss which still remained in a state of nature. With this view he laid out in 1783 the village of New Pitsligo, and gave every assistance, by lending money, and forbearance in the exaction of rent, to the incipient exertions of the feuars. Numbers of poor cottars were established by his care on the most uncultivated parts of the estate, most of whom not only paid no rent for the land they occupied, but were pensioners on his bounty—a mode of proceeding which, although it brought only burdens on the estate at first, has since been productive of the greatest benefit by the continual application of that greatest of all improvements to a barren soil—the labour of the human hand. The value of this property, and the means of improvement to the tenantry, were further increased by the judicious purchase in 1787 of the contiguous estates of Pittulie and Pittendrum, which, by their situation on the sea-shore, afforded the means of obtaining in great abundance sea-ware for the lands. The liberal encouragement which he afforded soon brought settlers from all quarters; the great improvements which he made himself served both as a model and an incitement to his tenantry; the formation of the great road from Peterhead to Banff, which passed through the village of New Pitsligo, and to which he largely contributed, connected the new feuars with those thriving seaports; and before his death he had the satisfaction of seeing assembled on a spot which, at his acquisition of the estate, was a barren waste, a thriving population of 300 souls, and several thousand acres smiling with cultivation which were formerly the abode only of the moor-fowl or the curlew.

In order to encourage industry on his estate, he established a spinning-school at New Pitsligo, introduced the linen manufacture, and erected a bleach-field—undertakings which have since been attended with the greatest success. At the same time, to promote the education of the young, he built a school-house, where the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge established a teacher; and in order to afford to persons of all persuasions the means of attending that species of worship to which they were inclined, he built and endowed not only a chapel

of ease, with a manse for the minister, connected with the Established Church, but a chapel, with a dwelling-house for an Episcopal clergyman, for the benefit of those who belonged to that persuasion. Admirable acts of beneficence, hardly credible in one who resided above two hundred miles from this scene of his bounty, and was incessantly occupied in projects of improvements or charity in his own city!

To most men it would appear that such support and attention to these multifarious objects of benevolence, both in Edinburgh and on his Aberdeenshire estates, would have absorbed the whole of both his fortune and his time which could be devoted to objects of beneficence. But that was not Sir William Forbes' character. Indefatigable in activity, unwearied in doing good, he was not less strenuous in private than in public charity; and no human eye will ever know, no human ear ever learn, the extensive and invaluable deeds of kindness and benevolence which he performed, not merely to all the unfortunate who fell within his own observation, but all who were led by his character for beneficence to apply to him for relief. Perhaps no person ever combined to so great a degree the most unbounded pecuniary generosity with delicacy in the bestowal of the gift, and discrimination in the mode in which it was applied. Without giving way to the weakness of indiscriminately relieving all who apply for charity, which so soon surrounds those who indulge in it with a mass of idle or profligate indigence, he made it a rule to inquire personally, or by means of those he could trust, into the character and circumstances of those who were partakers of his bounty: and when he found that it was really deserved, that virtue had been reduced by suffering, or industry blasted by misfortune, he put no bounds to the splendid extent of his benefactions. To one class in particular, in whom the sufferings of poverty are perhaps more severely felt than by any other in society, the remnants of old and respectable families who had survived their relations, or been broken down by misfortune, his charity was in a most signal manner exerted; and numerous aged and respectable individuals who had once known better days would have been reduced by his death to absolute ruin if they had not been fortunate enough to find in his descendants the heirs not only of his fortune, but of his virtue and generosity.

Both Sir William's father and mother were of Episcopalian families, as most of those of the higher class in Aberdeenshire at that period were; and he was early and strictly educated in the tenets of that persuasion. He attended Chief-baron Smith's chapel in Blackfriars' Wynd, of which he was one of the vestry, along with the esteemed Sir Adolphus Oughton, then commander-in-chief in Scotland. In 1771 it was resolved to join this congregation with that of two other chapels in Carruber's Close and Skinner's Close, and build a more spacious and commodious place of worship for them all united. In this undertaking, as in most others of the sort, the labouring oar fell to Sir William Forbes; and by his personal exertions, and the liberal subscriptions of himself and his friends, the Cowgate Chapel was at length completed, afterwards so well known as one of the most popular places of worship in Edinburgh.

When the new bankrupt act, which had been enacted only for a limited time, expired in 1783, Sir William Forbes was appointed convener of the mercantile committee in Edinburgh, which corresponded with the committees of Glasgow and Aberdeen, of which Provost Colquhoun and Mr. Milne were respectively conveners; and their united efforts and intelligence produced the great improvement upon the law which was effected by that act. By it the

sequestration law, which under the old statute had extended to all descriptions of debtors, was confined to merchants, traders, and others properly falling under its spirit; the well-known regulations for the equalization of arrestments and poindings within sixty days, were introduced; sequestrations, which included at first only the personal estate, were extended to the whole property; and the greatest improvement of all was introduced, namely, the restriction of what was formerly alternative to a system of private trust, under judicial control. Sir William Forbes, who corresponded with the London solicitor who drew the bill, had the principal share in suggesting these great outlines of the system of mercantile bankruptcy in this country; and accordingly, when the convention of royal burghs, who paid the expense attending it, voted thanks to the lord-advocate for carrying it through parliament, they at the same time (10th July, 1783) directed their preses to "convey the thanks of the convention to Sir William Forbes, Ilay Campbell, Esq., solicitor-general for Scotland, and Mr. Milne, for their great and uncommon attention to the bill."

On the death of Mr. Forbes of Pitsligo, only son of Lord Pitsligo, in 1782, whose estate and title were forfeited for his accession to the rebellion in 1745, Sir William Forbes, as the nearest heir in the female line of the eldest branch of the family of Forbes, claimed and obtained from the Lyon-court the designation and arms of Pitsligo. He was the heir of the peerage under the destination in the patent, if it had not been forfeited.

Hitherto Sir William Forbes' character has been considered merely as that of a public-spirited, active, and benevolent gentleman, who, by great activity and spotless integrity, had been eminently prosperous in life, and devoted, in the true spirit of Christian charity, a large portion of his ample means and valuable time to the relief of his fellow-creatures, or works of public utility and improvement; but this was not his only character—he was also a gentleman of the highest breeding, and most dignified manners; the life of every scene of innocent amusement or recreation, the head of the most cultivated and elegant society in the capital; and a link between the old Scottish aristocratical families, to which he belonged by birth, and the rising commercial opulence with which he was connected by profession, as well as the literary circle with which he was intimate from his acquirements. His intimate acquaintance with the first literary characters of the day, and the extensive correspondence which had fallen into his hands, probably suggested to Sir William Forbes the idea of writing the life of Dr. Beattie, one of his earliest and most valued friends, and whose eminence was not only such as to call for such an effort of biography, but whose acquaintance with all the eminent writers of the time, rendered his life the most favourable opportunity for portraying the constellation of illustrious men who shed a glory over Scotland at the close of the eighteenth century. He executed this work accordingly, which appeared in 1805, shortly before his death, in such a way as to give the most favourable impression of the distinction which he would have attained as an author, had his path in general not lain in a more extended and peculiar sphere of usefulness. It rapidly went through a second edition, and is now deservedly ranked high among the biographical and historical remains of the last century.

One peculiar and most salutary species of benevolence was practised by Sir William Forbes to the greatest extent. His situation as head of a great banking establishment led to his receiving frequent

applications in the way of business for assistance, from young men not as yet possessed of capital. By a happy combination of caution with liberality in making these advances, by inquiring minutely into the habits and moral character of the individuals assisted, and proportioning the advance to their means and circumstances, he was enabled, to an almost incredible extent, to assist the early efforts of industry, without in the least endangering the funds committed by others to his care. Hundreds in every rank in Edinburgh were enabled, by his paternal assistance, to commence life with advantage, who otherwise could never have been established in the world; and numbers who afterwards rose to affluence and prosperity, never ceased in after-years to acknowledge with the warmest gratitude the timely assistance which first gave the turn to their heretofore adverse fortunes, and laid the foundation of all the success which they afterwards attained.

The benevolence of his disposition and the warmth of his heart seemed to expand with the advance of life and the increase of his wealth. Unlike most other men, he grew even more indulgent and humane, if that were possible, in his older than his earlier years. The intercourse of life, and the experience of a most extensive business, had no effect in diminishing his favourable opinion of mankind, or cooling his ardour in the pursuit of beneficence. Viewing others in the pure and unsullied mirror of his own mind, he imputed to them the warm and benevolent feelings with which he himself was actuated; and thought they were influenced by the same high springs of conduct which directed his own life. It was an early rule with him to set aside every year a certain portion of his income to works of charity, and this proportion increasing with the growth of his fortune, ultimately reached an almost incredible amount. Unsatisfied even with the immense extent and growing weight of his public and private charities, he had, for many years before his death, distributed large sums annually to individuals on whom he could rely to be the almoners of his bounty; and his revered friend Bishop Jolly received in this way £100 a year, to be distributed around the remote village of Fraserburgh, in Aberdeenshire. These sums were bestowed under the most solemn promise of secrecy, and without any one but the person charged with the bounty being aware who the donor was. Numbers in this way in every part of the country partook of his charity, without then knowing whose was the hand which blessed them; and it frequently happened that the same persons who had been succoured by his almoners, afterwards applied to himself; but on such occasions, he invariably relieved them if they really seemed to require assistance; holding, as he himself expressed it, that his public and private charities were distinct; and that his right hand should not know what his left hand had given.

But the end of a life of so much dignity and usefulness, the pattern of benevolence, refinement, and courtesy, was at length approaching. He had a long and dangerous illness in 1791, from which, at the time, he had no hopes of recovery; and which he bore with the resignation and meekness which might have been expected from his character. Though that complaint yielded to the skill of his medical friends, it left the seeds of a still more dangerous malady, in a tendency to water in the chest. In 1802 he had the misfortune to lose Lady Forbes, the loved and worthy partner of his virtues; which sensibly affected his spirits, though he bore the bereavement with the firmness and hope which his strong religious principles inspired. In May, 1806, shortly after his return from London, whither he

had been summoned as a witness on Lord Melville's trial, he began to feel symptoms of shortness of breath; and the last house where he dined was that of his son, Lord Medwyn, on occasion of the christening of one of his children, on the 28th of June, 1806. After that time he was constantly confined to the house; the difficulty of breathing increased, and his sufferings for many months were very severe. During all this trying period not a complaint ever escaped his lips. He constantly prayed for assistance to be enabled to bear whatever the Almighty might send; and at length death closed his memorable career, on the 12th November, 1806, when surrounded by his family, and supported by all the hopes and consolations of religion, amidst the tears of his relations, and the blessings of his country.

Sir William Forbes was succeeded in his title and estates by his son, Sir William, a man of the most amiable and upright character, who having been cut off in the middle of his years and usefulness, was succeeded by his son, Sir John Stuart Forbes. The subject of our memoir left two other sons, Mr. John Hay Forbes (Lord Medwyn) and Mr. George Forbes, and five daughters, four of whom were married: Lady Wood, wife of Sir Alexander Wood; Mrs. Macdonald of Glengarry; Mrs. Skene of Rubislaw; and Mrs. Mackenzie of Portmore. We close this notice of Sir William Forbes, in the words of Sir Walter Scott, who, in his notes to *Marmion*, remarks of him, that he was "unequalled, perhaps, in the degree of individual affection entertained for him by his friends, as well as in the general esteem and respect of Scotland at large;" and who, in that noble poem, commemorates his virtues with equal truth and tenderness:—

"Far may we search before we find
A heart so manly and so kind:"

FORDUN, or **DE FORDUN**, **JOHN**, the celebrated author of the *Scotchchronicon*, was probably born about the middle of the fourteenth century, and at the village of Fordun, in Kincardineshire, from which he seems to have taken his name. Walter Bower, the continuator of his history, speaks of him as a simple man, who never graduated in the schools. It would appear, however, that he possessed sufficient learning to fit him for the profession of a priest and the composition of a Latin history, as these two various kinds of labour were then practised. He was a priest of the diocese of St. Andrews, and a canon of the church of Aberdeen, where he is said to have resided at the time when he composed his history. This great composition was in progress, as he himself informs us, in the reign of Richard II. of England, which extended between the years 1387 and 1399; and this, vague as it is, is one of the few dates that can be supplied respecting the life of the chronicler. The work produced by Fordun, though deformed by the superstitious and incorrect ideas of the age, is nevertheless a respectable production, fully qualified to bear comparison with the works of the contemporary English historians. The merit of the author is increased in no mean degree by the motive which prompted him to undertake the composition—a desire of supplying the want of those historical monuments which Edward I. carried away to England. To quote the quaint words of a monkish writer:¹ "After the loss of these chronicles, a venerable Scottish priest, by name John Fordun, arose, and feeling his heart titillated and effervescent with patriotic zeal, he applied his hand boldly to

the work; nor did he desist from the undertaking until, by the most laborious study and perseverance, traversing England and the adjacent provinces of his own country, he had recovered so much of the lost materials as enabled him to compose five volumes of the delectable gests of the Scots, which he drew up in a sufficiently chronicle-like style, as they are to be found in the great volume entitled the *Scotchchronicon*. In this undertaking it is impossible to refrain from bestowing great praise upon the industry of the author. For, adverting to the fact that to commit all the records of past ages to the memory is the attribute of God rather than man; he, upon this consideration, travelled on foot, like an unwearied and investigating bee, through the flowery meadows of Britain, and into the oracular recesses of Ireland; taking his way through provinces and towns, through universities and colleges, through churches and monasteries, entering into conversation, and not unfrequently sharing at bed and board, with historians and chronologists; turning over their books, debating and disputing with them, and pricking down, or intitulating in his descriptive tablets, all that most pleased him; in this manner, and by pursuing indefatigable investigation, he became possessed of the knowledge which was before unknown to him, and collecting it with studious care in the revolving sinuosities of his parchment code, like rich honeycombs in a historical hive, he, as I have already premised, divided them into five books of elegant composition, which brought down the history to the death of the sainted King David."

The result of Fordun's labours is, that we possess an account of several ages of Scottish history which otherwise would have been in a great measure blank. The two first of the five books into which he divides his work may be laid aside as relating only to the fabulous part of the narrative; the last refers to the period between 1056 and 1153, and is a valuable piece of history. Posterior to the year last mentioned Fordun has only written detached notes, which, however, are themselves of no small value for the facts which they contain. When the venerable canon found himself too infirm to continue his labours, he committed the materials which he had collected to Walter Bower, who, as noticed elsewhere, became abbot of Inchcolm in 1418, and by whom the work was brought down to the year 1436. The *Scotchchronicon* was afterwards copied in various monasteries, and has accordingly been handed down in several shapes, each slightly different from the other, under the titles of the *Book of Scone*, the *Book of Paisley*, and other denominations. Finally, the earlier part formed a substructure for the amplified work of Hector Boece, and the elegant one of Buchanan. The work itself has been twice printed, first at Oxford, by Hearne, in five vols. 8vo, and afterwards at Edinburgh in one volume folio, with a preface by Goodal; but a translation is still a desideratum in Scottish historical literature.

FORDYCE, **DAVID**, professor of philosophy in the Marischal College, Aberdeen, and author of several esteemed works, was one of the twenty-one children of Provost Fordyce of that city, and whose wife was a sister of Alexander and Thomas Blackwell, whose lives have appeared previously in this work. The father of the Blackwells was professor of divinity, Dr. Thomas Blackwell became professor of Greek, and his widow founded a chemical chair in Marischal College, which has thus become identified with the history of both the Fordyces and the Blackwells. David Fordyce was born in 1711, and was the second son of his parents. To quote the

¹ As translated by Mr. P. F. Tytler, in his *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, article "Fordun."

only accessible authority respecting him¹—After being educated at the grammar-school of his native city, he was entered of Marischal College in 1724, where he went through a course of philosophy under Professor Daniel Jarden, and of mathematics under Mr. John Stewart. He took his degree of A.M. in 1728, when he was but little more than seventeen years old. Being intended for the church, his next application was to the study of divinity, under the professor of that branch, Mr. James Chalmers, a man of great learning and piety, and ancestor of the individuals who have so long carried on the *Aberdeen Journal* newspaper. Mr. Fordyce studied divinity with great ardour, and in time obtained a license as a preacher of the gospel, though he was not so fortunate as to procure a living. In 1742 he was appointed professor of moral philosophy in Marischal College, a chair which then demanded a greater range of accomplishments than now. It was the duty of Mr. Fordyce, not only to deliver the usual philosophic lectures, but to give instructions in a similar manner on natural history, chronology, Greek and Roman antiquities, mechanics, optics, and astronomy; and it is acknowledged that he acquitted himself of this laborious task in a very respectable manner. The connection of some of his colleagues with the literary system of the metropolis appears to have introduced Mr. Fordyce to the celebrated Dodsley, by whom he was employed to write the article "Moral Philosophy" for the *Modern Preceptor*; a task which he performed in so creditable a manner, that it was afterwards found necessary to publish his work in an independent form, under the title of *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*. It appeared in 1754, and was undoubtedly the most elegant and useful compendium of moral science which had then been given to the public. Previously to this, Mr. Fordyce had attracted some notice as an author, though without his name, in *Dialogues concerning Education*, the first volume of which was published in 1745, and the second in 1748. It is a work of very considerable merit, but somewhat tinged by the fopperies of the school of Shaftesbury, although entirely free from its more injurious notions. He was engaged in other literary designs, and afforded the promise of rising to great eminence in the world, when he was cut off by a premature death. In 1750 he made a tour through France, Italy, and other countries, with a particular view to visit Rome, and was returning home in 1751 when he unhappily lost his life in the forty-first year of his age, by a storm on the coast of Holland.² His death is pathetically noticed by his brother Dr. James Fordyce, in his *Addresses to the Deity*, and an epitaph from the same pen, conceived in a somewhat bombastical style, will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1796.

FORDYCE, GEORGE, a distinguished physician and lecturer on medicine, was born at Aberdeen, November 18, 1736, and was the only and posthumous child of Mr. George Fordyce, a brother of the other three distinguished persons of the same name recorded in the present work, and the proprietor of a small landed estate, called Broadford,

in the neighbourhood of that city. His mother, not long after, marrying again, he was taken from her, when about two years old, and sent to Foveran, at which place he received his school education. He was removed thence to the university of Aberdeen, where he was made M.A. when only fourteen years of age. In his childhood he had taken great delight in looking at vials of coloured liquids which were placed at the windows of an apothecary's shop. To this circumstance, and to his acquaintance with the learned Alexander Garden, M.D., many years a physician in South Carolina, and latterly in London, but then apprentice to a surgeon and apothecary in Aberdeen, he used to attribute the resolution he very early formed to study medicine. He was in consequence sent, when about fifteen years old, to his uncle, Dr. John Fordyce, who, at that time, practised medicine at Uppingham, in Northamptonshire. With him he remained several years, and then went to the university of Edinburgh, where, after a residence of about three years, he received the degree of M.D., in October, 1758. His inaugural dissertation was upon catarrh. While at Edinburgh, Dr. Cullen was so much pleased with his diligence and ingenuity, that, besides showing him many other marks of regard, he used frequently to give him private assistance in his studies. The pupil was ever after grateful for this kindness, and was accustomed to speak of his preceptor in terms of the highest respect, calling him often "his learned and revered master." About the end of 1758 he came to London, but went shortly after to Leyden, for the purpose chiefly of studying anatomy under Albinus. He returned in 1759 to London, where he soon determined to fix himself as a teacher and practitioner of medicine. When he made known this intention to his relations, they highly disapproved of it, as the whole of his patrimony had been expended upon his education. Inspired, however, with that confidence which frequently attends the conscious possession of great talents, he persisted in his purpose, and, before the end of 1759, commenced a course of lectures upon chemistry. This was attended by nine pupils. In 1764 he began to lecture also upon *materia medica* and the practice of physic. These three subjects he continued to teach nearly thirty years, giving, for the most part, three courses of lectures on each of them every year. A course lasted nearly four months; and, during it, a lecture of nearly an hour was delivered six times in the week. His time of teaching commenced about seven o'clock in the morning, and ended at ten; his lecture upon the three above-mentioned subjects being given, one immediately after the other. In 1765 he was admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians. In 1770 he was chosen physician to St. Thomas's Hospital, after a considerable contest with Sir William (then Dr.) Watson; the number of votes in his favour being 109, in that of Dr. Watson 106. In 1774 he became a member of the Literary Club; and in 1776 was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1787 he was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians. No circumstance can demonstrate more strongly the high opinion entertained of his abilities by the rest of the profession in London, than his reception into that body. He had been particularly active in the dispute which had existed about twenty years before between the fellows and licentiates, and had, for this reason, it was thought, forfeited all title to be admitted into the fellowship through favour. But the college, in 1787, were preparing a new edition of their *Pharmacopœia*; and there was confessedly no one of their own number well acquainted with pharmaceutical chemistry. They wisely, therefore, sup-

¹ An unpublished article of the *Biographia Britannica*, quoted in Chalmers' *General Biographical Dictionary*.

² The posthumous works of this ingenious person were—*Theodorus, a Dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching*, 12mo, which is a work of considerable utility to young divines, and has been repeatedly printed, along with his brother, Dr. James Fordyce's sermon on *The Eloquence of the Pulpit*; and *The Temple of Virtue, a Dream*, which was given to the world in 1757, with some additions by the same distinguished relative.

pressed their resentment of his former conduct, and, by admitting him into their body, secured his assistance in a work which they were unable to perform well themselves. In 1793 he assisted in forming a small society of physicians and surgeons, which afterwards published several volumes, under the title of *Medical and Chirurgical Transactions*; and continued to attend its meetings most punctually till within a month or two of his death.

Having thus mentioned some of the principal events of his literary life, we shall next give a list of his various medical and philosophical works; and first, of those which were published by himself:—1. *Elements of Agriculture and Vegetation*. He had given a course of lectures on these subjects to some young men of rank; soon after the close of which one of his hearers, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, presented him with a copy of them from notes he had taken while they were delivered. Dr. Fordyce corrected the copy, and afterwards published it under the above-mentioned title.—2. *Elements of the Practice of Physic*. This was used by him as a text-book for a part of his course of lectures on that subject.—3. *A Treatise on the Digestion of Food*. It was originally read before the College of Physicians as the Guelstonian Lecture.—4. *Four Dissertations on Fever*. A fifth, which completes the subject, was left by him in manuscript, and afterwards published. His other works appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and the *Medical and Chirurgical Transactions*. In the former are eight papers by him, with the following titles:—1. "Of the Light produced by Inflammation." 2. "Examination of various Ores in the Museum of Dr. W. Hunter." 3. "A New Method of assaying Copper Ores." 4. "An Account of some Experiments on the Loss of Weight in Bodies on being Melted or Heated." 5. "An Account of an Experiment on Heat." 6. "The Cronian Lecture on Muscular Motion." 7. "On the Cause of the Additional Weight which Metals acquire on being Calcined." 8. "Account of a New Pendulum, being the Bakerian Lecture." His papers in the *Medical and Chirurgical Transactions* are:—1. "Observations on the Small-pox, and Causes of Fever." 2. "An Attempt to improve the Evidence of Medicine." 3. Some Observations upon the Composition of Medicines." He was, besides, the inventor of the experiments in heated rooms, an account of which was given to the Royal Society by Sir Charles Bladgen; and was the author of many improvements in various arts connected with chemistry, on which he used frequently to be consulted by manufacturers.

Though the subject of this memoir had projected various literary works in addition to those which have been mentioned, nothing was left by him in manuscript, except the *Dissertations on Fever* already spoken of, and two introductory lectures, one to his course of *materia medica*, the other to that of the practice of physick. This will not appear extraordinary to those who knew what confidence he had in the accuracy of his memory. He gave all his lectures without notes, and perhaps never possessed any; he took no memorandum in writing of the engagements he formed, whether of business or pleasure, and was always most punctual in observing them; and when he composed his works for the public, even such as describe successions of events bound together, as far as we can perceive, by no necessary tie, his materials, such at least as were his own, were altogether drawn from stores in his memory, which had often been laid up there many years before. In consequence of this retentiveness of memory, and of great reading and a most inventive mind, he was, perhaps, more generally skilled in the sciences which are either

directly subservient to medicine, or remotely connected with it, than any other person of his time. One fault in his character as an author probably arose, either wholly or in part, from the very excellence which has been mentioned. This was his deficiency in the art of literary composition, the knowledge of which he might have insensibly acquired to a much greater degree than was possessed by him, had he felt the necessity in his youth of frequently committing his thoughts to writing, for the purpose of preserving them. But, whether this be just or not, it must be confessed that, notwithstanding his great learning, which embraced many subjects no way allied to medicine, he seldom wrote elegantly, often obscurely and inaccurately; and that he frequently erred with respect even to orthography. His language, however, in conversation, which confirms the preceding conjecture, was not less correct than that of most other persons of good education. As a lecturer, his delivery was slow and hesitating, and frequently interrupted by pauses not required by his subject. Sometimes, indeed, these continued so long, that persons unaccustomed to his manner were apt to fear that he was embarrassed. But these disadvantages did not prevent his having a considerable number of pupils, actuated by the expectation of receiving from him more full and accurate instruction than they could elsewhere obtain. His person is said to have been handsome in his youth; but his countenance, from its fulness, must have been always inexpressive of the great powers of his mind. His manners too were less refined, and his dress in general less studied, than what most persons in this country regard as proper for a physician. From these causes, and from his spending no more time with his patients than what was sufficient for his forming a just opinion of their ailments, he had for many years but little private employment in his profession; and never, even in the latter part of his life, when his reputation was at its height, enjoyed nearly so much as many of his contemporaries. It is worthy of mention, however, that the amount of his fees during the year immediately preceding his decease, was greater, notwithstanding his advanced age and infirm health, than it had ever been before in the same space of time. He had always been fond of the pleasures of society; and in his youth, to render the enjoyment of them compatible with his pursuits after knowledge, he used to sleep very little. He has often, indeed, been known to lecture for three hours in a morning without having undressed himself the preceding night. The vigour of his constitution enabled him to sustain, for a considerable time, without apparent injury, this debilitating mode of life. But at length he was attacked with gout, which afterwards became irregular, and for many years frequently affected him with excruciating pains in his stomach and bowels. In the latter part of his life, also, his feet and ankles were almost constantly swollen; and, shortly before his death, he had symptoms of water in the chest. But these he disregarded, and uniformly attributed his situation, which for several weeks previous to his death he knew to be hopeless, to the presence of the first-mentioned disease. Death ultimately relieved him from his sufferings, May 25, 1802, when he was in the sixty-fourth year of his age. By his wife, who was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Esq., conservator of Scots privileges in the United Netherlands, and whom he had married in 1762, he left four children—two sons and two daughters.

FORDYCE, JAMES, D.D., author of the *Sermons to Young Women*, was a younger brother of the sub-

jects of two separate articles, and the fourth son of his parents. He was born at Aberdeen in 1720, and received the education requisite for a minister of the Scottish church at the Marischal College. In 1752 he was appointed minister of Brechin, but soon after was removed to Alloa, where at first he had many prejudices to encounter, though his popular manners and captivating style of pulpit oratory enabled him very speedily to overcome them. During his brief residence in this parish he published three occasional sermons, which attracted much notice; and in 1760 he increased his fame to a great degree by a discourse *On the Folly, Infamy, and Misery of Unlawful Pleasures*, which he preached before the General Assembly, and afterwards gave to the public. The novelty of this sermon in a country where all the best sermons were evangelical, and the elegance of its style and sentiments, produced a great impression throughout the country. The preacher soon after went to London, and notwithstanding the difference between the Scottish Confession of Faith and the tenets of the English dissenters, offered himself on a vacancy at the meeting in Carter Lane, but without success. About this time he received the degree of D.D. from the university of Glasgow, and was invited by the meeting in Monkwell Street to be co-pastor with Dr. Lawrence, then aged and infirm. This invitation he accepted, and upon Dr. Lawrence's death, which happened soon after, he became sole pastor, and entered into the enjoyment of a very respectable income. During his ministry in this place he acquired a higher degree of popularity than probably ever was attained by the same means. The strong force of his eloquence drew men of all ranks and all persuasions to hear him. His action and elocution were original and peculiarly striking, being not a little assisted by his figure, which was tall beyond the common standard, and by a set of features which in preaching displayed great variety of expression and animation. Besides his regular attendants, who subscribed to his support, his meeting was frequented by men curious in eloquence; and it is said that the celebrated David Garrick was more than once a hearer, and spoke of Dr. Fordyce's skill in oratory with great approbation. With respect to his theological sentiments, he appears to have possessed that general liberality which is civil to all systems, without being attached to any. From his printed works it would be easier to prove that he belonged to no sect, than that he held the principles of any. As to the matter, morality appears to have been his chief object; and as to the manner, he ardently studied a polish and a spirit which was then seldom met with in English pulpits, although it had not been unusual in those of France.

In 1771 Dr. Fordyce married Miss Henrietta Cummyngs; and in 1775 he was involved in an unhappy dispute with his coadjutor, Mr. Toller, son-in-law to Dr. Lawrence. This misunderstanding originated in some omission of ceremonial politeness between the two reverend gentlemen, and from the want of mutual concession the breach widened, till reconciliation became impossible. Dr. Fordyce appears, indeed, to have been of an irritable temper, which led him on this occasion to be guilty of an act which ultimately he had reason deeply to regret, as it proved most injurious to his own interest. For, on undertaking to perform the whole duty of the chapel, he possessed sufficient influence to have Mr. Toller ejected from the pastoral charge. The consequence was, that the congregation became dissatisfied, split into parties, and gradually dispersed, when Dr. Fordyce was obliged to resign the ministry. It is true that bad health and the infirmities of old age had

their share in constraining him to this step, but the congregation had previously almost entirely deserted the chapel, which was soon after shut up. Finding himself no longer useful as a preacher, Dr. Fordyce, in the year 1783, left London, and retired first to Hampshire, and finally to Bath, where he continued to reside until his death, which took place on the 1st of October, 1796, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. We have in the following letter from Mrs. Fordyce a very interesting and instructing narrative of this melancholy event, while it presents, at the same time, a lively picture of Dr. Fordyce's piety and of some of the more amiable traits of his character.

"My dear Sir,—Being now able to sit up, I can only say, that had the state of my health when your last soothing but affecting letter came to hand admitted of my writing at all, such a letter from a favourite friend would have impelled me to give it an immediate reply. Accept, dear sir, of my gratitude for what it contained, especially for that sympathy I so much stand in need of; it is the balm of true friendship; and though it reaches me from various quarters, still the wound bleeds, and will continue to bleed till God shall heal it by that reunion of souls which must take place ere long.

"Hardly two people accost each other without a eulogium on his character, and a sigh for his death; but death it was not. To all human appearance he was translated. We spent a most agreeable evening together in my dressing-room, in which he was fond of sitting, on account of the fine air of the vale behind and the prospect; for he still kept his relish for all that was beautiful in nature. We were both engrossed with William Cowper's sermon to the Jews.

"I read the hymns and psalms in the little pamphlet. 'Ah!' said he, 'this carries me back to Monkwell Street, where we sang it together with my beloved flock; the strain shall be exalted when next we sing it.' Then turning to me, he said, 'We have read enough for to-night; before you call for supper let us have some music.' My niece is a very fine performer; she immediately sat down to accompany him in some of his favourite airs on the pianoforte; and a very fine cadence she sung so delighted him, that he made her do it over again, and turning to me, he said, 'How many things have we to be grateful for! The musical ear is a gift peculiar to some, withheld from others; there are many things in life richly to be enjoyed; all that leads up to God we may delight in, but whatever has no reference to him we should avoid. There are books called religious offices, preparations for the sacrament, and preparations for death, &c.; but for my own part, I never could think that such preparations consisted in such times being set apart for offices, and then returning to the world as having done with heaven for the time being. A man is not truly prepared for death unless by the tenor of his life he feels himself so wholly given up to God that his mind is in heaven before he goes hence; and he can only bring himself to that by the perpetual silent reference in all his words, thoughts, and actions to his Creator, which I have so often mentioned to you.' I replied, 'That indeed, doctor, is the test or criterion to judge himself by, for a man dare have no reference or appeal for his actions to God if his deeds condemn him to his own conscience.' 'God be praised!' said he; 'if I should leave you, I desire you may avail yourself of them. In addition to religion and the Scriptures there are books, friendships, and music: I would name more, but these are sufficient; cast yourself on God through your Redeemer. He will care for you

and raise you up friends.' I aimed at changing the conversation, and said, 'But you are better, my dear.' 'I am certainly easier,' he replied, 'and have had less pain and better symptoms for two or three weeks past; and I assure you, my beloved, I am not tired of life at all: for though the Almighty knows I have been long ready for the summons, yet if it is his pleasure to let the lamp of life burn on a little longer, I am satisfied, and I am his.'

"He sat his usual time after supper, which he partook of in a moderate way, without any disrelish. About eleven he rang for the servants, who with my niece and myself attended him every night to his bed-chamber. To my unspeakable joy it seemed to cost him much less effort than common to mount the stairs, which formerly was so painful a task, that at every landing-place a chair was set for him to rest on ere he could ascend to the next. He joined us all in observing with gratitude and wonder that he should gain more ease by living longer. He and I conversed in a very pleasing style on various subjects till about one o'clock, and then he urged my going to bed, lest I should be hurt by such late hours. He also forbade me to get up in the night, as anxiety about him had often made me do, unless I should hear him call me; he made me promise I would not, after which we embraced. I left him very happy, comfortable, and serene, I might add even cheerful. We both slept in our different apartments, and mine had a door of communication with his, so he could not stir without my hearing. He awoke about two o'clock and lighted a wax bougie at his lamp, one of which stood on a dumb-waiter at his bed-side with his medicines and cordials. He lighted it to take the ethereal spirit; but forgetting to blow it out, it unluckily took fire in the bunch, the smell of which awoke him perhaps in some alarm. He then called to me, who was just in my first sleep, and springing up eagerly in the dark I stumbled, and struck my head against the door; the blow for a few minutes stunned me, and made me reel in coming up to him. I affected to be well that he might not be alarmed. 'I called to you, my love, lest the smell of fire which the bougie occasioned might have frightened you. You have paid dear for coming to me by this blow.' Saying so he got up, and calling the women with a firm voice three or four times, they and my niece were all at once with us. I was praying him to return to bed, but he refused until he should get me, from their hands, some sal volatile. He then said, 'Are you better?' I answered, 'O well, well.' 'God be praised,' said he, raising his hands, and with the words in his mouth he fell in our arms without a groan, a sigh, or so much as the rattle in the throat. The spirit was instantly fled, and for ever, to the God that gave it. He was taken from my arms who will ever live in my heart, and I saw him no more."

Dr. Fordyce's first literary attempt was made as editor of the posthumous work of his brother, Mr. David Fordyce, published in 1752, entitled *The Art of Preaching*. But he is best known to the world by the ingenious and elegant sermons which he addressed to young women, and his addresses to young men. He was author, however, of several other publications,¹ and was remarkable for the energy and use-

fulness of his pulpit instructions. His private character was amiable, his manners those of a gentleman and Christian. He blended great cheerfulness with sincere and ardent piety. He possessed a cultivated understanding, a warm heart, and great liberality of sentiment. He was a steady friend of civil and religious toleration—not from indifference, but from a true spirit of Christian philanthropy.

FORDYCE, COLONEL JOHN, a brave and pious officer, who fell in the Kaffir war in 1851, was the eldest son of Thomas J. Fordyce, Esq., of Ayton, Berwickshire, an extensive landed proprietor of great worth and intelligence. Under the parental roof he was trained from his earliest years in the best lessons of a religious education. His accomplished and truly Christian mother, who "had no greater joy than to see her children walking in the truth," was her son's faithful instructress in that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation. A portion of the sacred volume was committed each morning to memory, and around the family altar prayer was offered daily to the Lord. At the age of twelve the subject of this memoir had mastered several of the higher Latin classics, and acquired a tolerable knowledge of Greek. For the acquisition of languages he discovered peculiar aptitude, analyzing with much facility the passages of his favourite authors. It was manifest, from the enthusiasm with which he followed Caesar and Hannibal, and other heroes of antiquity, through their respective fields of conflict, that he was destined for a military life. The writer of these observations has a vivid recollection of the graphic skill with which, after rising from the pages of Livy or Tacitus, he described the successes or discomfitures of the combatants, and pronounced on the equity or injustice of the causes of warfare. Before leaving home for a private seminary in England, he was thoroughly conversant with the works of our best modern historians, travellers, and poets. After his return, he completed his literary curriculum in Edinburgh, and was resident for some time with Doctor (now Bishop) Terrot, enjoying under his able superintendence advantages equivalent to those of an English university.

His first commission as an ensign in the 34th regiment was dated in 1828. He served with that corps (then in Nova Scotia) until 1832, when he obtained an unattached lieutenancy. The same year, however, he returned to full pay, first in the 94th, and soon after in the 21st. He served with the 21st North British fusiliers until 1836, when he obtained his company in the 35th regiment, from which he

These were delivered at the ordination of Mr. John Gibson, minister of St. Ninians, May 9th, 1754.

4. "The Temple of Virtue," a Dream, 12mo, 1747. 2d edition, much altered, 1755.

5. "The Folly, Infamy, and Misery of Unlawful Pleasures," a Sermon preached before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 25th May, 1760—8vo, 1760.

6. "A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Lawrence, who departed this Life 1st October, 1760, with an Address at his Interment," 8vo, 1760.

7. "Sermons to Young Women," 2 vols. 12mo, 1766.

8. "The Character and Conduct of the Female Sex, and the Advantages to be derived by Young Men from the Society of Virtuous Young Women;" a Discourse in three parts, delivered in Monkwell Street Chapel, 1st January, 1776; 8vo, 1776.

9. "Addresses to Young Men," 2 vols. 12mo, 1777.

10. "The Delusive and Persecuting Spirit of Popery;" a Sermon preached in the Monkwell Street Chapel on the 10th of February, being the day appointed for the General Fast, 8vo, 1779.

11. "Charge delivered in Monkwell Street Chapel, at the Ordination of the Rev. James Lindsay," 8vo, 1783. Printed with the Sermon delivered by Dr. Hunter on that occasion.

12. "Addresses to the Deity," 12mo.

13. "Poems," 12mo, 1786.

¹ The following is a list of Dr. Fordyce's works:—

1. "The Eloquence of the Pulpit, an Ordination Sermon, to which is added a Charge," 12mo, 1752.

2. "An Essay on the Action proper for the Pulpit," 12mo. Both these are published at the end of "Theodorus, a Dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching, by David Fordyce," 3d edition, 12mo, 1755.

3. "The Method of Edification by Public Instruction," an Ordination Sermon, to which is added a Charge, 12mo, 1754.

exchanged into the 11th foot in 1839. Having in 1844 obtained his step as major in the latter regiment, he exchanged the same year into the 74th Highlanders. In 1846 he became lieutenant-colonel and commanding officer of this regiment, in which important position he gained the esteem of the military authorities, and the affection of all who served under him. Though possessed of a good private fortune, so strong was his *esprit de corps*, that in March, 1851, he embarked with his regiment for the Cape of Good Hope, where, after months of severe and harassing warfare, he fell at the head of his beloved Highlanders, in the prime of manhood, and with a name already one of renown.

Endowed with a masculine understanding, a capacious and retentive memory, an indomitable perseverance, ample promise was afforded of literary distinction. Highly gifted as was his intellect, which, as if by intuition, separated the accessories from the essentials of any subject, his moral qualities commanded still higher admiration. His bosom was the very home of honour and generosity. "Truth in the inward parts," manly independence in forming his opinions, and unflinching courage in expressing them, were united with the meekness of wisdom and an unaffected modesty of demeanour which shrank with sensitive aversion from all ostentatious display. In personal appearance Colonel Fordyce was considerably above the ordinary height, with a high massive forehead, and a countenance which revealed profound thought, calm decision of purpose, and delicate sensibility. There was frequently also a look of pensive reflection, which indicated that he had been no stranger to the afflictions and sorrows of life. By a stranger, indeed, he might sometimes appear chargeable with a degree of reserve, bordering even on *hauteur*; but those who knew him thoroughly could best appreciate the depth and constancy of his friendships, and his warm-hearted sympathy with his fellow-men, both "of high and of low degree."

Deprived in youth of his excellent parents, to whom he was ever a dutiful and loving son, he fulfilled with unwearied fidelity and tenderness the part of an elder brother towards all the other members of the family.

In no feature of character was Colonel Fordyce more remarkable than in his strict conscientiousness. Every transaction, private or public, was conducted with a sacred regard to the authority and the glory of God. This profound sense of responsibility for his stewardship distinguished him not only in the more prominent departments of duty, but in the most minute details of every-day life. As an officer who had been called to occupy a high position in the British army, he was ardently and indefatigably devoted to his professional avocations; cheerfully expending time and strength and pecuniary resources in promoting the temporal and spiritual welfare of the regiment which he commanded. Whilst stationed in Glasgow, opportunities were incidentally afforded for marking the solicitude which he evinced in regard to the intellectual and moral improvement of soldiers' children; using all practicable means, by week-day and Sabbath schools, that they might be trained to a virtuous life.

The 74th, with their gallant colonel, were ordered from Glasgow to Clonmel, Ireland. The following notice from the Rev. Mr. Dill testifies to the estimation in which he was held in that place:—

"Sir,—The death of Lieutenant-colonel Fordyce, 74th Highlanders, has been felt as a personal bereavement by all who knew him. Clonmel was the last home-station of the 74th, where, after eight

months' residence, they received orders for foreign service in November, 1850. To those even slightly acquainted with the army it will not sound strange to hear, in the published accounts from the Cape, 'that the whole colony deplores the loss of this noble officer. Both men and officers feel his loss severely, and at this juncture the loss the service has sustained is incalculable.' But those who knew Colonel Fordyce, not only as a soldier but as a man and a Christian, can truly estimate his loss to his regiment and his country. As chaplain to the 74th Highlanders I had frequent opportunity of meeting and observing him. I can truly say that under God he devoted himself to his regiment and the service. Though not a member of the Presbyterian church, he was never absent from his pew on the Lord's-day. I continually found him superintending the regimental Sabbath and week-day schools, and could trace his kind advice and charity everywhere among the sick in hospital, the families and recruits of his regiment. On the evening before the 74th Highlanders left Clonmel for the Cape of Good Hope he called, and handed me £10 for charitable purposes, requesting that I should not give his name as the donor. Besides this he had given, through my name, within the three preceding months, £15 to other charities. What his other donations were I know not. From what I have heard they must have been numerous, as I am sure they were unostentatious. The lamentable death of Colonel Fordyce affords me the sad pleasure of acknowledging the benevolence and worth which he would not permit to be made known while he was alive. I feel his death as if it were a personal bereavement, and I pray that our army may be blessed by many such officers.—I remain, yours truly,

JOHN DILL.

"Manse, Clonmel, 10th Jan. 1852."
As evincing the Christian and philanthropic spirit by which Colonel Fordyce was animated, one or two extracts from his letters to the writer of these lines may be given. The following was received after a domestic bereavement:—

"My dear —,— My having been sent from Dublin with a flying column in pursuit of Smith O'Brien and other rebels must be my apology for not having written to acknowledge the receipt of the announcement of the deprivation you have sustained, and to assure you of my unfeigned sympathy. I may express my hope that, sustained by the same consolations which you have been so long the honoured instrument of imparting to others, your own bodily health and ability for active exertion may remain unimpaired.

"I need not trespass upon you at this time with any notice of the treasonable proceedings here. The newspapers have given a full account of everything that has occurred; and so far as we (the column of troops) are concerned, we have seen no enemy excepting the continual rain, which is, of course, a very disagreeable one, as we have been marching about and encamped since the 28th July. O'Brien is, as you know, captured, and quietly lodged in jail, and I have no doubt that all thought of open armed rebellion is at an end for the present.

"However it may fare with this unfortunate country, any one of common observation must see that the whole European world is in an unprecedented state; and that whatever may be our exact place in the series of predicted events, some great overwhelming change in the whole structure of human society is impending. My reading of Elliot's *Horæ Apocalyptica* has been interrupted by my present occupations, before I could get beyond the first volume, or form any opinion as to his system of in-

terpretation of unfulfilled prophecy. Amidst all the changes, present and coming, upon this world, we have individually many warnings to place our hopes on a world where change and cares are alike unknown,—considerations which it is superfluous in me to suggest to your matured and practised mind, but which rise naturally as the great subjects of the day and hour. A tent does not afford a good writing-table, and damp paper renders my writing more than usually illegible. I trust that Mrs. — is well; and again assuring you of my good wishes, beg you to believe me ever faithfully and sincerely yours,

“J. FORDYCE.

“Tipperary, 11th August, 1848.”

The next extract is from a communication sent after the death of General Sir John Buchan, Colonel Fordyce's uncle, and brother of the venerable Mr. Buchan of Kelloc:—

“Although I take a Glasgow newspaper, the *Scottish Guardian*, in which there is a full account of the debates in your General Assembly, I have been too much occupied with other matters to look at them since my return, but I glanced at one speech of Dr. Duff's regarding the Indian missions, which appeared to be one of remarkable eloquence and power. He must be indeed gifted with no common energy of character, in addition to genius, eloquence, and many acquirements, to be able to resist the depressing lassitude of an oriental climate for so many years, and now to electrify and command a critical audience, as he appears to have done for hours during the late meeting of the assembly.”

A subsequent letter, of date Nov. 8, 1850, inclosing a generous donation for the benefit of certain Free Church students who were scantily provided, contains the following remarks:—“I have read Dr. Buchanan's book (the *Ten Years' Conflict*) with great interest; and although I may confess to you that, as to my personal taste, I prefer the liturgy and forms of the Church of England, and cannot quite see that principle required such a sacrifice as the disruption of the Church of Scotland, I sincerely believe now that the cause of the Free Church is in Scotland the cause of Christianity, and that even persons who have not the strong personal motives which I have to look favourably upon its exertions, should, with a cardinal at Westminster, sink all minor differences in their support of Protestant Christianity.”

“No one,” writes his excellent brother, Major Fordyce, who had shared along with him the toils and perils of the disastrous struggle, “knew my brother's state of mind better than I did; for I had for a long time been constantly with him, and I knew that he was a faithful follower of Christ, and he is now where there is no more sorrow—no more pain. What a great thing it is to have such consolation! How much more dreadful would have been the sad bereavement if we could not have felt the confidence we do that he died a Christian, and that his removal from this world was the end of all trial to him, and the commencement of an eternity of joy!”

The following particulars of the death of this brave officer, who fell whilst fighting against the Kafirs at the Cape, are gleaned from letters which appear in the *Grahamstown Journal*, of 15th November:—

“Fort Beaufort, Tuesday.—After the publication of our extra, the following came to hand, and contains an account of the melancholy fate of the gallant Colonel Fordyce:—

“November 6.—This being the promised day, all eyes were directed to the hills, which we knew to have been planted with the instruments of thunder. The clouds, however, lay piled in heaps long after sunrise; but no sooner had the rays of his refulgence

escaped from the clouds which intercepted them, than the curtain gradually rose, and by seven o'clock the frequent report announced that another act of the dull tragedy had commenced. Peel after peel continued to reverberate among the steep acclivities of the rocky eminences which rise above the dark bush that conceals the enemy. Towards mid-day the wind changed to the south-east, which wafted the sounds from this direction. All were anxiously awaiting the arrival of intelligence from the scene of strife, as we had reason to believe that, from the rapid reports, the conflict was maintained with obstinacy and resolution. Hour succeeded hour, until long after, when in broken accents it was revealed that Colonel Fordyce had fallen. But as this report rested upon the authority of a private letter brought in by two mounted Fingoes, hopes were entertained that, in the heat and bustle of the moment, some mistake might have occurred. About nine at night, however, the event was confirmed by an eye-witness to the melancholy fact, from whom it appears that the colonel was leading his men into Waterkloof in column, when suddenly his march was arrested by a rocky precipice which flanked him in the form of a semicircle; here he found the rebels in considerable force, who knew too well the rules of military tactics to let so favourable an opportunity escape for inflicting a penalty. The bayonets of our brave countrymen in such a position were powerless; they had therefore to contend against an enemy concealed among inaccessible rocks, whom they could not assail; and thus fell, while showing to his men by example the first duties of a soldier, the good and the gallant Fordyce. Thus fell the father of his distinguished regiment, to the honour of which all his impulses were directed. The soldier, the woman and children, to whose comforts he devoted himself with parental solicitude, will long cherish his remembrance. It is to be regretted that so valuable a life should have been sacrificed in so ignoble a strife.”

Extract from the leading article of the *Naval and Military Gazette*, February, 1852. . . . “And here we may observe that there must have been something singularly attractive in the noble soldier who fell at the head of the 74th Highlanders, which, in the short time (six months) he had been in the colony, and in Grahamstown in particular, should have so impressed and so endeared him to the inhabitants that the journals of that town announcing his death should be margined with black, and the bell of their distant church has tolled his funeral knell; while the colours, half-mast high, floated languidly in the air, in token of a hero's fall!”

FORDYCE, SIR WILLIAM, F.R.S., a distinguished physician, was a younger brother of David and James Fordyce, whose lives have already been recorded, and was born in the year 1724. Like his brethren, he was educated at the Marischal College, of which he died lord-rector. At the age of eighteen he finished his academic studies, in which he had distinguished himself particularly by his proficiency in Greek and mathematics, the most solid as well as the most ornamental parts of academic knowledge. Having studied physic and surgery under a native practitioner, he joined the army as a volunteer, and afterwards served as surgeon to the brigade of guards on the coast of France and in all the military transactions which took place in Germany. The warm support of his military friends co-operated with his own merit in early recommending him to distinguished practice in London. His publications, particularly his treatise on fevers and ulcerated sore throat,

greatly extended his fame; and he was sent for to greater distances, and received larger fees, than almost any physician of his time. The wealth which he thus acquired he liberally expended in benevolent actions, and was thus the means of doing much good as well as some harm. Having patronized his brother Alexander, who was a banker in London, he enabled that individual to enter upon an unusually extensive series of transactions, which, though sound in themselves, exposed him to a malevolent combination of his brethren in trade, and hence the great bankruptcy of Fordyce & Co., which may be termed one of the most important domestic events in Britain during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Besides the losses which Sir William Fordyce thus incurred, he soon after became engaged for £10,000 more, which was lost by his brother in the project of a manufacture which totally failed; and had it not been for the generosity of the Messrs. Drummond, bankers, who advanced him the necessary sum, he must have submitted to a loss of personal liberty. Notwithstanding these severe shocks to his fortune, Sir William continued to maintain two poor families whom he had taken under his patronage, and who had no other resource. It is also to be mentioned, to the honour of this excellent man, that, besides his own losses by Alexander, he repaid those incurred by his brother James, amounting to several thousand pounds. The benevolence of Sir William Fordyce was a kind of enthusiasm. When he heard of a friend being ill, he would run to give him his advice, and take no fee for his trouble. His house was open to all kinds of meritorious persons in distressed circumstances, and he hardly ever wanted company of this kind. He was also indefatigable in his good offices towards young Scotsmen who had come to London in search of employment. His address had much of the courtly suavity of a past age, and his conversation, while unassuming, was replete with elegant anecdote and solid information. His eye beamed gentleness and humanity, ennobled by penetration and spirit. Although originally of a delicate constitution, by temperance and exercise he preserved his health for many years, but suffered at last a long and severe illness, which ended in his death, December 4, 1792. Sir William, who had been knighted about 1787, wrote a treatise on the *Venernal Disease*; another, as already mentioned, on *Fever*, and a third on *Ulcerated Sore Throat*; besides which he published, immediately before his death, a pamphlet on *The Great Importance and Proper Method of cultivating Rhubarb in Britain for Medicinal Uses*.

FORREST, ROBERT. This self-taught sculptor was born at Carluke, Lanarkshire, in 1790. He was bred as a stone-mason in the quarries of Carluke; but, having a spirit beyond his mechanical occupation, he employed his leisure hours in the higher departments of stone-carving, until he obtained notice and some distinction as a sculptor. This recognition brought him occupation in the honourable profession he had adopted, and his first public work was a statue of Sir William Wallace, executed in 1817, and which occupies a niche in the steeple of Lanark parish church. After this he was commissioned to form the colossal statue, fourteen feet in height, of the first Viscount Melville, which surmounts the pillar copied from Trajan's Column at Rome, and is erected in the centre of St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh. Another of his public works, executed about the same time, was the statue of John Knox which rears its commanding form in the Necropolis of Glasgow, with an admonitory gesture towards the ancient cathedral.

Stimulated by the public approbation which these specimens produced, Robert Forrest opened in 1832 his public exhibition of statuary on the Calton Hill, Edinburgh, with four equestrian statues, under the patronage of a royal association of contributors to the national monument. This was but the commencement of a bold adventure, as thirty groups of statues at last occupied his gallery, all of them executed by Forrest himself. In these not only the remarkable industry, but the talent and genius, of the artist are exhibited; the figures being exact in their proportions, admirable in their attitudes, and distinguished by their spirit and expressiveness. In consequence of these merits Forrest's exhibition on the Calton Hill became a frequent resort of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and one of the lions of the sight-seers who visited the metropolis. Besides these, a statue from his chisel of the late Mr. Ferguson of Raith, erected in 1843 at Haddington, is considered as one of the best of his works. After an illness of six weeks Robert Forrest died at Edinburgh, on the 29th of December, 1852, in the sixty-third year of his age.

FORSYTH, WILLIAM, distinguished in the science of arboriculture, was born at Old Meldrum in Aberdeenshire, in 1737. Having been bred to the business of a gardener, he went to London in 1763, and soon after became a pupil of the celebrated Philip Miller, gardener to the company of apothecaries at their physic-garden in Chelsea. In 1771 he succeeded his master in this respectable situation, in which he remained till 1784, when he was appointed by George III. chief superintendent of the royal gardens at Kensington and St. James's, which employments he held till his death.

About the year 1768 Mr. Forsyth paid particular attention to the cultivation of fruit and forest trees, and turned his thoughts more especially to the discovery of a composition to remedy the diseases and injuries incident to them. After repeated trials he at length succeeded in preparing one which fully answered his expectations; and in the year 1789 the success of his experiments attracted the notice of the commissioners of the land revenue, upon whose recommendation a committee of both houses of parliament was appointed to report upon the merits of his discovery. The result of their inquiries was a perfect conviction of its utility, and in consequence an address was voted by the House of Commons to his majesty, praying that a reward might be granted to Mr. Forsyth upon his disclosing the secret of his composition to the public; which was accordingly done: and in 1791 Mr. Forsyth published his *Observations on the Diseases, Defects, and Injuries of Fruit and Forest Trees*, which also contains the correspondence between the commissioners of the land revenue, the committee of parliament, and himself. In 1802 he published the final result of his labours in *A Treatise on the Culture and Management of Fruit Trees*. In this work, or in *Rees' Cyclopædia*, article "Composition for Trees," may be found a complete account of Mr. Forsyth's discoveries and mode of treating injured wood. It may be sufficient here to mention that his composition or medicament was formed according to the following receipt: "Take one bushel of fresh cow-dung, half a bushel of lime-rubbish of old buildings (that from the ceilings of rooms is preferable), half a bushel of wood-ashes, and a sixteenth part of a bushel of pit or river sand; the three last articles are to be sifted fine before they are mixed, then work them well together with a spade, and afterwards with a wooden beater, until the stuff is very smooth, like fine plaster used for the ceilings of rooms."

Mr. Forsyth, who was a member of the Antiquarian, Linnæan, and other societies, died July 25, 1804. He enjoyed the honours paid to him for his useful invention with an unaffected modesty, which gave them a higher grace; and his benevolence and private worth were warmly attested by his friends. A particular genus of plants has been named Forsythia in honour of his name.

FOULIS, ROBERT and ANDREW, eminent printers in the eighteenth century, were natives of Glasgow, and were born, the elder brother on the 20th of April, 1707, and the younger on the 23d of November, 1712. Their mother, who seems to have possessed shrewdness and intelligence beyond her station, educated them at first under her own care, and had not Robert's talents attracted attention they would probably never have proceeded farther in the acquisition of knowledge. At an early age Robert was sent an apprentice to a barber; it would even seem that he afterwards practised the art on his own account for some time. While thus humbly employed, he came under the notice of the celebrated Dr. Francis Hutcheson, then professor of moral philosophy in Glasgow university. This acute observer discovered his talents, inflamed his desire for knowledge, and suggested to him the idea of becoming a bookseller and printer. Foulis did not, however, receive a complete university education, although he attended his patron's lectures for several years, and his name is so enrolled in the matriculation book. Andrew, who seems to have been designed for the church, entered the university in 1727, and probably went through a regular course of study.

For some years after they had determined to follow a literary life the brothers were engaged in teaching the languages during the winter, and in making short tours into England and to the Continent in summer. These excursions were of great advantage to them; they brought them into contact with eminent men, enabled them to form connections in their business, and extended their knowledge of books. On some of these occasions they made considerable collections, which they sold at home to good account. Thus prepared, the elder brother began business in Glasgow as a bookseller about the end of 1739, and in the following year published several works. Three years afterwards his connection with the university commenced. In March, 1743, he was appointed their printer, under condition, "that he shall not use the designation of university printer without allowance from the university meeting in any books excepting those of ancient authors."¹ The first productions of his press, which were issued in 1742, were almost exclusively of a religious nature, many of them relating to the well-known George Whitefield. In 1742 he published *Demetrius Phalereus de Elocutione*, apparently the first Greek work printed in Glasgow, although we are certain that there existed a fount of Greek letters there nearly a century before. It would be tedious to notice each work as it appeared: the immaculate edition of Horace, an edition of Cicero's works in twenty volumes, Cæsar's *Commentaries* in folio, Callimachus in the same size, with engravings executed at their academy, form but a small part of the splendid catalogue of their classics.

The success which had attended their exertions as printers induced the elder Foulis to attempt the establishment of an academy for the cultivation of the fine arts, a scheme for which Scotland was but

ill prepared by the dissensions which had followed the Union, and which had been succeeded by the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. In 1751 he went abroad, partly with the view of extending his commercial connections, but principally with the intention of arranging for the establishment of this institution. After remaining on the Continent for about two years, and sending home several artists whom he had engaged in his service, he returned to Scotland in 1753. His design was considered romantic; many of his friends exerted all their eloquence to persuade him to desist. But Foulis, who possessed a degree of determination which might perhaps not unjustly be termed obstinacy, was fixed in his "high resolve," and although he must have observed with mortification that (to use his own expression) "there seemed to be a pretty general emulation who should run the scheme most down," he established his academy in the course of the same year. He soon found that he had embarked in an undertaking of no common difficulty. From a letter in the *Scots Magazine* for 1759 it appears that the selection of proper teachers had cost him much trouble and anxiety. He had to contend, besides, with the national prejudices in favour of the works of foreign artists; and after amassing a considerable collection, he found it extremely difficult to dispose of it to advantage. In the same year it was proposed that such persons as were willing to support the institution should advance certain sums yearly, for which they should be entitled to select prints, designs, paintings, &c., to the amount of their subscriptions.

In the meantime, the operations of their press went on with increasing vigour. If we may judge from the catalogue of their books, the period between 1750 and 1757 seems to have been the most flourishing era in their trade. During that time "proposals for publishing" by subscription the whole works of Plato" were issued, and considerable progress made in collating MSS. in the Vatican and national libraries. But the embarrassments occasioned by the ill-fated academy seem to have prevented the publication of this as well as many other works which might have added much both to their fame and their wealth. Yet while we condemn the obstinacy with which this institution was carried on when it was a daily source of anxiety and pecuniary difficulties, it should be remembered that it was the means of bringing forward the "Scottish Hogarth" David Allan, and Tassie the medallist. The latter of these, while a stonemason, acquired a relish for the arts in visiting the academy on a holiday, when the pictures were generally exhibited gratis.

It would be foreign to the purpose of the present work to notice the various books which issued from the Foulis press at this and subsequent periods. It may be sufficient to say, that in the latter part of their history the brothers seem to have lost much of their original energy, and the celebrity of their press may be considered as expiring with their folio edition of Milton, published in 1770. They continued, indeed, to print till the death of Andrew, which took place suddenly on the 18th of September, 1775; but many of the works published at that period were of inferior workmanship.

We shall close the history of these remarkable but

¹ The date at which Andrew joined him in business is somewhat uncertain.

* As a curious estimate of the expense of classical reading in these days, we extract the first article in the proposals:—"I. In nine volumes in quarto, of which the Greek in six volumes and the Latin translation with the notes in three. The price to subscribers, one penny sterling per sheet. The whole will be contained in about 500 sheets, so the price will be about £3, 12, 8d. in quires, on a fair paper. A number will be printed on a fine large paper at twopence sterling per sheet."

unfortunate men in a few words. After the death of the younger brother it was determined to expose the works belonging to the academy to public sale. For this purpose Robert, accompanied by a confidential workman, went to London about the month of April, 1776. Contrary to the advice of the auctioneer and at a period when the market was glutted by yearly importations of pictures from Paris, his collection was sold off—and, as the reader may have anticipated, greatly under their supposed value. Irritated at the failure of this his last hope, and with a constitution exhausted by calamities, he left London and reached Edinburgh on his way homeward. On the morning on which he intended setting out for Glasgow he expired almost instantaneously, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Robert Foulis was twice married. From his second marriage, with a daughter of Mr. Boucher, a seedsman in Edinburgh, was descended Andrew Foulis, who died at Edinburgh, in great poverty, in 1829. He had, besides, by his first marriage, with Elizabeth Moor, a sister of the celebrated Grecian, five daughters.

Of the Scottish works produced at the Foulis press the greater number were ballads, some of them original, and all of them since published in the collections of Bishop Percy, Ritson, Cromek, &c. The "*Memorials and Letters Relating to the History of Britain in the reigns of James I. and Charles I.*" published by Lord Hailes, principally from the Denmylne MSS. in the Advocates' Library," were also published at Glasgow. But the greatest service that they could have performed for Scottish history would have been the publication of Calderwood's MS. history. This they undoubtedly had in view. It appears from the records of the university of Glasgow that they got permission to borrow their MS.¹ in September, 1768. They did not, however, accomplish their patriotic purpose, and this valuable work remained unpublished until the task was fulfilled, in 1845, by the Wodrow Society.

FOUNTAINHALL, LORD. *See* LAUDER, SIR JOHN.

FRASER, JAMES BAILLIE. This distinguished traveller, popular writer, and accomplished country gentleman belonged to a family of consequence in its own locality, and was born in the county of Inverness in 1784. In early life he was engaged in the civil service of the East India Company, in which he rose to distinction by his talents and activity. Upon one occasion, while employed in a diplomatic mission of the East India Company to the Persian court, he rode on horseback from Constantinople to Ispahan; but the fatigues and hardships of such a journey were too much for even his Highland constitution, and gave it the first shock, which a further residence in the East tended to confirm. When the Persian princes visited England, Mr. Fraser, from his position and accomplishments, and his knowledge of Persia and its language, was requested by our government to accompany them, and take charge of them; this task he satisfactorily accomplished, and when the princes returned to their own country, he accompanied them as far as Constantinople. As his health had suffered from the eastern climate he finally returned to England, and, abandoning the toils of active public service, devoted the rest of his life to the charms of literature, and the improvement of his Highland estate of Reelick, in Inverness-shire. These improvements were so effectual that the property, considering its limited extent, was

scarcely to be equalled in the Highlands for its magnificent woods and romantic scenery.

It was not, however, by such occupations alone that the active mind of Fraser could be satisfied, and having acquired much knowledge of the East by personal experience, he was desirous to communicate it to the world at large. Accordingly he wrote *A Tour through the Snowy Range of the Himalaya Mountains*, which was published in 1820; "*A Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan in the years 1821 and 1822*, including an Account of the Countries to the North-east of Persia," which was published in 1825; and *Travels and Adventures in the Persian Provinces*, published in 1826. Finding, however, that the popular taste for foreign lands, characters, and manners preferred the medium of imaginative writing to that of plain matter-of-fact narrative; and inspired by the example of his friend Morier, who opened up Persia and its people to the English public by a series of fascinating novels, Mr. Fraser in 1828 produced *The Kuzzilbash, a Tale of Khorasan*. This novel, which was very attractive in its day, has shared the fate of its contemporaries, notwithstanding the stirring adventures it recorded, and the terrible deeds of Nadir Shah, its predominant personage; and, like many other interesting fictions of the period, we can only say of the *Kuzzilbash*, that it lived its allotted hour of sunshine, and then passed away. The next work of Fraser was *A Winter Journey from Constantinople to Teheran, with Travels through Various Parts of Persia*, which appeared in 1838. His last work was a memoir of the distinguished Colonel Skinner, who had been the intimate friend of his brother William Fraser. Like himself, William had entered the civil service of the East India Company, where he had risen to distinction, and been appointed commissioner at Delhi, but there he was assassinated by a native prince in 1835.

In 1823 Mr. James Baillie Fraser married a daughter of Lord Woodhouselee, and sister of Patrick Fraser Tytler, author of the *History of Scotland*, &c. In his retirement he was a deputy-lieutenant of the county of Inverness. He died in the beginning of 1856, at the age of seventy-two.

FRASER, ROBERT. This poet, linguist, and journalist, who was chiefly remarkable for his pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, was the son of a mariner, and was born in the village of Pathhead, parish of Dysart, Fifeshire, on the 24th of June, 1798. When only four years old he commenced his education in the village school, at which he continued eighteen months; afterwards he went to another school, where he remained about four years; and finally was sent to the school of Pathhead, at which, in 1809, he commenced the study of Latin. It was that simple course of ordinary education without which a young Scot at home can scarcely hold his own, but with which, when abroad, he can start in the career of life better equipped than his fellows, and win his way to fame and fortune. In 1812 Robert Fraser was apprenticed to a wine and spirit merchant in Kirkcaldy, in whose employ he continued four years; but in 1813, being afflicted with an abscess in his right arm, which confined him to the house for several months, he betook himself to that course of study in earnest which afterwards gave him a place in literature. He matured his school-boy knowledge of Latin, made considerable proficiency in Greek, and to these added French and Italian, at a period when the study of such languages was somewhat rare among the common ranks in Scotland. In addition to these studies he cultivated an acquaintanceship with general literature. His apprenticeship in the meantime to

¹ It is not, however, the original MS.

the wine and spirit merchant continued until 1817, when, on its termination, he abandoned the trade altogether, and became clerk to a respectable ironmonger in Kirkcaldy. In 1819 he commenced the business of ironmonger in Kirkcaldy on his own account, in partnership with a Mr. James Robertson; and in March, 1820, before he had completed his twenty-second year, he married a lady whose name was Miss Ann Cumming. The cares of business and domestic life did not, however, abate his love of study, which was directed chiefly to general literature and the acquirement of languages; and in 1825 he commenced the study of the German tongue, to which he afterwards added the Spanish, and of both of these languages he acquired such mastery as to translate from them various pieces of poetry, which, with some original productions of his own, were published in the pages of the *Edinburgh Literary Gazette*, the *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, and several newspapers of the day.

It was while pursuing these honourable literary recreations that Fraser's worldly concerns were becoming unprosperous. The first serious shock was from a robbery, which no prudence could have prevented. About six years after he had opened his shop it was broken into during the night, and jewellery to the value of £200 was carried away, while no trace could be obtained either of the property or the thieves. In 1833, having dissolved partnership and commenced business on his sole responsibility, he, in 1836, was so deeply involved in pecuniary difficulties through the sudden death of a friend, that his health succumbed, and, notwithstanding his stout-hearted attempts to rally, the state of his affairs was so hopeless that he was obliged in the following year to compound with his creditors. Such is too often the fate of a mind divided between the study and the shop: the union is so uncongenial, that one or the other occupation must go to the wall, and in such a collision the desk, from its superior attractiveness, is usually the conqueror of the counter. But Fraser's character for honour and industry was so well established, that the most respectable traffickers of the town offered to become his securities for the composition.

Fraser having nothing left him but his talents and reputation, soon found them an available capital, for they obtained for him the editorship of the *Fife Herald*, to which he was appointed in 1838. On leaving Kirkcaldy a large party of its townsmen showed their esteem for his worth by entertaining him at a public dinner, and presenting him with a copy of the seventh (at that time the latest) edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. But it was only for a very short time that he was able to discharge his editorship of the *Fife Herald*, for his constitution was already broken, so that he was obliged to employ a literary friend as his substitute. His last acts were in accordance with the tenor of his literary life: while confined to bed, and during the intervals of acute pain, he revised and arranged his poems for the press, and a short time before he died he dictated to an amanuensis his translations from certain Danish and Norwegian writers. His death occurred on the 22d of May, 1839. Such was his brief history—a history of hundreds of his countrymen in lowly life, who, with equal talents and worth, have passed away into oblivion because there was no one to preserve their memory. The *Poetical Remains* of Robert Fraser, with a memoir of their author, were published soon after his death by David Vedder.

FRASER, SIMON, twelfth Lord Lovat, a person too remarkable in history to be overlooked in

this work, though his want of public or private virtue might otherwise have dictated his exclusion, was the second son of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, by Sybilla Macleod, daughter of the laird of Macleod, and was born at Beaufort, near Inverness, in the year 1667. Of his early years we have no very distinct account. He has himself asserted that, at the age of thirteen, he was imprisoned for his exertions in the royal cause, though we do not well see how this could happen. That his elder brother, however, was in the insurrection of the Viscount Dundee, and himself, after the death of Dundee, in that under General Buchan, is certain. After all the pains his lordship has been at to set forth his extreme zeal for the Stuarts, nothing can be more evident than that, from his earliest days, the sole purpose of his life was to promote his own power by all feasible means, this end being the only object of his solicitude. Agreeably to this view of his character we find him, in the year 1694, while yet a student at the university of Aberdeen, accepting of a commission in the regiment of Lord Murray, afterwards Earl of Tullibardine. This commission had been procured for him by his cousin Hugh Lord Lovat, who was brother-in-law to Lord Murray, with the express view of bringing him "forward most advantageously in the world;" and though he professed to have scruples in going against the interest of King James, these were all laid asleep by an assurance on the part of Lord Murray, that the regiment, though ostensibly raised, and in the meantime to take the oaths to, and receive the pay of King William, was really intended for King James, who would not fail to be in the country to lay claim to and revive his rights in the course of the succeeding year. No sooner had young Beaufort received this assurance than he led into the regiment a complete company, almost entirely made up of the young gentlemen of his clan. In the course of the succeeding year Lord Murray was, by the favour of King William, appointed secretary of state for Scotland, and, in place of doing anything for King James, enforced upon every officer in his regiment the oath of abjuration.

Being a young man, at liberty to follow out his education, and in the regular receipt of his pay, Beaufort, it might have been supposed, would have found his situation comfortable, and been in some measure content; but his spirit seems to have been naturally restless, and anything like an under part in the drama of life did not square with his disposition. In the course of the year 1696, a company of Lord Murray's regiment being stationed at the castle of Edinburgh, where the earl-marischal, Lord Drummond, and other of the Jacobite lords were imprisoned, a visit from the Pretender being at the time expected, Simon, the subject of this narrative, entered into an engagement with the rebel lords to seize upon the castle, and to hold it under the earl-marischal for the French and King James. In this project, which appears not to have been executed only because the French were unable to make the promised demonstration, Beaufort was to have been assisted by another captain of the same regiment, who seems to have been equally faithless and equally servile with himself.

But while he was thus careful to watch the tides, and to take advantage of every wind that might ruffle the ocean of politics, his eye was steadily fixed upon the estate of Lovat, which, as his cousin Hugh Lord Lovat had but one child, a daughter, he had already marked out as his own. For this end he seems to have embraced every opportunity of ingratiating himself with his cousin, who appears to have been a

man of a facile and vacillating disposition, and to have been considerably under the influence of Lord Murray, his brother-in-law. Of this influence Simon of Beaufort was perfectly aware, and watched with the utmost carefulness an opportunity to destroy it. This opportunity Lord Murray himself afforded him in the affair of the colonelcy of the regiment, which, upon his appointment to the office of secretary, it was expected he would have given up to his brother-in-law Lord Lovat. Nor is it at all unlikely that such was originally his lordship's intention; for in the year 1696 he sent for him to London, apparently with the intention of doing so after having presented him to the king. Lovat unfortunately carried along with him his cousin Simon, whose character must by this time have been pretty well known to King William, and whose companionship, of course, could be no great recommendation to the royal favour. Lovat was, however, presented to the royal presence, most graciously received, and gratified with a promise of being provided for. As this was all that Lovat expected, he took leave of his majesty, along with Lord Murray, leaving no room for William to suppose, for the present at least, that he either wished or had any occasion for a further interview. This his cousin Simon highly resented, telling him that it was a contrivance of Lord Murray's to deprive him of an opportunity of soliciting a regiment for himself, and he prevailed with him instantly to demand of Lord Murray the reason for which he had brought them at this time to London, at such an enormous expense. Lord Murray frankly told him that it was his design to have resigned to him the command of his regiment, but that the king had positively enjoined him to keep it till such time as the rumours of an invasion should subside, when he should certainly surrender it into his hands.

Had Lovat been left to himself this answer would most probably have been altogether satisfactory; but it did not satisfy Simon nor his friends Lord Tarbat and Alexander Mackenzie, son to the Earl of Seaforth, both of whom were at that time in London, and were of service to Beaufort in persuading Lord Lovat that Lord Murray had been all along his mortal enemy. By the advice of all three Lovat sent back to Lord Murray two commissions, that of captain and lieutenant-colonel, which he held under him, expressing at the same time in strong language his resentment of his treachery, and his fixed resolution never more to see him nor any individual of his family, excepting his own wife. At the same time that the poor old man was thus eager in casting off his old friends, he was equally warm in his attachment to the new. "Impressed with the tender affection of the laird of Beaufort, and the resolution he manifested never to leave him, he declared that he regarded him as his own son;" and as he had executed at his marriage some papers which might perhaps be prejudicial to the claims of this said adopted son, he obliged him to send for an attorney, and made a universal bequest to him of all his estates, in case he died without male issue. This affectionate conduct on the part of Lord Lovat deeply, according to his own account of the matter, affected our hero, who pretended "that he would for ever consider him as his father." In consequence of so much anxious business, so much chagrin and disappointment, with a pretty reasonable attendance on taverns, Lord Lovat fell sick; but after convalescing a little, was brought on his way home as far as Edinburgh by his affectionate Simon, where he left him, proceeding by the way of Dunkeld to meet with his wife. He had not been many days at Dunkeld when he again fell sick, and retired to an

VOL. II.

inn at Perth, where he was again waited on by Simon of Beaufort, and, in a state of distraction, died in his arms the morning after his arrival.

Though, as we have seen, the subject of this memoir had got a deed executed by a London attorney under the direction of his cousin, the late Lord Lovat, constituting him heir to the estate, it was judged by him the more prudent method to put forward his father as the nearest male heir to take possession of the estate, with the honours, contenting himself with the title of Master of Lovat. No sooner, however, had he assumed this title than he was questioned on the subject by his colonel, now Lord Tullibardine, who made him the offer of a regiment with other preferments, which should be to him an ample provision for life, provided he would execute a formal surrender of his claim to that dignity. This produced a violent altercation between them, which ended in the master of Lovat throwing up his commission, which he bade his lordship, if he pleased, bestow upon his own footman. Through the friendship of Sir Thomas Livingston, however, he received another company in the regiment of Macgill, and his father having taken possession of the estate and the honours of Lovat without much apparent opposition, he must have been, in some degree, satisfied with his good fortune. In order, however, to secure it, and to render his claims in every respect unexceptionable, he made love to the heiress of his cousin, the late Lord Lovat, and had succeeded in persuading her to marry him without the knowledge of her friends, when one of his agents betrayed trust, and she was carried out of his way by the Marquis of Athol after the day of the marriage had actually been appointed.

The Marquis of Athol, late Lord Tullibardine, probably aware that he had an adversary of no common activity to deal with, lost no time in concluding a match for the heiress with Lord Salton or Fraser, whom he also took measures for having declared head of the clan Fraser. The first part of his plan was not difficult to have been executed; but the latter part, for which the first was alone contemplated, was not of so easy a character, being opposed to the spirit of Highland clanship. A considerable time, however, was spent in attempting to bring it to bear. A few Frasers only could be tempted to engage in it; whose treachery no sooner came to the ears of the lord and the master of Lovat, than orders were issued to apprehend and punish them according to their deserts; and it was only by a timely and well-concerted flight that they escaped being hanged. A letter was at the same time sent to Lord Salton, signed by the principal men of the clan, begging him not to attempt forcing himself upon them, and thus destroying their tranquillity and endangering his own life. Salton returned a soft answer; but, confident in the power of the Marquis of Athol, and at any rate, in love with the consequence attached to the fair estate of Lovat, whether he was in love with the heiress or not, persevered in following out his plan, and with a considerable train of retainers came to Beaufort, at that time the residence of the dowager of Lovat, whose son-in-law he intended to be. Thomas Lord Lovat happened to be at this time on the Stratherrick estate—a district which stretches along the south bank of Loch Ness, and was requested by his son Simon to cross the lake by the nearest way to Lovat, which is only three miles from Beaufort, in order to meet with Lord Salton, while he himself hastened to the same place by the way of Inverness. At Inverness the master learned that Lord Salton, persevering in his original design, had fully matured his plans at the house of the dowager Lady Lovat, whence he intended next day to return

into his own country, calling at Athol and marrying the heiress of Lovat by the way, without waiting to see either the lord or the master of Lovat. Irritated as well as alarmed by this intelligence, he wrote by a special messenger to Lord Salton, calling upon him to adhere to his word "passed both to his father and himself, and to meet him next day at two o'clock in the afternoon, three miles from Beaufort, either like a friend, or with sword and pistols, as he pleased." This letter Lord Salton received at six o'clock in the evening, and returned for answer that he would meet the master of Lovat at the time and place appointed as his good friend and humble servant. In the meantime it was concluded by him and his followers to break up from their present quarters, and to pass the bridge of Inverness before the master of Lovat could have any suspicion of their being in motion, and thus escape a meeting with him for the present. The master, however, was too good a calculator of probabilities in this sort of intercourse to be thus taken in, especially as his messenger to Lord Salton, from what he had observed at Beaufort, had strong suspicions of what was intended. He was accordingly at the road very early in the morning, attended by six gentlemen and two servants, all well mounted and armed, and meeting Lord Salton, Lord Mungo Murray, and their followers, to the number of forty, issuing from a defile in the wood of Bunchrive, about five miles from Inverness, disarmed and dismounted them; first Lord Mungo Murray, then Lord Salton, and the rest singly as they came forward, without stroke of sword or the firing of a single musket. Though the party of the master of Lovat was so inconsiderable at the outset, Lord Salton and his party soon found themselves surrounded by some hundreds of enraged enemies, by whom, under the direction of the master, they were carried prisoners to the castle of Fanellan, where they were closely shut up under a certification that they should be all hanged for their attempt to intrude themselves into the inheritance, and to deprive the owner of his lawful and hereditary rights. Nor had they any assured ground to consider this as a mere bravado: the history of clan wars could easily furnish them with numerous examples of such barbarous atrocity where there was not greater provocation.

Having thus completely marred the marriage of Lord Salton, the master of Lovat immediately set about the celebration of his own. The heiress of Lovat was safe in the hands of her friends at Athol; but the dowager, her mother, was in the house of Beaufort, every avenue to which he beset with his followers, so that it was out of her power to inform her friends of anything that was going on; then, entering the house with a parson, whether Catholic or Episcopal is unknown, he made the lady go through the form of marriage with himself, had her forcibly undressed and put to bed, whither he as forcibly followed her before witnesses, thus constituting it, as he supposed, a lawful marriage. This is one of the most atrocious of the many revolting actions in the life of this profligate nobleman, though one to which he has given a flat denial in the memoir which he has written of himself. The truth is, it was as foolish as it was wicked; and, after the purpose for which it was committed, viz. to remove the enmity of the Athol family, had utterly failed, he himself must have been heartily ashamed of it. There is indeed a total falsehood in one reason that he insists upon as proving its improbability. She was old enough, he says, to have been his mother. Now she was only four years older than himself, having died at Perth in the year 1743, in the eightieth year of her age. She had been either so frightened by him, or so

cajoled, as to offer, if we may believe the Duke of Argyle, writing to the Rev. Mr. Carstairs, to give her oath before the court of justiciary that all that had passed between her and Lovat was voluntary, and as much her inclination as his; and she lived to hear him deny his being at all concerned with her, and to see him twice afterwards married.

But to return from this short digression. Having, as he supposed, put himself in a fair way for being acknowledged by the house of Athol, the master of Lovat abandoned the idea of hanging so many of the members and allies belonging to it as he had in custody in his castle of Fanellan, contenting himself with extorting a bond from Lord Salton for £8000, with four low-country barons as his sureties, if he ever again interfered with the affairs of the estate of Lovat, or if ever he or the Marquis of Athol prosecuted any one individual for anything that had been transacted in this whole affair. This was only a little more of the same folly which had guided him through the whole business, and tended but to excite the wonder of his friends and the hatred and contempt of his enemies, the latter of whom, on a representation to the privy-council, had him intercommuned, and letters of fire and sword issued out against him and all his clan. This, though perfectly in the natural order of human affairs, was altogether unexpected by the master of Lovat, and seems to have reduced him to great extremity. Besides the family of Athol, which was much more powerful than his own, troops were ready to pour in upon him from all quarters, and even those upon whom he depended for counsel and assistance seem at the time to have declared against him. To the laird of Culloden we find him writing from Beaufort in the month of October, 1697. "Thir Lds. att Inverness, w^t. y^e rest of my implacable enemies, does so confound my wife, that she is uneasy till she see them. I am afraid they are so mad with this disappointment, that they will propose something to her that's dangerous, her brother having such power with her; so that really till things be perfectly accommodate, I do not desire they should see her, and I know not how to manage her. So I hope you will send all the advice you can to your obliged, &c. &c. I hope you will excuse me for not going your length, since I have such a hard task at home." The advice given him by Culloden has not been preserved; but that it was not to his mind we learn from a letter written by that gentleman from Inverloch about ten or twelve days after. "I am much concerned," says he, "that your neighbour Beaufort hath played not the fool, but the madman. If, by your persuasion, he cannot be induced to deliver up the so much abused lady upon assurance of pardon, in all probability he will ruin both himself and his friends. 'Tis not long since he was here and promised me other things; but since he has run a quite contrary course, and stands neither to his own nor the proposals of any other, I have sent down 200 men," &c. &c. This view of the matter is still further confirmed by another letter from Lovat to Culloden, a few days after the above, when he seems to have felt that he was pretty much in the power of his enemies. "I pray you receive the inclosed account of my business, and see if your own conscience in the sight of God do not convince you that it is literally true. I had sent to you upon Saturday last, but you were not at home; however, I sent it that day to the laird of Calder, who, I hope, will not sit down upon me, but transmit it to my best friends; and I beseech you, sir, for God's sake, that you do the like. I know the chancellor is a just man, notwithstanding his friendship for Tullibardine. I forgive you for be-

traying of me; but neither you nor I, nor, I hope, God himself, will not forgive them that deceived you, and caused you do it. I am very hopeful in my dear wife's constancy if they do not put her to death. Now I add no more, but leaves myself to your discretion," &c. At the same time his father, Lord Lovat, wrote to the Duke of Argyle an explanatory letter upon the subject, signed by himself and all the principal Frasers. The great benefit of the marriage to the estate of Lovat is chiefly insisted on in this letter, and represented as the sole cause of the enmity of the Athol family, who, it states, wished to appropriate that fair domain to themselves. Argyle, on the receipt of this letter, wrote to Mr. Carstairs, who was King William's principal adviser in all that related to Scotland, and after a considerable length of time was gratified by receiving the pardon he had solicited for all the treasons with which his client had been charged, leaving the story of the rape for a subject of future investigation. For this, also, had there been a little patience and prudence exercised, there cannot be a doubt but he would have obtained a full remission.

To be out of the way of this storm at its commencement, Lord Lovat had taken shelter in the island of Skye, with his brother-in-law the laird of Macleod, where he died in the beginning of 1698. Simon, who had defended himself in the best manner he could, then assumed the title of Lord Lovat, but, to escape the rage and superior strength of his enemies, was also under the necessity of taking refuge in the isles, where he remained till the following year, when the Duke of Argyle, with the promise of a pardon, brought him to London. Delays took place, however, in procuring his remission to pass the Scottish seals, till the king set out for the United Provinces, and Lovat took an excursion into France for the purpose of lodging at the court of St. Germain, a complaint against the Marquis of Athol, and soliciting James' protection against the malignity of his powerful family. Having obtained his request, and been enjoined by the exiled monarch to wait on and make his peace with King William, Lovat proceeded by the way of London to the court of that sovereign at Loo, being favoured with a letter from the Duke of Argyle to Mr. Carstairs, through whom he received a remission, he himself says, of all crimes that could be imputed to him, but restricted by Seafield in passing the Scottish seals, as has been above stated. With this remission, such as it was, he ventured to make his appearance in public, had a citation served upon the Marquis of Athol and his family for falsely accusing him, and for devastating his estates; and making a progress through the north, returned to Edinburgh with 100 gentlemen as honourable as himself to support his charges, and bear witness to the innocence and integrity of his character; or rather to browbeat the authorities, and extort from fear a decision which he well knew could never be procured from the voice of truth and justice. Finding, however, that he had undertaken what would fail him in the issue, he once more set out for London, the day before the trial should have come on, and was nonsuited in his absence; and thus, by his imprudent temerity, lost the opportunity of being fairly instated in the estate and honours of Lovat, as he would certainly have been, through the interest of Argyle and his other friends, had he allowed them to do their own work in their own way.

The restoration of King James was now Lovat's sheet anchor; and, lest the Murrys, whom he suspected of being warmer friends to James than he was himself, should also be before him here, it was necessary for him to be peculiarly forward. Accord-

ingly, on the death of King William in the early part of the year 1702, he procured a commission from several of the principal Scottish Jacobites to the court of St. Germain, declaring their being ready to take up arms and hazard their lives and fortunes for the restoration of their lawful prince; as usual, paying all manner of respect to the court of Versailles, and requesting its assistance. With this he proceeded by the way of England and Holland, and reached the court of St. Germain about the beginning of September, 1702, just in time to be particularly useful in inflaming the contentions that distracted the councils of James VIII., for the direction of whose affairs there was a most violent struggle among his few followers. He had for his fellow-traveller his cousin-german Sir John Maclean, well known in the history of the intrigues of that time, who, leaving him at Paris, was his precursor to the court of St. Germain, whence in two days he returned to conduct him into the presence of the Duke of Perth, from whom he received private instructions how to conduct himself towards the queen. The principal of these was to request of the queen that she should not make known any part of what he proposed to Lord Middleton, who, at the time, was the rival of Lord Perth for the supreme direction of their affairs, which might be said to lie chiefly in sending out spies, fabricating reports, and soliciting pensions. Nothing could be more agreeable to Lovat, the very elements of whose being seemed to be mystery, and with whom to intrigue was as natural as to breathe. To work he went, exacted the queen's promise to keep everything secret from Middleton; and by the aid of the Marquis de Torcy, the Marquis Callieres, and Cardinal Gualterio, the pope's nuncio, fancied himself sole administrator of the affairs of Scotland. The queen herself was so much pleased with the opening scene, that she gladdened the heart of Lovat by telling him she had sent her jewels to Paris to be sold in order to raise the 20,000 crowns he had told her were necessary for bringing forward his Highlanders in a properly effective manner. But she was not long true to her promise of secrecy; and Middleton at once depicted Lovat as "the greatest traitor in the three kingdoms;" nor did he treat his favourite Highlanders with any more respect, representing them as mere banditti, excellent at plundering the Lowlanders and carrying off their cattle, but incapable of being formed into a regular corps that would look a well-appointed enemy in the face. From this day forward Lovat seems to have fallen in the opinion of Mary d'Este, who was a woman of rather superior talents, though he seems to have gone on well with De Torcy, Callieres, and Gualterio, who found in him, as they supposed, a very fit tool for their purpose of raising in Scotland a civil war, without much caring whether it really promoted the interests of James or not. After much intriguing with Perth and Middleton, as well as with the French ministry, Lovat obtained a commission to visit Scotland in 1703, but rather as an emissary of the French government than an accredited agent for James. The object of the French government was to have an immediate diversion created in the Highlands, and they furnished his lordship with 6000 francs (£250) to defray the expenses of his journey, and a commission to be a major-general, with power to raise troops and appoint officers, as he should find needful. At the same time, to be the witness of his behaviour, they joined with him John Murray of Abercainry, a gentleman who ought to have been ashamed of such a companion as Lovat, and had the address to send James Murray, brother to Murray of Stanhope, so

as to be in Scotland at least a month before him, where he told it openly that Lovat was on his way as agent for the pope and the King of France, to raise a civil war in Scotland, contrary to the positive orders of the king and his mother the queen. Owing to this and the well-known character of Lovat, many of the Jacobites were shy of communicating with him, though he certainly found a few willing to depend upon his promises, and to enter into his projects. His principal object, however, most probably was to see if there were yet any openings whereby he might reconcile himself with the government, and be allowed to take possession of the estate of Lovat, the first and the last grand object of his ambition. He accordingly threw himself in the way of Queensberry, to whom he betrayed all—perhaps more than he knew respecting his old friend Lord Murray, now, by the death of his brother and the queen's favour, Duke of Athol, and his associate in politics, the Duke of Hamilton; but his best friend the Duke of Argyle dying at this time, he appears to have obtained nothing more than a free passport, and perhaps some promises in case of further discoveries; and with this he passed again into France. Having, while in London, fallen in with, or rather been introduced to, a well-known Jacobite, William Keith, and the well-known framer of plots, Ferguson, who was shortly after taken up, the whole of his transaction took air before he had time to reach Paris. The companion of his travels, too, Sir John Maclean, coming to England about the same time, surrendered himself prisoner, and, in consideration of obtaining his liberty and a small pension, laid open the whole of Lovat's proceedings from first to last, so that he was discovered to both courts at the same time. The reader, however, if he supposes that Lovat felt any pain at these discoveries, is in a great mistake. They were unquestionably the very events he wished, and from which he expected to rise in worldly estimation and in wealth, which is too often the chief pillar upon which that estimation is founded. There was at this period, among all parties, a thirst for emolument which was perfectly ravenous, and scrupled at no means by which it might attain its gratification. Of this fatal propensity the present affair is a remarkable instance. Lovat had received from King James the present of his picture, which, with a commission for a regiment of infantry, he had inclosed in a box made for the purpose. This, on leaving Scotland, he committed to his friend Campbell of Glendaruel, to keep for him, and his back was scarcely turned when Glendaruel went to the Duke of Athol, and offered him the box, with its contents, provided he would give him a company in a regiment that was held by Campbell of Finab, and was worth about £170 a year, which he at once obtained, and the box with its contents was in a short time lodged in the hands of Queen Anne. Lovat, in his memoirs, relates the transaction, and exclaims against its treachery, though it was wholly his own contrivance; the box being given for the express purpose of procuring a pension for his friend, and giving Anne and her ministers ocular demonstration of his own importance.

On his arrival in France Lord Lovat found the Earl of Middleton and the exiled queen as much opposed to him and his projects as ever, but he continued his assiduities with the French courtiers, who informed him that he might expect very soon to be the first of the Scottish nobility, since he would be called on to head the insurrection not only as a general officer to King James, but as a general officer in the army of France; everything necessary for the

success of the expedition—land forces, a squadron of ships, arms, and ammunition—being already prepared, and nothing remaining to be done but the form of carrying it through the privy-council, which a day or two would accomplish. In a day or two it was proposed in the council, when the king himself declared that, though he had the highest opinion of the excellence of the proposed plan, the Queen of England had positively refused to sign commissions for her subjects to engage in it, and therefore, for the present, it was necessary to lay it aside. This was a sad blow to the hopes of Lovat; and being always fond of letter-writing, he wrote a letter to the queen, in which he told her that she had at one blow overturned a project which he had sacrificed his property and exposed his life to bring to perfection; and he affirmed that, so long as her majesty followed implicitly the advice of the people who were at the head of the English parliament, Jesus Christ would come in the clouds before her son would be restored; and he concluded by saying, that, for his own part, he would never draw a sword for the royal cause so long as the regency was in her majesty's hands.

In consequence of this letter Lord Lovat was, at the queen's instance, imprisoned thirty-two days in a dark dungeon, three years in the castle of Angouleme, and seven years in the city of Saumur. In the meantime the project was not abandoned. Colonel Hooke succeeded to the part that Lovat had played or attempted to play. A large armament, under Admiral Forbin, was fitted out in the year 1708, and in which James himself embarked and had a sight of the Scottish shore, when, meeting with Admiral Byng, and afterwards encountering a violent storm, the whole was driven back upon the French coast with great loss. In this expedition the friends of Lovat had requested James to employ him, and they had received the most determined refusal, which finally, with the failure of the expedition, cut off all his hopes from that quarter. What added greatly to the bitterness of his reflections, the heiress of Lovat was now married to Mr. Alexander Mackenzie (son of Lord Prestonhall), who had assumed the title of Fraserdale, with the estate of Lovat settled on him for life, with remainder to the heirs of the marriage, who were to bear the name of Fraser, and of which there were already more than one. Thus circumstanced, he confessed that he "would not merely have enlisted himself in the party of the house of Hanover, which was called to the crown of Scotland, England, and Ireland by all the states of the kingdom, but with any foreign prince in the universe who would have assisted him in the attainment of his just and laudable design of re-establishing his family, and proclaiming to all Scotland the barbarous cruelty of the court of St. Germain's." In this state of mind he formed the resolution of escaping from Saumur, in company with some English prisoners, and throwing himself at the feet of the Dukes of Marlborough and Argyle, entreating them to interpose in his favour with Queen Anne. This design circumstances prevented him from executing, but he transmitted on various occasions letters to the Duke of Argyle and others of his friends upon whom he supposed he could depend, stating the determination he had come to, and requesting their good offices to effect his reconciliation with the queen. Some of these letters were returned to the court of St. Germain's, shown to the court of France, and nearly occasioned his being shut up in the Bastille for life. He was very soon, however, engaged in forming another plan for the invasion of Scotland, in which he expected to be employed; but the terrible cam-

paigns of 1710 and 1711 put it out of the power of the court of France to attend to anything beyond domestic concerns; and the Marquis de la Fuziliere, the principal friend he possessed at the French court, dying at the same time, rendered all his prospects in that country hopeless. The conclusion of peace, and the appointment of the Duke of Hamilton to represent Queen Anne at the court of Versailles, filled him with still more gloomy apprehensions, from which he was not delivered till he read in the public papers the fatal duel that had been fought between that nobleman and Lord Mohun, when he again took courage, and applied once more to the French court to be set at liberty. The person he employed, however, had no success; his character seemed to be losing rather than gaining at that court, and he was advised to make his escape. Others, certain that the king would be immediately restored by Anne and her ministers, and was even now on the point of setting out for Scotland to be at hand when wanted, assured him that to depart for Scotland without his permission was only to rush upon inevitable destruction. This seems to have filled him with great apprehension, and he laboured to be reconciled to the Pretender with the greatest but the most fruitless industry, till he was driven to utter despair by the death of Queen Anne, and tidings that all the Jacobite clans in the north were arming in behalf of James, who had again and again declared that, without the consent of the Duke of Athol, he would never hear of his name. In this dilemma one of the Frasers arrived to request his presence with the clan, and advising him to join the party of Argyle, who was their old friend, and the only one that was likely to be able to afford them protection. He had previously to this written to Argyle, but does not seem to have had any reply. He now despatched a trusty servant to consult with him and Ilay, Culloden, Grant, Kilravock, and other of his old friends, who stated, that if he could make his way safely to London, the business was done. This at once determined him to set out for England, taking the best precautions he could to avoid being arrested. On the 1st of November, 1714, after an imprisonment of ten years, he arrived at Dover, where, on account of extreme fatigue, he rested for one night. He then by a journey of two days arrived safely in London.

Here his first care was to despatch his trusty friends James and Alexander Fraser for the Earl of Ilay and Brigadier-general Grant. The brigadier lost not a moment in waiting on him, expressed great joy to see him safe and well, and assured him of every good office in his power. Ilay, on the contrary, expressed considerable regret at his having quitted the provision which, amid all the severe treatment he met with, had been made for him in France, while in England he had not even the security of his life; but he engaged to bring his case before the king and the prince that very night, and to let him know the result next day. The circumstances in which Lovat had thus placed himself were by no means pleasant. In Scotland there was a sentence of death in full force against him, and a price set upon his head, while he had nothing to rely upon but a precarious promise from a few friends, who, after all, might neither have the will nor the power to protect him. He was, however, too deeply embarked to draw back, and he determined, regardless of consequences, to throw himself upon the protection of the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Ilay, to take no step in his affairs but by their direction, and to live and die in their service. How happy had it been for his lordship had he never lost sight of this prudent determination! Next day Ilay informed him that he had spoken of his case

both to the king and the prince, who were well disposed towards him, but, without some security for his future loyalty, were not willing to grant him a free pardon. It would therefore be necessary for him to present an address to the king, signed by all his friends who were well affected towards the present government, and that, in this address, they should enter into an engagement for his loyalty in any sum the king pleased. Such an address as would be proper Ilay promised to draw up, which he accordingly did two days after; and Lovat, by his trusty friend James Fraser, immediately despatched it to the north, with the following letter to his old friend John Forbes of Culloden, who was at the time canvassing for the county of Inverness.

"Much honoured and dear Sir,—The real friendship that I know you have for my person and family makes me take the freedom to assure you of my kind service, and to entreat of you to join with my other friends betwixt Spey and Ness to sign the address the court requires in order to give me my remission. Your cousin James, who has generously exposed himself to bring me out of chains, will inform you of all the steps and circumstances of my affairs since he saw me. I wish, dear sir, you were here; I am confident you would speak to the Duke of Argyle and to the Earl of Ilay to let them know their own interest and their reiterated promises to do for me. Perhaps they may have sooner than they expect a most serious occasion for my service. But it's needless now to preach that doctrine to them, they think themselves in an infallible security. I wish they may not be mistaken. However, I think it's the interest of all those who love this government betwixt Spey and Ness to see me at the head of my clan, ready to join them, so that I believe none of them will refuse to sign an address to make me a Scotchman. I am persuaded, dear sir, that you will be of good example to them on that head. But secrecy, above all, must be kept, without which all may go wrong. I hope you will be stirring for the parliament, for I will not be reconciled to you if you let Prestonhall outvote you. Brigadier Grant, to whom I am infinitely obliged, has written to Foyers to give you his vote, and he is an ingrate villain if he refuses him. If I was at home, the little pitiful barons of the Aird durst not refuse you. But I am hopeful that the news of my going to Britain will hinder Prestonhall to go north, for I may meet him when he least thinks of me. I am very impatient to see you, and to assure you most sincerely how much I am, with love and respect, right honourable," &c.

The above is a fair specimen of Lovat's manner and address in complimenting those whom he had an interest in standing well with. He had indeed use for all his activity on this occasion. The secrecy which he recommends was also very necessary, for Fraserdale no sooner heard of his intention of coming down to Scotland, which was only a few days after this, than he applied to the lord-justice clerk for an extract of the process and sentence against him, no doubt with the intention of putting it in execution before his friends should be able to interpose any shield of legal authority in his defence. All his friends, however, especially Culloden, were particularly active. The address and bond of security to the king was speedily signed by all the Whig gentlemen of consequence in the north, and remitted to Lord Ilay, who carried it to London in the month of March, 1715. Culloden, in the meantime, had, through his brother Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord-president, transmitted, to be presented by Lord Ilay, a most loyal address to the king, signed by the Frasers, with a tender of their clan to Argyle as their

chief. This was intended to counterbalance the address of the Jacobites that had been transmitted to the Earl of Marr, but which he durst not present, and to strengthen the interest of Argyle, which the other was calculated to weaken. Through the opposition of the Duke of Montrose, however, who had been gained over by Prestonhall and the Duke of Athol, Lovat's business was protracted till the month of July, 1715, when the news of the preparations of the Pretender for an invasion of Great Britain, transmitted by the Earl of Stair, then ambassador at Paris, and the general ferment that prevailed through the country had aroused the fears of the government. Ilay availed himself of these circumstances for turning the attention of the English minister more particularly to that too long delayed affair. The addresses which had been obtained in his favour were then given in to his majesty, whose gracious pardon he obtained; and in October, making the best of his way for the north, he was arrested by a loyal party at Dumfries as a Jacobite. Referring for his character to the Marquis of Annandale, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, and to whom he was known, he was immediately set at liberty. Here he volunteered his services to lead a party of the townsmen in attacking the rebels in their quarters at Lochmaben, but the attack, after it had been resolved on, was abandoned through the prudent advice of the Marquis of Annandale, who was afraid of the consequences both to themselves and the good cause in which they were engaged.

Leaving Dumfries, his lordship found his way into the north, where the insurgents were nearly triumphant, being in possession of the whole country save the shires of Sutherland, Ross, and Caithness, with perhaps a detached castle or two in some of the neighbouring counties. Among these was the castle of Culloden. The Grants and the Munroes had also been able in some measure to preserve their own territories, but the rebels were everywhere around them in great force. The first of Lovat's proceedings was to hold a counsel with his general, as he long after called him, Duncan Forbes, and his brother the laird of Culloden, who was perhaps the most trustworthy man in the north, after which he went home, where he was waited upon by a considerable number of Frasers, with whom he marched for Stratherrick, one of his estates, and by the way compelled the clan Chattan to lay down their arms and disperse to their homes. Macdonald of Keppoch, too, who had 300 men assembled on the braes of Abertarf, dismissed them the moment he was apprised of Lovat's approach. At Stratherrick he was waited upon by Fraser of Foyers and Fraser of Culduhill, with their retainers; and to prevent the Macdonalds from reaching the other side of Loch Ness, he himself crossed over at Bonat, and with 200 picked men marched, according to agreement, for Inverness by Kinmayles. Colonel Grant, with a number of his own, Elcheiz's, and Knockadow's men, Captain Grant with 300 Grants, and all the other gentlemen engaged in the enterprise, were at the same time approaching the northern capital in order to rescue it from the hands of the rebels. For this end it was proposed that the gentlemen of Moray, in conjunction with Lord Lovat and the Grants, should set upon it from the south, while the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Rae, the Munroes, and the Rosses should attack it on the north. These latter gentlemen, however, having some of them upwards of fifty miles to march, besides ferries to cross, it was not thought advisable to wait for them. Captain Arthur Rose, brother to Kilravock, was therefore ordered to enter the town, while those that were already come up proceeded to

invest it in the best manner they could. Lord Lovat, with his detachment, was stationed on the west end of the bridge; Captain Grant on the south side, to enter by Castle Street; and the Moray lieutenants, Kilravock, Letham, Brodie, Sir Archibald Campbell, Dunphail, &c., were to attack the east part. The attack was led on with great spirit by Captain Arthur Rose, who was unfortunately killed pressing on in the front of his men; and Sir John Mackenzie, the rebel governor, seeing himself about to be overpowered, abandoned the place, escaping with his men across the frith in a number of boats, which but a few days before he had intended to destroy, in order to cut off all communication by the ferry. This was upon Saturday, the 12th of November, the day before the battle of Sheriffmuir and the surrender of Preston. Thus the rebels were completely broken in the north, and it was a triumph obtained with very little loss. Much of the credit of the achievement was given to Lovat, much more indeed than was his due; but he was in want of something to elevate his character, and his friends were willing to give him all advantages. The immediate consequence of the honour he acquired on this day was the desertion of 300 Frasers, who, under Fraserdale, were in Marr's camp at Perth; but now denying his authority to lead them, put themselves under the charge of Lord Lovat at Inverness, where they remained till the rebellion was finally put down by the Earl of Argyle and General Cadogan. But there was another consequence not very remote and of far greater importance; it secured him at once in the estate and all the honours of Lovat, which it had been the great object of his whole life to compass, but which, without some such strange event, joined to the false step of his rival in joining the rebel standard, was most certainly for ever beyond his reach. Prestonhall had married the heiress of Lovat, in whose person, by a decree of the Court of Session, so far back as the year 1702, rested the honours and dignity of Lovat. He had assumed in consequence the name of Fraser and the title of Fraserdale, and had a numerous offspring to inherit as heirs of marriage the estate which he had so long possessed, and had he maintained his loyalty, nothing but a revolution, with singular folly on his own part, could have dispossessed him of the property. Most fortunately for Lovat, when he arrived in the north, Fraserdale was with the Earl of Marr at Perth, and there was nothing to prevent him from executing his purpose of taking immediate possession of his estates, which he did before proceeding to act vigorously in behalf of the government, every member of which knew that such was the reward he expected. The fortunate issue of this his first action too called forth all the natural arrogance and presumption of his character. We find him in the ensuing March, only four short months after, writing to Duncan Forbes in the following style:—"My dear general, I send you the inclosed letter from the name of Macleod, which I hope you will make good use of, for it's most certain I kept the Macleods at home, which was considerable service done the government." How had he kept the Macleods at home, when the rebellion was at its height before it was so much as known if ever he would be allowed to enter it? But he goes on to speak of his own achievements still more boastingly, and of the recalling of Argyle, which, he says, has made him sick. "I hope, my dear general, you will take a start to London to serve his grace and do something for your poor old corporal (meaning himself); and if you suffer Glengarry, Fraserdale, or the Chisholm to be pardoned, I will never carry a musket any more under your command,

though I should be obliged to go to Afric. However, you know how obedient I am to my general's orders; you forgot to give the order signed by you and the other deputies to meddle with Fraserdale's estate for the king's service. I entreat you send it me, for — is afraid to meddle without authority." How his lordship wished Fraserdale to find no mercy is obvious from what is above stated; but why should Glengarry and the Chisholm find none for the very same reason? Their estates lay contiguous to those of Fraserdale; and if they could be all escheated to the king, why might not Lovat for his own extraordinary services have got all the three as well as one? Fraserdale was escheated, and Lovat had only to wait till the month of August, when a grant passed his majesty's privy-seal of Scotland "for the many brave and loyal services done and performed to his majesty by Simon Lord Lovat, particularly for the zeal and activity he showed in suppressing the late unnatural rebellion in the north of Scotland, and for his known affection to his majesty's person and government, giving, granting, and disposing the escheat of all goods, gear, debts, and sums of money, jewels, gold, silver, coined or uncoined, utensils and domesticals, horse, nolt, sheep, corns, cattle, bonds, obligations, contracts, decreets, sentences, compromits, and all other goods and gear escheatable, which belonged to Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, together with the said Alexander Mackenzie his life-rent escheat of all lands, heritages, tenements, annual rents, tacks, steadings, rooms, possessions, as also £500 of sterling money, fallen in the king's hands by the said sentence," &c.

This was certainly an abundant reward, though Lovat had been a much better man, and his services more ample than they really were. It was nothing more, however, than he expected, and it excited no gratitude, nor did it yield anything like content. Fraserdale's plate he had attempted to secure, but it fell into the hands of General Wightman, who, it was at the time remarked, had a happy knack of keeping what he got. However, he engaged to return it, Lovat paying him the one half in money, the whole being only valued at £150 sterling. In the month of April he was, on his own request, allowed to come to London, to look after all those great affairs that were then going on; and his mode of writing about them gives a curious view of a worldly man's morality:—"I want," he says to his friend Duncan Forbes, "but a gift of the escheat to make me easy. But if it does not do, you must find some pretence or other that will give me a title to keep possession, either by the tailie my lord provost has, or by buying off some creditors; in short, you must make a man of it one way or other." He was also at this time on the eve of his marriage with Margaret Grant, daughter of Ludovick Grant, of Grant; and his moral feeling on this subject is equally interesting to that which regarded the estate of Lovat:—"I spake to the duke and my Lord Ilay about my marriage, and told them that one of my greatest motives to the design, was to secure the joint interest of the north. They are both fully for it, and Argyle is to speak of it, and propose it to the king. But Ilay desired me to write to you, to know if there would be any fear of a pursuit of adherence from the other person (the dowager of Lovat), which is a chimerical business, and tender fear for me in my dear Ilay. But when I told him that the lady denied before the justice court that I had anything to do with her, and that the pretended marriage had been declared null, which Ilay says should be done by the commissaries only; yet when I told him that the minister and witnesses were all dead, who had been at the pre-

tended marriage, he was satisfied they could make nothing of it, though they would endeavour it. However, I entreat you, write to me or Mr. Stewart a line on this head, to satisfy my Lord Ilay's scruple." This puts an end to all doubt respecting the rape charged upon his lordship, of which he had often before, and did often again declare, that he was as innocent as the child unborn. All was now, however, forgiven; the Duke of Argyle wrote in his favour to the Grants, recommending the match, and in the course of the next year he obtained the young lady for his bride.

Lovat might now have been, if worldly success could make any man so, a very happy man. He had been, for many years, an exile and a prisoner, proscribed at home and abroad, and alike odious to both parties in the state, and both claimants of the crown. He had ventured home at the hazard of his life, had obtained the grace of the reigning prince, the countenance of all his friends, possession of the inheritance of his fathers, two honourable commissions among his countrymen, a young and beautiful wife, and a handsome pension; yet he was the same as before, querulous and discontented.

In the beginning of the year 1717 we find him resuming the subject of the grant, and he requests Duncan Forbes to employ Sir Walter Pringle, and any one else he pleases, and consult together of some legal way for his keeping possession of his estate; "for," says he, "I must either keep violent possession, which will return me my old misfortunes, or I must abandon the kingdom and a young lady whom my friends have engaged me to marry. So, my dear general, I beg you may give me some prospect of not being again forced to leave the kingdom, or to fight against the king's forces. The one or the other must be, if I do not find any legal pretence of possessing the estate but by this gift." And all this was because a Mr. Murray or a Lord Murray had made a motion in the House of Commons for a redeeming clause to be added in favour of Fraserdale's lady, which occasioned a few hours' debate, and was improved for making remarks on Lord Lovat's character and conduct, but at last came to nothing. Perhaps he was also a little disturbed by the movements of the Spanish court in favour of James, which were still more contemptible than any party motion that ever was made in the House of Commons.

For a number of years after this Lovat was fully occupied with the legal campaigns which he carried on under the direction of Duncan Forbes, for the final settlement of the Lovat estate, during all which time the affairs of the Pretender gave him no trouble; nay, they seem to have been totally forgotten. After the lapse of a number of years, however, when he had got everything secured in his own way, we then find him again treating with the Pretender for a generalship and a dukedom, and all his old uneasinesses returning upon him. Having no more to expect from his "dear general" the lord-president, he ceased to correspond with him; and on the breaking up of the Black Watch, one of the companies of which had belonged to him, he withdrew his affections entirely from the existing government, and became ready once more to act for the exiled family of Stuart.

The nation was now involved in war; and the friends of the Pretender, stirred up by the emissaries of the court of France, which protected him for no other purpose than to make him a tool on such occasions—began to bestir themselves. Lovat, whose political views were very limited, never doubted but that France had at all times the power to restore the Pretender, if she had but the will; and now that her

promises were so magnificent, he fell at once into the snare, and was the first to sign, in the year 1740, that association which brought entire ruin upon the cause, and nearly all that had connected themselves with it. Still he acted upon the old principle: he stipulated that he was to have a patent creating him a duke, and a commission constituting him lieutenant of all the Highlands, and of course elevating him above even the great Argyle.

Though Lovat had now committed himself, and was fairly in the way of "having all his old troubles returned upon him," common sense, as in most cases, did not forsake him all at once. He was employed in making preparations for the new scenes of grandeur that to his heated fancy lay before him, but he did not run the hazard of disappointment by any ridiculous parade, or any weak attempts prematurely to realize them. When Prince Charles landed at Boradale, accompanied, not, as had been agreed upon with the association at the head of which Lovat had unfortunately placed his name, by 13,000 men with all necessary equipments, but with seven persons and a few domestics, his friends were perfectly astonished, and none of them more so than Lovat. Accordingly, when he received Lochiel's letter stating that Charles was come, and that he had brought the papers stipulated upon, viz. the patent for the dukedom and the general's commission, Lovat returned a cold and general answer, that he might rely upon what he had promised. Lochiel, however, being led to take part in the enterprise, drew in some of his neighbours, and when the gathering had begun, who could tell where it would end? It might be at last successful, and all who had been backward at the outset might expect no mercy in the end. Still Lovat was cautious. He only sent one of his distant relations, "mad Tom of Gortuleg," to meet Charles at Invergarry, and to advise him to come by Stratherrick to Inverness, and by the time he reached the latter place Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod would have time to come up; besides, he might expect to be there joined by the Grants, the Mackenzies, and the Mackintoshes. These were all engaged to come forward as well as Lovat, who was now, from a number of circumstances, doubtful of their constancy, and, while he preserved the character of a leader, wished to see them all committed before he began to play his part. All his *finesse*, however, was of no avail. Charles took other advice. Sir Alexander Macdonald, and his powerful neighbour Macleod, stood entirely aloof; and to crown all, his "dear general," the lord-president, to whom he owed all that he possessed in the world, and to whose acute powers of perception he was no stranger, became his next-door neighbour, with the almost avowed purpose of watching his every action. All these circumstances reduced him to the necessity of acting with the utmost caution, and at the same time subjected him to the most tormenting anxiety. His preparations for joining the Pretender he dared not entirely suspend, lest some inferior neighbour might rise to that pre-eminent place in the prince's favour, which, in case he were successful, it was the dearest wish of his soul to occupy, and he knew not how to proceed, lest he might stand fairly committed, and be compelled to abide by the consequences. He did, however, what he could: he compelled his son to leave his studies with a view to make him the leader of his clan; and he employed, in an underhand way, his dependants to bring all matters connected with the expedition into a state of forwardness, while he himself wrote letters to the lord-president, filled with lamentations for his unhappy country, and his

more unhappy situation, as having to do with such mad people, and such an untoward and ungrateful son. After the brilliant affair at Gladsmuir, however, when he saw "that as sure as God was in the heavens, the mad young man would prevail," he took a little more courage, and sent to congratulate him on the victory, and to say that, being an old man, he could not come himself with 5000 men, as he had originally intended, but that he would send his son, which he hoped would be regarded the same as if he had come himself. As the course of events seemed to favour or frown upon the attempt, his lordship's conduct continued to be more open, or more concealed, till Lord Loudon found it to be his duty to take him into custody. Still, as he appeared undecided, and but few of his men had gone south, and it was hoped he might still countermand them, his confinement was only nominal. In an evil hour he made his escape from Lord Loudon, and, when it was utterly useless, threw the whole weight of his influence into the rebellion. The master of Lovat had a share in the affair of Falkirk, but was only coming up with his reinforcements to join the army of Charles, when he met it, totally routed, a few miles from the fatal field of Culloden. On the evening of that fatal day Lovat was petrified with the first and the last sight he ever had of Charles. This was at Gortuleg, where the unfortunate prince arrived about sunset, a miserable fugitive, accompanied by his Irish counsellors, Sheridan, Sullivan, O'Neil, and his secretary John Hay. Lovat, on being told of his approach in this forlorn condition, poured forth against him the bitterest execrations, as having brought utter ruin on the house of Lovat, and on the entry of his unexpected visitant he is said to have run about the house in a state of distraction, calling upon his domestics to chop off his aged head. Charles, however, who possessed the art of flattery in great perfection, soothed him by the promise of another and better day with the elector, observing, at the same time, that he had already had two, while the elector had but one. That one, however, unluckily for him and Lovat, was better than all the days either of them had seen, or were ever again to see. But the joke satisfied the old man; supper was hastily prepared, as hastily eaten, and at ten o'clock Charles changed his dress, and bade his entertainer an everlasting farewell.

Lovat had now abundance of leisure to reflect upon his folly in rejecting the sound advice of his friend the lord-president; but as he could have little hope of being again pardoned, he studied to prolong his liberty and life in the best manner he could, first by proposing a mountain campaign, which was found impracticable, and then by betaking himself to the fastnesses of his country, with which he was well acquainted. From one of these retreats he had the misery of seeing his house of Castledownie laid in ashes, and his estates everywhere plundered, the cattle driven off, the shielings set on fire, and the miserable inmates driven to the mountains. He had also the misfortune to see it given over by commission from the Duke of Cumberland to James Fraser of Castle Cullen for the behoof of the government, which, considering what it had cost him, and the value he set upon it, must have been worse than many deaths. As he had been so long a conspicuous character, and one of the most active movers of this rebellion, the search after him was continued with the utmost keenness and perseverance, and he was at last found upon an island in Loch Morar, where he was living comfortably with Macdonald of Morar, the proprietor of the island, without any suspicion of being found out, having carried all the boats

upon the loch into the island, and being at a considerable distance from the sea. Information, however, having been obtained, Captain Ferguson, of his majesty's ship *Furnace*, sailed round till directly opposite the island, when the men-of-war boats were carried overland and launched into the loch. Most of those that were upon the island fled by their boats and escaped; but Lovat, being totally lame, was unable to escape in this manner. He was, however, carried upon his bed into the woods, and was not found till after a search of three days. Being in no condition to make any resistance, he surrendered himself at once, delivered up his arms and his strong box, was carried aboard Captain Ferguson's ship, and brought round to Fort-William, where he wrote a letter to the Duke of Cumberland boasting of the extraordinary services he had performed for his family, of the great kindnesses he had then met with, and of the vast benefits he was still capable of bestowing, should he be made a participant of the royal mercy. Of this letter the duke took no notice, but he treated him with much kindness. A litter having been provided for him, he was brought to Fort-Augustus on the 15th of June, 1746. On the 15th of July he was sent to Stirling Castle, where he remained some days. From Stirling he was sent to Edinburgh, and thence by Berwick to London, the journey being divided into twenty stages, one only of which he was required to travel in a day. In this easy way he reached Barnet on the 14th of August, and on the 15th, the Friday before the execution of the Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, he arrived in London. On his way to the Tower he passed the scaffold that had been erected for the execution of those noblemen, which he looked at with some emotion, exclaiming, "Ah! is it come to this!" When brought to the Tower he was received by General Williamson and conducted to the apartment prepared for him, where, as his trial did not come on till the beginning of next year, he had abundance of leisure to contemplate the ruin he had brought upon himself and his house by indulging a most insatiable avarice and a ridiculous ambition. He, however, took possession of his dreary habitation with a degree of fortitude and an equanimity of mind worthy of a better man and a better cause.

On the 11th of December he was impeached of high treason by the House of Commons, a committee of which was appointed to draw up the articles and prepare evidence. He was subsequently brought to the bar of the House of Lords and the articles read to him. On this occasion his lordship made a long speech, in which he expressed the highest esteem for his majesty and all the royal family, enumerating at great length the many services he had performed for them during the rebellion in 1715, and singular favours bestowed upon him in return by the late king and his ministers. He then enlarged with great eloquence upon his age and infirmities, particularly his deafness, in consequence of which he said he had not heard one word of the charges preferred against him. They were of course read over to him again, when he presented a petition praying that he might have a copy of them, and that counsel and solicitors might be assigned him. He also acquainted their lordships that his estate had been taken forcible possession of, in consequence of which he had nothing either to support him or to bear the expenses of his trial. Their lordships gave orders that he should be allowed the income of the estate for his subsistence. He also petitioned for his strong box, but this was refused. On this day his lordship displayed great ability and excited considerable sympathy.

On the 13th of January, 1747, his lordship was again placed at the bar, and gave in an answer to the articles of impeachment, every one of which he denied. After making a very long speech, his trial was fixed for February the 23d. He was this day carried back to the Tower amid the hissings and execrations of a vast mob that attended him. In consequence of a petition from his lordship, his trial was put off till the 5th, and on a second petition till the 9th of March, on which day [Monday] it commenced, and was continued till Thursday the 19th, when it was concluded, his lordship having been found guilty by a unanimous vote of his peers, by the lord-chancellor pronouncing upon him the awful sentence of the law.

To give any particular account of this trial would be to give a history of the rebellion. Suffice it to say that on Wednesday, the sixth day occupied by his trial, his lordship read his defences, which were drawn up with all that sarcastic shrewdness for which he was remarkable, and displayed his talents to very great advantage. After being sentenced the old man made a short speech, begging their lordships to recommend him to his majesty's mercy. Turning to the commons at the same time, he said, that he hoped the worthy managers, as they were stout, would be merciful. Going from the bar he added, "My lords and gentlemen, God Almighty bless you all. I wish you an everlasting farewell, for we shall never all meet again in one place."

Though he was sentenced on the 19th of March, there were no orders issued respecting his execution till the 3d of April, when it was fixed for the 9th of that month. He had been in the meantime to all appearance perfectly at his ease, and indifferent alike to life or death. Being importuned to petition his majesty for a pardon, he replied he was so old and infirm that his life was not worth asking. He presented, however, a petition for the life of his son, who was a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, and who had been drawn into the rebellion solely by his counsels. The notification of his death he received with perfect composure, drank a glass of wine to the health of the messenger who brought it, and entertained him for a considerable time with a most cheerful conversation, assuring him that he would not change situations with any prince in Europe. Next day he talked freely of his own affairs, and took praise to himself for having been concerned in all the schemes that had been formed in behalf of the Stuarts since he was fifteen years of age, and boasted that he never betrayed a private man nor a public cause in his life. He added, perhaps with more truth, that he never shed a drop of blood with his own hand, nor ever struck a man except one young nobleman [meaning, we suppose, Lord Forrester in a public meeting at Inverness] whom he caned for his impertinence and impiety. On the Sabbath he talked of his family, and showed to his attendants a letter he had written to his son in a style affectionate and pious, breathing the resignation of a martyr. Being asked this day some question about his religion, he answered that he was a Roman Catholic, and would die in that faith. Wednesday, the day before his execution, he awoke early and prayed for a considerable time with great fervency, but was very merry during the day, talking generally of public affairs, particularly of the bill that was in its progress through parliament for abolishing heritable jurisdictions, which he highly reprobated. Thursday, the day of his execution, he awoke about three in the morning, and prayed with great fervour. At five he rose, called as usual for a glass of wine and water, and, being placed in his chair, sat and

read till seven, when he called for another such refreshment. The barber shortly after brought him his wig, which he found fault with for not being powdered so deeply as usual, saying that he went to the block with pleasure, and if he had a suit of velvet, would put it on for the occasion. He then ordered a purse to put money in for the executioner, which, when brought, was not to his taste, "yet he thought no man could dislike it with ten guineas in it." At nine he called for a plate of minced veal, of which he ate heartily, and afterwards in wine and water drank the healths of several of his friends. In the meantime the crowd was collecting on Tower Hill, where about ten o'clock the fall of a scaffold converted many idle spectators into real mourners, upwards of twenty persons being killed and a vast number maimed. Lovat, it is said, made the remark that "the more mischief the better sport." About eleven the sheriff came to demand the body, and he was conducted to a house near the scaffold, where he delivered to his lordship a paper, saying he might give the word of command when he pleased and he would obey. He then said a short prayer, desired that his clothes might be given to his friends along with his body, took a little brandy and bitters, and was conducted to the scaffold, in going up to which he looked round him and exclaimed, "God save us! why should there be such a bustle about taking off an old gray head, that can't get up three steps without two men to support it?" Observing one of his friends very much dejected, his lordship clapped him on the shoulder, saying, "Cheer up, man, I am not afraid: why should you?" On the scaffold the first object of his attention was the executioner, to whom he gave his purse with ten guineas, bidding him do his work well. He then felt the edge of the axe, saying he believed it would do, looked at his coffin, on which was written "Simon Dominus Fraser de Lovat decollat. April 9, 1747, ætat. suæ 80," and sitting down in a chair set for him, repeated from Horace,

"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori,"

and from Ovid,

"Nam genus et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi
Vix ea nostra voco."

He then said a short prayer, called for his solicitor, William Fraser, to whom he gave his gold-headed cane and his hat, and requested him to see that the executioner did not touch his clothes. Being undressed he knelt to the block, gave the signal in half a minute, and the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

Thus died Simon Lord Lovat, one of the most extraordinary characters recorded in Scottish history. He was possessed of good natural talents, which, considering the age in which he lived, and the troubled life he led, had been considerably cultivated, but he was totally destitute of that which alone constitutes true dignity of character—moral worth. His private character, as may well be conceived from what we have detailed of his public one, was vicious, his appetites coarse, and his pleasures low and unscrupulous. He had, however, seen much of the world, possessed great address, and when he had a purpose to serve, could make himself peculiarly agreeable. Few men have ever been so very fortunate, and as few have recklessly thrown their good fortune from them. "A protracted course of wickedness," one writer has remarked, "seems at last to have impaired his natural shrewdness; he digged a pit into which he himself fell, spread a snare with his own hands in which he was caught, and in the just judgment of God his hoary hairs came to the grave with blood."

Besides his early affair with the dowager of Lovat, his lordship was twice married, first to Margaret, daughter to the laird of Grant, and secondly to Primrose, daughter to John Campbell of Mamore. This latter marriage was singularly unfortunate, and after the most unheard-of barbarities exercised upon the lady, his lordship was under the necessity of granting her a separate maintenance. By his first wife he had three children, two sons and one daughter; and by the second one son, who eventually succeeded to the estate of Lovat.

FULTON, GEORGE, the author of an improved system of education, was born February 3, 1752. He served an apprenticeship to a printer in Glasgow, and afterwards worked as journeyman with Mr. Willison of Edinburgh. He also practised his profession for a time at Dumfries. In early life he married the daughter of Mr. Tod, a teacher in Edinburgh. His first appearance as a teacher was in a charity-school in Niddry's Wynd, which he taught for twenty pounds a year. There an ingenious and original mind led him to attempt some improvements in what had long been a fixed, and, we may add, sluggish art. Adopting his ideas partly from the system of Mr. Sheridan, and partly from his late profession, he initiated his pupils with great care in a knowledge of the powers of the letters, using movable characters pasted on pieces of wood (which were kept in cases similar to those of a compositor in a printing-house), the result of which was, a surprising proficiency generally manifested by his scholars, both in the art of spelling and in that of pronouncing and reading the English language.

Having thus given full proof of his qualifications as an instructor of youth, Mr. Fulton was appointed by the town-council one of the four teachers of English under the patronage of the city corporation, in which situation he continued till about the year 1790, when a dispute with the chief magistrate induced him to resign it, and set up on his own account. He then removed from Jackson's Close in the old town to more fashionable apartments in Hanover Street, where he prospered exceedingly for more than twenty years, being more especially patronized by Thomas Tod, Esq., and Mr. Ramsay of Barnton. In teaching grammar and elocution, and in conveying to his pupils correct notions of the analogies of our language, Mr. Fulton was quite unrivalled in his day. Many teachers from other quarters became his pupils, and were successful in propagating his system; and he had the honour to teach many of the most distinguished speakers of the day, both in the pulpit and at the bar. During the long course of his professional life he was indefatigable in his endeavours to improve his method and simplify his notation; and the result of his studies was embodied in a pronouncing dictionary, which was introduced into almost all the schools of the kingdom.

Mr. Fulton was an eminent instance of the union of talent with frugal and virtuous habits. Having realized a considerable fortune by teaching, he resigned his school to his nephew Mr. Andrew Knight, and for the last twenty years of his life enjoyed *otium cum dignitate* at a pleasant villa called Summerfield (near Newhaven), which he purchased in 1806. In the year 1820 Mr. Fulton married, for the second wife, Miss Eliza Stalker, but had no children by either connection. He died September 1, 1831, in the eightieth year of his age.

FULTON, JOHN. While the records of humble life abound with the names of self-taught geniuses in

poetry, languages, and the fine arts, the list of those who have distinguished themselves by their proficiency in the exact sciences and skill in their practical application, is very limited. And for this the difficulty of learning astronomy or mathematics not only without instructors but without the necessary implements, will sufficiently account. Of the few, however, who contrived to surmount such obstacles, the name of John Fulton may claim an honourable place.

He was the eldest son of a shoemaker in the village of Fenwick, Ayrshire, and was born there in 1800. His education at the parish school was confined to the ordinary acquirements of reading and writing, after which he took his place upon the shoemaker's stall, and followed the craft of his father. While thus employed, however, his studies showed that he was fit for something better than the mechanical occupation of making and cobbling shoes; and after a course of self-teaching in astronomy and mechanics he constructed a planetary machine, which was so highly appreciated that it was purchased by the Philosophical Society of Kilmarnock. At a later period he took a principal part in the construction of a small gaswork, and made a velocipede for a lame lad in Fenwick. He also studied botany chiefly by way of recreation, and made in it no mean proficiency. But his principal study still continued to be the science of astronomy, in which his chief aim was to construct a complete orrery. To this laborious and complicated task he addressed himself when scarcely more than twenty-two years of age, with scanty means and limited time and opportunity—and after ten years of earnest application the task was accomplished. This orrery, a wonder of mechanical and scientific genius coming from the hands of a village

shoemaker, was exhibited in the principal towns of Scotland and England, and at Edinburgh the talents of Fulton were acknowledged by the presentation to him of the medal of the Society of Arts for Scotland, of the value of ten sovereigns.

After this achievement the scientific mechanist was to find a sphere and an occupation better suited to his studies and pursuits; for he went to London and entered into the employ of Mr. Bates, the mathematical instrument maker to King William IV. In this establishment he distinguished himself by his ingenuity and skill in the more delicate parts of the profession, especially in making balances for the royal mint, and theodolites for the Pacha of Egypt. But his restless inquiring mind did not confine itself to the exact sciences, or the fabrication of those instruments which their application demands: he was also a self-taught student of languages, and made himself an excellent Greek, French, Italian, and German scholar, without the instructions of a master. It was a love of learning for its own sake; and while he was becoming so ripe a scholar both in science and literature, that the halls of a university might have been proud to receive him, he was contented with his present position, and also with his wages as a workman, which ranged only from 25s. to 30s. a week. But this literary application, which would have been enough for a man's entire time, instead of his occasional hour of relaxation, began to tell upon the health and brain of poor Fulton; and although he had been of a robust constitution, he broke down when he had only completed his fiftieth year. In 1851 he had to be removed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and there, after kind treatment, he was able in the following year to return to his native Fenwick, where he died in 1853.

G.

GALL, RICHARD, a poet of considerable merit, was the son of a notary in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, where he was born in December, 1776. He received a limited education at Haddington, and at the age of eleven was apprenticed to his maternal uncle, who was a house-carpenter and builder. A decided repugnance to this mechanical art induced him soon after to abandon it and enter the business of a printer, which was only a degree more suitable to his inclinations, from its connection with literature, to which he was already much attached. In the course of an apprenticeship to Mr. David Ramsay, the liberal and enlightened printer of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, he made great advances in knowledge, and began at length to attempt the composition of poetry in the manner of Burns. At the expiry of his time he had resolved to abandon even this more agreeable profession, as affording him too slight opportunities of cultivating his mind, when fortunately he obtained the appointment of travelling clerk to Mr. Ramsay, an employment which promised him much of that leisure for literary recreation of which he was so desirous. He continued to act in this capacity till his death by abscess in his breast, May 10, 1801, when he wanted still some months to complete his twenty-fifth year.

In the course of his brief career Mr. Gall had secured, by his genius and modest manners, the friendship of various literary characters of considerable eminence, in particular Mr. Alexander Murray, after-

wards professor of oriental languages; Mr. Thomas Campbell, author of the *Pleasures of Hope*; and Mr. Hector Macneill, author of many admired poems in the Scottish dialect. His own poetical remains were published in 1819, in one small volume, and include some pieces which have retained their place in the body of our popular poetry, though in general they are characterized by a tameness of thought and language which will for ever prevent their author from ranking in the same class with Fergusson, Ramsay, and Burns.

GALLOWAY, SIR ARCHIBALD, K.C.B., an approved soldier and excellent writer, was born at Perth in 1780, and was the son of Mr. James Galloway of that city. Having chosen arms for his profession, and India for his destination, Archibald Galloway was nominated a cadet in 1799, and appointed to the 58th native infantry, of which he finally became colonel in 1836. During this long period of military service in India, extending over thirty-five years, he was present in several engagements, as well as six sieges and seven storms, in four of which he took a very active share. When Delhi, defended by a handful of British troops, maintained itself against a besieging army of 70,000 men and 130 pieces of cannon, Galloway was one of the brave defenders, and fully shared in the honours of that remarkable resistance. He was also present at the siege of Bhurtpore, conducted by Lord Lake. Cap-

tain Galloway's post on that occasion was especially the post of danger, for it was that of the sappers—a corps so constantly under the enemy's fire, and so frequently employed in the most perilous operations during the siege, that all its officers, and most of its men, were either killed or wounded. On two occasions he headed it in the attack as part of the forlorn hope, and on the last he was dangerously wounded. Besides active services, which are too numerous to specify, and in which his share was that of a fearless, indefatigable, and skilful inferior officer, he was employed on important commissions on the staff, and for several years held high charges in India in the military engineer department, the last of which was that of member of the Military Board under its new constitution, to which he was appointed by the governor-general, Lord William Bentinck. In this responsible office he so ably acquitted himself as to be honoured, at his departure from India, with the highest approval of the governor-general in council. General Galloway's various services, during his military career, were also publicly acknowledged by several of our Indian commanders-in-chief upon nine different occasions—by the supreme government of India on twenty-one, and by the court of directors and superior authorities in England on eleven—making an amount of distinction sufficient to show that he only required a separate command, and an opportunity, to raise his name to the highest rank in the annals of our Anglo-Indian warfare.

In authorship General Galloway also obtained a distinction which will perhaps outlast the remembrance of his soldiership. At a time when such knowledge was most needed by our military governors and civilians in the East, he wrote a commentary on the *Mahometan Law*, and another on the *Law, Constitution, and Government of India*. He also wrote a work on *Indian Sieges*, which was so highly esteemed that it was reprinted by the court of directors, and used as a text-book in their military college, as well as distributed for general use throughout our Indian army. In addition to these he was author of several military treatises. He was nominated a Companion of the Bath in 1838, and a Knight Commander in 1848; and besides these public honours, he was elected a director of the East India Company in 1846, and officiated as its chairman in 1849. His death, which was sudden, being after a few hours' illness, occurred at his house, 18 Upper Harley Street, on the 6th of April, 1850.

GALT, JOHN. This popular novelist and multifarious writer was born at Irvine, in Ayrshire, on the 2d of May, 1779, and was the son of a sea-captain who was employed in the West India trade. The stay of young Galt in a district with which he afterwards made the world so well acquainted was not long-continued, as his parents removed to Greenock when he was eleven years old. In this town of commercial bustle and enterprise his education was soon finished, as he was destined to follow the occupation of a merchant; and by way of acquiring a proper knowledge of his future profession, he was, in the first instance, employed as a clerk in the custom-house of Greenock, and afterwards in a counting-house in the same town. This was unfavourable training for that life of authorship which he followed with such ardour in after-periods; but his diligence and perseverance in self-education during the hours of leisure not only formed the groundwork, but the incitement, of his future literary undertakings. His first attempts, as is usual with young aspirants, were in poetry; and one of these, a tragedy founded on the history of Mary Queen of Scots, he sent to

Constable for publication, but had the MS. returned unread. He was consoled, however, for this disappointment by having his smaller lucubrations occasionally published in the *Greenock Advertiser* and one or two of the Scottish magazines. He thus saw himself in print, and the consequences it is easy to divine—his enthusiasm would expand into full-grown authorship. Undismayed by the rejection of his tragedy, Galt next attempted an epic, the title of which was *The Battle of Largs*. It was written in octo-syllabic rhyme, and he prided himself not a little on the fact that, in this matter at least, he had preceded Sir Walter Scott. This poem, written in five cantos, was enabled partly to struggle into light in consequence of detached portions of it having been published in the *Scots Magazine* for 1803 and 1804. It is as well that the world was not troubled with it *in toto*, as the following invocation to Lok, which is in "Ercles' vein," will sufficiently testify:—

"The hideous storm that dozing lay
Thick blanketed in clouds all day,
Behind sulphureous Hecla, we
Roused to this wrecking wrath for thee,
And sent him raging round the world,
High in a thund'ring chariot hur'd;
Whose steeds, exulting with their load,
As the grim fiend they drag abroad,
Whisk with their tails the turrets down
Of many a temple, tower, and town."

Or take the following description of Erie, one of the Norse Eumenides, in which the sudden alternations of rising and sinking can scarcely be paralleled even by Sir Richard Blackmore:—

"Her looks sulphureous glow—
Her furnace-eyes, that burn'd below
A dismal forehead, glaring wide,
Like caves by night in Hecla's side,
And what her fangs for staff did grasp,
'Twas fired iron—Hell's hatchway's hasp."

At length she stood,
And scowling o'er the weltering flood,
That louder rag'd, she stretch'd her hand,
Clutching the red Tartarean brand
Aloft, and as the black clouds sunder'd,
Dared the high heavens till they thunder'd."

It was in London that this poetical attempt was made. He had gone to the metropolis in 1803 or 1804, and there a few months of leisure at his first entrance had encouraged those desperate conceptions in Runic mythology which he extended through five mortal cantos. It was not, however, by writing epics that he could support himself in London. He therefore commenced business in good earnest, and entered into partnership with a young countryman of his own: but they soon disagreed; their affairs were unsuccessful, and in about three years the concern became bankrupt. This combination of poetry and business was not sufficient for the versatile mind of Galt; other subjects of study occupied his attention, among which were astrology, alchemy, history, and political economy. Was it wonderful then that his name, before it figured in authorship, should have found a place in the bankrupt list?

After this mercantile disaster Galt tried to re-establish himself in business, along with a brother; but this attempt also proved abortive. Sick of merchandise, and impatient to try something else, he resolved to devote himself to the profession of law, and for this purpose entered himself at Lincoln's Inn. He was soon overtaken by a nervous indisposition that unfitted him for the dry studies of *Coke upon Littleton*; and, by way of solace, until the malady should pass away, he sat down to write a book. The subject was ready to his hand; for, in a walk with some friends through the colleges of Oxford in 1805, he had felt indignant that Cardinal Wolsey, the founder of Christ Church College, should have

been allowed to bequeath such a boon without a fitting commemoration from its learned disciples; and since better might not be, he had resolved, alien though he was, at some time or other to repair the deficiency. That season had now arrived; and accordingly, about the beginning of 1809, he commenced a life of Cardinal Wolsey, and finished it in a very few months. The short time that he took for the necessary reading and research, as well as writing, which such a subject required, will give an adequate conception of the natural impetuosity of his intellect. But with this haste and hurry there was curiously combined the grave methodical arrangement of the counting-house: he transcribed upon one part of his writing-paper the historical facts extracted from Cavendish, Fiddes, and Hume, and wove round them, upon the margin and between the interstices, his own remarks and deductions, until a gay parti-coloured web was the result, after which he systematized the whole into a continuous narrative. "I was desirous," he says of it, "to produce a work that would deserve some attention." This work, which he afterwards improved and extended, was not published till three years afterwards. As his health did not improve, he now resolved to try the effects of travel before being called to the English bar; and in 1809 he left England for a tour, which extended over three years. The result of this long journey was two separate works at his return. The first was entitled *Voyages and Travels in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811, containing Statistical, Commercial, and Miscellaneous Observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, and Turkey*; and the second, *Letters from the Levant, containing Views of the State of Society, Manners, Opinions, and Commerce in Greece and Several of the Principal Islands of the Archipelago*.

These were not the only works which Galt published on his return to England. His poetical inspiration still haunted him, but so much sobered down, that during his tour he had been employing himself in writing dramas on the plan of Alfieri, where the simplicity of the plot and fewness of the characters were to be compensated by the full force of nature and poetic excellence. This was certainly a great sacrifice in one whose imagination so revelled in plot, and was so fertile in incident. The volume, which was published in 1812, contained the tragedies of "Maddalen," "Agamemnon," "Lady Macbeth," "Antonia," and "Clytemnestra," and as only 250 copies were printed, the work being published on his own account, it had little chance of undergoing the test of public opinion. Even as it was, however, it was roughly handled in the *Quarterly Review* by an ironical criticism, in which Galt was elevated to the rank of a second Shakspeare. Soon after his return he married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Tilloch, editor of the *Philosophical Magazine*, and proprietor of the *Star*, a newspaper on which Galt had been for some time employed. In the same year also (1812), so prolific in his publishing adventures, he sent through the press his *Reflections on Political and Commercial Subjects*.

Having now abandoned all thoughts of devoting himself to the bar, Galt was compelled to have recourse to authorship until something more stable should occur. He therefore wrote in the *Monthly Magazine* and other periodicals of the day. He also projected, with Mr. Colburn the publisher, a periodical which, under the title of the *New British Theatre*, should publish the best of those dramatic productions which the managers of the great play-houses had rejected. It was hoped that in this way deserving talent would be rescued from oblivion, and "many a gem of purest ray serene" be made to glitter in the eye of a delighted world, instead of being trampled

among the dust of the green-room. It was a most benevolent and hopeful speculation, of which Galt, the proposer, was appointed editor. But little did he anticipate the flood-gates of mud which such a proposal opened. There was an instant jail-delivery of manuscript plays, enough to have converted the country into a literary Botany Bay or Alsatia; and Galt, amidst the heap of dramatic matter under which he was well-nigh smothered, was obliged to confess at last that the managers of theatres were not such reckless or unjust rejectors as they had been called. The work at its commencement was successful, but soon afterwards fell off, although the plan was improved by the admission of plays that had been written but not presented. Before it expired Galt possessed and availed himself of the opportunity of inserting some of his own dramatic productions, among which was the tragedy of *The Witness*, afterwards performed in several towns with altered titles. After this his career for some years was one of active business, combined with authorship. During his travels he had conceived the idea of importing British goods through Turkey, in spite of the continental blockade by which Napoleon endeavoured to exclude our commerce; and upon this plan he employed himself diligently for some time both in England and Scotland. But the conception appeared too bold and hazardous to those traders who were invited to the risk; and his efforts ended in disappointment. Another occupation with which he was commissioned was to superintend a bill through the House of Commons intrusted to him by the Union Canal Company. As enough of leisure was afforded him in London during the suspense of this bill, he wrote the *Life and Studies of Benjamin West*. He also wrote a romance, of which the hero was the Wandering Jew. Of this work two considerable editions were sold, although it had never been reviewed. This neglect the author, who affectionately clung to the remembrance of his Wandering Jew to the last, regarded with some surprise. "How the work," he says, "should have been so long unnoticed, while others which treat of the same subject have attracted considerable attention, I cannot say; but this I know, that many of my own far inferior productions, in originality and beauty, have been much applauded, and yet I doubt if they have sold so well." We suspect that few of our readers have been among the purchasers of this wonderful myth, or have even heard its name till now.

Amidst all the toil and struggle of these literary attempts, John Galt had not yet discovered where his strength lay. History, biography, travels, epic and dramatic poetry, romance—he had tried them all, but attained success in none. His over-boiling imagination and erratic fancy were too much even for fiction, whether in prose or verse; and when he attempted sober narrative, his love of originality was ever leading him into some startling paradox which the facts of history were unable to make good. The eccentricity of his political opinions had also given not a little offence to the still predominant party; for although a Tory in theory, he seemed a very Radical in practice, and had more than once run a muck against the powers that be, when he found them stopping up his way. On this account he had also brought down upon his head the ire of the *Quarterly Review*, whose censure was enough to blight the popularity of an author among Tory readers, and throw him out upon neutral ground. Thus, up to 1820, his attempts were a series of literary blunders, and his production of that year, *The Earthquake*—a stern sombre novel in three volumes, which has shared the fate of his other productions written

before this period, should, in ordinary circumstances, have been his last attempt in authorship. But in his long search in the dark he had hit upon the right vein at last. It was not in the wild and wonderful that he was to excel, but in the homely, the humorous, and the caustic. "The hero's harp, the lover's lute," with which he had tried to enchant the world, but to no purpose, were to be exchanged for the vulgar bagpipe and stock-and-horn. His first attempt in this way was the *Ayrshire Legates*—a work which originated in mere accident. One of his enjoyments was to "show the lions" to such strangers as were introduced to him in London; and of these, as might be expected, were many original characters from the far north, whose sensations among the wonders of the great metropolis were a rich feast to his keen observant eye and quick sense of the ludicrous. It soon occurred to him that these peculiarities might be embodied in particular personages, and illustrated by correspondent adventures; the whole materials were before him like those of a rich landscape, and only needed artistic selection and combination to form a very choice picture. Upon this idea he set to work, and without any formal plot for his story, scene after scene grew upon his hand as it was needed, until the *Ayrshire Legates* was the result. It was in this way that *Humphrey Clinker* was produced—the best of all Smollett's productions. As fast as the chapters of Galt's new attempt were written, they were published in *Blackwood's Magazine* of 1820 and 1821, and their appearance excited universal attention, while they continued to rise in popularity to the last: so that, when finished, they were published separately, and eagerly devoured by the novel-reading public. It was a style of writing which had been so long disused as to have all the charms of originality, while the truthfulness of the different characters was such as to impart to fiction all the charms of reality. Galt found that he had succeeded at last, and followed up his success with the *Annals of the Parish*, which was published in 1821. This work, however, although so late in its appearance, was, properly speaking, the first of Galt's Scottish novels, as it had been written in 1813, but laid aside, until the success of the *Ayrshire Legates* encouraged him to commit it to the press. In this work also he had not troubled himself about the construction of a regular plot, and, like its predecessor, it was all the better for the omission. Long before he commenced the *Annals* his ambition had been to "write a book that would be for Scotland what the *Vicar of Wakefield* is for England;" and this was the result. He certainly could not have adopted a better model.

No one can imagine that the pen of Galt, so indefatigable when success was against it, would now relapse into idleness. In the *Annals of the Parish* he had exhibited the progress of improvement in a rural district of the west of Scotland; he was now desirous of describing the same progress in a town. Such was the origin of the *Provost*, which was published in 1822. He had now learned the true secret of novel-writing, as is evident from the following statement: "In the composition of the *Provost* I followed the same rule of art which seemed to me so proper in the *Annals of the Parish*, namely, to bring impressions on the memory harmoniously together; indeed, I have adhered to the principle in all my subsequent compositions, and sometimes I fancy that the propriety of doing so may be justified by nature. I think no ingenuity can make an entirely new thing. Man can only imagine the old together; join legs, and arms, and wings as he may, only the forms of previously-created things can be imitated. The whole figure may be *outré*, and unlike anything in

the heavens, or the earth, or the waters under the earth; but the imitations of the human hand in the details will ever be evident. . . . In my youth I wrote a poem called the *Legend of St. Anthony*, which I undertook with the intention of depicting comical phantasms; but I had not proceeded far till I was induced to change my mind, by observing that my most extravagant fancies were only things of curious patchwork, and that the same defect might be discerned in all those things in which the 'creative' power of genius was said to be more indisputable. . . . I therefore give up all pretension to belonging to that class who deal in the wild and wonderful; my wish is, to be estimated by the truth of whatever I try to represent."

The next work of Galt was the *Steam-boat*, a novel, published originally in *Blackwood*, in which he wished to give such an account of the coronation of George IV. as an "abortive bailie" from Scotland might be likely to do. This was followed by *Sir Andrew Wyllie*, in which he wished to exhibit the rise and progress of a humble Scotchman in London. In this tale, however, he gave way to his literary besetting sin, a fault of which he was afterwards fully conscious; and he says of it very justly, "The incidents are by far too romantic and uncommon to my own taste, and are only redeemed from their extravagance by the natural portraiture of the characters."

But, indeed, either accurate conception or finished execution could scarcely be expected from Galt in his writings at this period, when we remember that the three last-mentioned works, viz. the *Provost*, the *Steam-boat*, and *Sir Andrew Wyllie*, were all published in 1822. In the following year he produced his *Gathering of the West*, which was also published in the first instance in *Blackwood's Magazine*. The subject was the visit of George IV. to Scotland—an event that appeared in so many ludicrous aspects to the mirthful satirical mind of Galt, that he could not repress his profane chuckling at this great *avatar*, even when he endeavoured to look the most composed. He therefore says of the *Gathering*, and its kindred work the *Steam-boat*—"Notwithstanding the deference for magnates and magnificence under which these works were written, the original sin may be detected here and there peeping out, inasmuch that those who consider Toryism as consisting of the enjoyment of at least pensions, must be dreadfully shocked to think even a moderate politician of any sort could be so far left to himself as to speak so irreverently of things which concerned the affairs of empires and burgh towns."

We have already alluded to Galt's exuberance in the productions of 1822; but that of the following year was still more excessive, so that it might well be said of him, *vires acquirit eundo*. Thus the *Entail*, *Ringan Gilhaize*, and the *Spawife*—each a three-volumed novel—were published during this year of portentous abundance. The first of these novels was founded upon an incident related by the lord-provost of Glasgow to Galt. It was in this way that he was accustomed to make the most of everything that he had heard or witnessed, by either laying it down as the groundwork of a tale, or introducing it as an amusing episode; and in this faculty of adaptation lay much of the excellence of his popular works. Thus his vigorous and picturesque description of the northern coast of Scotland in the *Entail*, was expanded from an interesting account of the locality given to him by a daughter of Sir John Sinclair; while many of the grotesque events and humorous jokes with which his other tales abound had long previously enlivened the firesides of the peasantry. In him, however, it was no small

merit that he should have introduced them so happily, and told them so well. As a proof of the acceptability of his last-mentioned work, Galt tells us, in his *Literary Life and Miscellanies*, that Sir Walter Scott had read it thrice, and Lord Byron as often. Of *Ringan Gilhaize* he also tells us that it received the unique and distinguished honour of being recommended from the pulpit by one of the ministers of Aberdeen. This tale, in which the narrator, a persecuted Covenanter, relates the history of his grandfather, gives a sketch of the rise and progress of the Reformation in Scotland, from the days of Knox and Murray to the close of the reign of the Stuarts; and for the purpose of collecting materials, and preserving the accuracy of the narrative, Galt went to Rinsory House to gather traditions, and collected several relics of the battle of Killiecrankie. The cause which incited him to write such a work was indignation at the popularity of *Old Mortality*, in which the Covenanters were held up to ridicule; and he was animated with a chivalrous zeal to vindicate the character of these heroic but much vilified sufferers in the cause of conscience and religion. But unfortunately Ringan Gilhaize was no match for Balfour of Burley. In this tale Galt very rashly abandoned his own field of broad reality and plain everyday life, for one where nothing but history and imagination could aid him; and therefore it exhibited a marked deficiency both in execution and popular interest. It was still worse, however, with the *Spacewife*, where he went back from the Covenanted periods, with which the Scottish public can still sympathize, to the fifteenth century of Scottish history, about which they know little and care still less; and with all his attempts at the sublime, which often swelled into the turgid, he could not interest his readers one jot in the Duke of Albany and his worthless brood, or even in James I., our heroic minstrel king. It was certainly an over-ambitious attempt, and as such it failed. At this period the empire of historical romance belonged to Sir Walter Scott, and to him alone, without peer or rival. But that such an attempt was the opening of a safety-valve, and that the work would have exploded in some fashion or other, is manifest from the following statement of the author:—"The fate of James I. of Scotland early seemed to me possessed of many dramatic capabilities; and in the dream of my youth, to illustrate by tales, ballads, and dramas the ancient history of my country, it obtained such a portion of my attention that I have actually made a play on the subject. In riper life, many years after, I wrote the novel; and my knowledge of the age in which the transactions lie enabled me to complete the story in such a manner that, merely as an antiquarian essay, it merits consideration." To the *Spacewife* succeeded *Rothelan*, in which, not content with going back so far as to the reign of Edward III., Galt transferred the scene to England, where his great forte as a Scottish novelist had to be utterly laid aside; and *Rothelan* was a failure. Among the manifold aims of the author's ambition, that of being a good musical composer happened to be one; and in *Rothelan* Galt had not only written two songs, but also set them to music. But it unfortunately happened that the printer was smitten with the same ambition, and not liking the tunes, he substituted two of his own, which were printed in the work. "At the time," says Galt, "I was staying with a friend, and a copy of the book was left for me in the morning. On going down stairs I found it in the library, where we usually breakfasted; and as pleased at the sight as a hen with her egg, of which she cannot keckle enough to the

world about, I lifted the volumes, and turned to the tunes. Courteous reader, sympathize! Instead of my fine airs, with an original inflection that had been much admired by a competent judge, I beheld two that surely had been purchased at the easy charge of a halfpenny a-piece from a street piper! I looked aghast, and almost fainted. There was a grand piano in the drawing-room. I rushed, book in hand, upstairs in a whirlwind. It was of no use—the piano too was a *particeps criminis*, and would only pronounce the Highland coronachs which stand in the publication even to this day; and the worst of it was, my friend, instead of taking out his handkerchief and condoling becomingly, only gave vent to 'unextinguishable laughter,' and paid no attention to my pathetic appeals at the figure I must cut, being really no deacon among musicians, at the thought of having two such horrid frights affiliated to me."

A change once more occurred in the life of Galt, in which the active laborious author was to be transformed into the equally active and enterprising man of business. Besides being reckoned only inferior to Sir Walter Scott as a delineator of Scottish character and manners, his reputation stood high as one well acquainted with the principles and practice of commerce; and on this account the inhabitants of Canada commissioned him as their agent to prosecute their claims on the home government for the losses they had sustained during the occupation of the province by the army of the United States. During the negotiations which occurred in consequence, a proposal to sell crown-lands in Upper Canada for the indemnification of the sufferers was made by Mr. Galt, and adopted by government; and a Canada company was incorporated in 1826 to purchase land and colonize it. During the previous year he had been employed in valuing the lands that were to be exposed to sale, after which he had returned to England; but in the autumn of 1826 he went back to Canada, where he was employed by the company as their superintendent. His able and active management soon secured the confidence of his constituents; new settlements were founded, a village was called by his name, and the township of Guelph was his entire creation. But unfortunately Galt's activity was not balanced by an equal amount of prudence, and in the ardour of his proceedings he managed to involve himself in quarrels with the colonial government, and with Sir Peregrine Maitland, who was at its head. Such is too often the folly and the fate of those who go forth as the reformers of our colonies; they enter their new sphere of action with their heads filled with magna charta and the rights of British citizenship, forgetful all the while of the distance of these colonies from the parent seat of government, and the necessity of a more stringent rule than would be tolerated in London or Edinburgh. This seems to have been the error of Galt; and in consequence of the complaints that were sent home against him he was superseded by the directors of the company. But, whether in the bustle of action or the chagrin of disappointment, his pen could not lie idle; and during this period he produced the *Omen*, a tale that was favourably reviewed in *Blackwood's Magazine* by Sir Walter Scott, and the *Last of the Lairds*, a novel which he meant to be the continuation of a class that has the *Annals of the Parish* for its commencement. For the encouragement of the drama in Quebec he also wrote a farce, entitled *Visitors, or a Trip to Quebec*, which was acted with great success by an amateur company. Another, which he wrote for New York, to propitiate the Americans, who had taken offence at his *Visitors*, was entitled *An Aunt in Virginia*, and was afterwards published in *Black-*

wood's Magazine, with the scene transferred from New York to London. He intended to write a third for his own town of Guelph, where his dwelling-house was to be converted into a theatre, and the drama introduced into this infant settlement; but his design was suspended by more urgent demands, and the necessity of his speedy return to England.

This event occurred in 1829, after he had been two years and a half in America. On his return, without a situation and almost penniless, Galt's creditors became urgent, and he was obliged, in consequence, to avail himself of the insolvent debtors' act. The world was to be commenced anew; but the elasticity of youth and the ardour of hope were exhausted, and Galt, now at the age of fifty, had already done more than most men have achieved at that period. And yet he must continue an author, no longer, however, from choice but necessity; for of all that he had possessed nothing but his pen remained. And bravely he girded himself for the task, and published in succession *Laurie Todd, Southernan*, and the *Life of Lord Byron*. They were written with his wonted rapidity, being produced in 1829 and 1830; but the spirit that formerly animated him had become languid, so that these works, excellent though they are, will not stand comparison with his former novels that so highly interested the Scottish public. While he was occupied with the *Life of Lord Byron*, a caustic production, in which his lordship meets with somewhat rough entertainment, Galt accepted the editorship of the *Courier*, a newspaper of high Tory principles. But however well adapted in many ways for such an office, it is easy to guess that he could not continue long to hold it, and that the same independence of spirit which wrecked him in Canada would mar him as the Corypheus of any political party whatever in the journalism of London. "The only kind of scruple that I felt," he says, "if such it may be called, was in thinking the politics of the journal a little too ardent for the spirit of the times; and, in consequence, my first object was to render them more suitable to what I apprehended was the wholesome state of opinion, preparatory to introducing occasionally more of disquisition into the articles. . . . Accordingly, without manifesting particular solicitude to make myself remarkable, I began by attempting gradually to alleviate the ultra-toryism of the paper, by explanations of more liberality than the sentiments of any party." By such an honest procedure either the newspaper or the editor must go down; and Galt thus continues his narrative: "I had not been long installed as editor till I perceived that the business would not suit me. In point of emolument it was convenient; but as I have elsewhere shown, money matters have ever been perhaps too slightly regarded by me, and my resignation, though it partook of that promptitude of enunciation which all my decisions have uniformly manifested, was, however, the result of very solemn reflection. To men who have juster notions of the value of money than I have ever entertained—not from persuasion but from habit, if not constitutional carelessness—my resignation in such a crisis of fortune will not be easily comprehensible; but to those who think, as the old song sings, that there are things 'which gold can never buy,' no further explanation can be necessary."

About the same period Galt, while thus busied with literature, attempted to form a new American land company, but was unsuccessful; and to aggravate his misfortunes, two attacks of paralysis warned him that his day of enterprise had ended—that he was now chained to the oar. He retired to his native country there to await his time, so doubly uncertain;

and to close his eyes, when his hour came, amidst the scenery and society which he had loved so well. Yet he still continued to linger on from year to year, although repeated shocks of the malady inflicted at each visitation the "bitterness of death;" and while his memory was impaired and his mind enfeebled, he was still obliged to toil for the support of a life that seemed scarcely worth having. And yet he could still be happy, for his was that healthful state of feeling that looked habitually upon the bright side of things, and could find itself occupation as long as a single faculty remained in exercise. With an amanuensis, or a chance friend to transcribe from his dictation, he continued to pour forth volume after volume, "to wrench life from famine," as he mournfully expressed it; and although these productions could scarcely bear comparison with those of his happier years, they still retained the impress of his former vivacity and inventiveness, as well as much of his vigorous talent and reach of thought. In this way he produced, among other publications, the *Autobiography of John Galt*, in two volumes 8vo, and the *Literary Life and Miscellanies of John Galt*, in three volumes 12mo, from which the materials of the foregoing sketch have been mainly derived. At length, after the fourteenth stroke of paralysis, he died at Greenock, on the 11th of April, 1839.

The works of Galt were very numerous, comprising about fifty volumes of novels, and more than a score of dramas, independently of his biographical and miscellaneous works. Of these, however, only a tithe of his tales will continue to be read and valued, not only for their intrinsic excellence, but as the transcripts of a state of society that is rapidly passing away. In this department the name of John Galt will be perpetuated as a national remembrance, and his descriptions be prized when the living reality has departed.

GARDEN, FRANCIS, a distinguished judge under the designation of Lord Gardenstone, was born at Edinburgh on the 24th of June, 1721. He was the second son of Alexander Garden of Troup, in Banffshire, and of Jane, daughter of Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen, one of the judges of the Court of Session. He followed the usual course of education at the grammar-school and university, and being destined for the bar, entered as a member of the Faculty of Advocates on the 14th of July, 1744. During the earlier stages of his professional career Mr. Garden was distinguished for his conviviality, at a period when, especially in Scotland, it must be admitted that real proficiency was requisite to procure fame in that qualification. A strong hale body and an easy benevolent mind gave him a particular taste for social hilarity: had he lived at a different age, he might have turned these qualities into a different channel, but they suited with the period, and he accordingly became the prince of jolly livers. Nor, when he reached that period of life when certain bodily feelings generally make ancient bacchanalians look back with bitterness on their youthful frolics, did his ever-contented mind lose its equanimity. If he was no longer able to indulge himself, he bore the indulgences of others with charity. His mind was of the same overflowing description, and continued, after the body was disabled, to perform its part in the social circle. Many characteristic anecdotes have been preserved of his convivial propensities during his early practice at the bar. On one occasion, during the time when Prince Charles Edward was in possession of Edinburgh, he and a Mr. Cunningham (afterwards general) are said to have so far preferred wine and oysters to watching and ward-

ing, that, when sent as a patrol by Sir John Cope to watch the coast towards Musselburgh, instead of proving a protection to the army, they were themselves taken prisoners, just when the feast was at its highest, by a single individual, who happened to be prowling in the neighbourhood. It must, however, be allowed, that at that period there were not many inducements to exertion held out to Scotsmen of the higher rank. There were few men eminent for their genius, or even for the more passive acquirements of classical learning which distinguished the neighbouring country. The bar was the only profession which, from its respectability and emoluments, offered itself as a resource to the younger sons of the landed proprietors, then sufficiently poor; and while the learning and information at that time required by its members in their professional capacity were not great, the jealousy of England, just after the union, allowed but to one family in Scotland the rational prospect that time and labour might be well spent in preparing for the duties of a statesman. The state of the country and its political influence were singularly discouraging to the upper classes, and from many naturally active spirits being left unemployed, they turned to indolence or unprofitable amusements those talents which might have rendered them the best ornaments of their country. The nation had then, indeed, begun by degrees to shake off its lethargy, and by the time the subject of this memoir had advanced a little in life, he became one of the most admired and beloved social members of a circle of illustrious philosophers and historians, whose names are dear to the memory of their countrymen as those who first roused their slumbering energies.

On the 14th of July, 1744, Mr. Garden was made sheriff of Kincardineshire, and he soon after showed the soundness of his perception and the liberality of his mind, by stretching forth his hand to assist the modest talent and elegant taste of the author of *The Minstrel*. To those who may, from its lately extinct remnants, have formed any idea of the stately coldness preserved by the higher classes in Scotland towards their inferiors in the middle of the eighteenth century, it will operate as no small evidence of the discernment and kindness of the judge, that he began his acquaintance with the poet and philosopher when that individual was only a cotter boy sitting in a field writing with a pencil. In August, 1759, Mr. Garden was chosen one of the legal assessors of the town of Edinburgh; and as a higher step in professional advancement, in April, 1761, accepted office in the latter days of Mr. Pitt's administration, as joint solicitor-general of Scotland, along with Mr. James Montgomery, afterwards lord chief-baron. What were his professional attainments as a lawyer it is at this distance of time difficult to determine, as he has left behind him no professional work, the only index which can lead to a knowledge of his mere technical attainments as a barrister. As a pleader, however, we know he was highly estimated—as his connection with a renowned lawsuit, which spread its fame over all Europe, and created in Scotland a ferment of disputation inferior only to the heat of religious controversy, has well shown. The appearance made by Mr. Garden in the Douglas cause rendered his name better known, and his talents more appreciated, than generally falls to the lot of a mere forensic pleader. He was early connected with the proceedings of this great case, in the *Tournelle* process in France, where he appeared as senior to his future friend and literary associate, the classical Burnet of Monboddo, and is generally reported to have left behind him a high opinion of his learning,

and the powers of his eloquence, even when clothed in a foreign language. He became connected with the case on its transference to England, but amidst its multifarious changes he was raised to the bench as successor to Lord Woodhall on the 3d of July, 1764, in time to act as a judge on the case, then very different in its aspect and material from what it was when he performed the part of a counsel.

In 1762 Mr. Garden had purchased the estate of Johnston in Kincardineshire, and in 1765 he commenced those improvements on his estate which, if not among the most brilliant acts of his life, are perhaps among those which deserve to be longest and best remembered. At the time when the estate of Johnston was purchased, the village of Lawrence Kirk, if a village it could then be called, contained but fifty-four inhabitants, living there, not because it was a centre of commercial or industrial circulation, but because chance had brought a few houses to be built in each other's vicinity. Lord Gardenstone caused a new line of street to be planned out on his own property; he gave extremely moderate leases of small farms, and ground for building upon, to the last, for the period of 100 years; he established a linen manufactory, built an inn, and with a singular attention to the minute comforts and happiness of his rising flock, seldom equalled by extensive projectors, he founded a library for the use of the villagers. To assist the progress of society in reducing men dispersed over the country into the compact limits of a town, is an easy, and generally a profitable process, but to found towns or villages where there is no previous spirit of influx, is working to a certain degree against nature, and can only be accomplished by labour and expense. Although the benevolent mind of Lord Gardenstone produced a mutual understanding and kindness betwixt himself and his tenants, which mere commercial speculators fail in producing, yet many of his best-formed plans for the prosperity of the village proved unavailing, and he was frequently subject to disappointment and needless expense. He seems, however, to have felt the pleasure of being kind without profiting himself. At much expense he supported a printhead and manufacture of stockings, and purchased a royal charter erecting Lawrence Kirk into a burgh of barony, with a regular magistracy. He had the satisfaction before his death to find the population increase to 500 souls, and in a letter to the inhabitants which he published late in life, he says—"I have tried in some measure a variety of the pleasures which mankind pursue; but never relished anything so much as the pleasure arising from the progress of my village."

In 1776 Lord Gardenstone, in addition to his seat on the civil bench, was appointed to fill the office of a lord-commissioner of justiciary, or ordinary judge in the criminal court, as successor to Lord Pitfour. Nine years afterwards, having succeeded, by the death of his elder brother, to the extensive estate of Troup, he relieved himself for ever from some of his laborious judicial duties, and for a time from them all, and resolved to attempt to recruit his failing constitution, by making a pleasure tour through the Continent. Accordingly, in 1786, he passed into France by Dover, visiting Paris and Lyons, remaining during part of the winter at Marseilles. In the ensuing spring he passed to Geneva, where he saw the ruined remnant of Voltaire's village at Ferney, from which he was able to draw a comparison much in favour of his own, where the people enjoyed permanent political rights, which would render them independent of any future superior who might not be disposed to imitate the beneficence of the original patron. Lord Gardenstone spent the

remainder of his allotted time in traversing the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy; making, in his progress, a collection of natural curiosities, and committing to writing a number of cursory remarks on the men and manners he encountered, and the works of art he had seen on his tour, or met anywhere else, part of which were submitted to the world in two duodecimo volumes, denominated *Travelling Memorandums made in a Tour upon the Continent of Europe in the year 1792*, and a remaining volume was published after his death. About the same time he published *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, a collection of petty productions which had given him amusement, either in composing or hearing, during his earlier days. Perhaps without affectation, the gravity of the judge might have restrained the man from giving to the world a publication which could not have raised the better part of his reputation. Lord Gardenstone was either not a poet born, or his imagination had not stood the ordeal of a profession which deals in fact and reason. His serious verses have all the stiffness of the French school, without either the loftiness of Pope or the fire of Dryden. The author had, to be sure, an ever-teeming mind, which never emitted anything common or contemptible, but it is to be feared that the merits his verses possess are those of rhetoric rather than of poetry; for, though constructed in the same workshop which formed words and ideas that thrilled through the minds of a subdued audience, they are certainly very flat and inelegant as poetical productions. The satirical pieces have a singular pungency and acuteness, and are fine specimens of the early natural powers of the author; but they are rather destitute of the tact acquired by professed satirists. A biographer who seems to have been intimate with his lordship,¹ describes him as having expressed great contempt for the affectation of those who expressed disgust at the indelicacies of Horace or Swift, and it must certainly be allowed that, in his humorous fragments, he has not departed from the spirit of his precepts, or shown any respect for the feelings of these weaker brethren. Lord Gardenstone spent the latter days of his life, as he had done the earlier, in an unrestricted benevolence and a social intercourse with the world, indulging in the same principles, which years had softened in their activity, but had not diminished. He was still an ornament and a useful assistant to the circle of great men which raised the respectability of his country. He continued to use his then ample fortune, and his practised acuteness, in giving encouragement to letters, and in useful public projects, the last of which appears to have been the erection of a building over the mineral spring of St. Bernard's, in the romantic vale of the water of Leith, a convenience which seems to have been much more highly appreciated formerly than now, and is always mentioned as one of the chief incidents of the judge's life. He died at Morningside, near Edinburgh, on the 22d of July, 1793. The village which had afforded him so much benevolent pleasure exhibited, for a considerable period after his death, the outward signs of grief, and, what seldom happens in the fluctuations of the world, the philanthropist was mourned by those who had experienced his public munificence as a private friend.

In person, Lord Gardenstone is described as having been a commanding man, with a high forehead, features intellectually marked, and a serious penetrat-

ing eye. He was generally a successful speaker, and differed from many orators in being always pleasing. The effect appears to have been produced more by a deep-toned melodious voice, a majestic ease and carelessness of manner, which made him appear unburdened with difficulties, and a flow of language, which, whether treating of familiar or of serious subjects, was always copious—than by the studied art of forensic oratory. His political principles were always on the side of the people, and, so far as may be gathered from his remarks, he would have practically wished that every man should enjoy every freedom and privilege which it might be consonant with the order of society to allow, or which might with any safety be conceded to those who had been long accustomed to the restraints and opinions of an unequal government. From all that can be gathered from his life and character, it is to be regretted that Lord Gardenstone, like many other eminent persons of his profession in Scotland, should have left behind him no permanent work to save his memory from oblivion. His *Travelling Memorandums* display the powers of a strongly thinking mind, carelessly strewed about on unworthy objects; the ideas and information are given with taste and true feeling; but they are so destitute of organization or settled purpose, that they can give little pleasure to a thinking mind searching for digested and useful information, and are only fit for those desultory readers who cannot, or, like the author himself, will not, devote their minds to any particular end. The author's criticisms, scattered here and there through his memorandums, his letters to his friends in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, and numberless pencil marks on the margins of his books, are always just and searching, and strikingly untrammelled by the prejudices of the day, a quality well exhibited in his praises of Shakspeare, then by no means fashionable, and of the satellites of the great bard, Shirley, Marlow, Massinger, and Beaumont and Fletcher, who were almost forgotten.

GARDINER, JAMES, a distinguished military officer and Christian hero, was born at Carriden in Linlithgowshire, January 11, 1688. Of this remarkable person we shall abridge the pleasing and popular memoir written by Dr. Doddridge, adding such additional particulars as have fallen under our observation in other sources of intelligence.

Colonel Gardiner was the son of Captain Patrick Gardiner, of the family of Torwoodhead by Mrs. Mary Hodge, of the family of Gladsmuir. The captain, who was master of a handsome estate, served many years in the army of King William and Queen Anne, and died abroad with the British forces in Germany, shortly after the battle of Hochstet, through the fatigues he underwent in the duties of that celebrated campaign. He had a company in the regiment of foot once commanded by Colonel Hodge, his brother-in-law, who was slain at the head of that regiment at the battle of Steinkirk, 1692.

Mrs. Gardiner, the colonel's mother, was a lady of a very valuable character; but it pleased God to exercise her with very uncommon trials; for she not only lost her husband and her brother in the service of their country, but also her eldest son, Mr. Robert Gardiner, on the day which completed the 16th year of his age, at the siege of Namur in 1695.

She took care to instruct her second son, the subject of this memoir, at a very early period of his life in the principles of Christianity. He was also trained up in human literature at the school of Linlithgow, where he made a very considerable progress

¹ Life introductory to vol. 3d of *Travelling Memorandums*, the only life of Gardenstone hitherto published—at least the one which, *mutatis mutandis*, has been attached to his name in biographical dictionaries.

in the languages. Could his mother, or a very religious aunt, of whose good instructions and exhortations he often spoke with pleasure, have prevailed, he would not have thought of a military life. But it suited his taste; and the ardour of his spirit, animated by the persuasions of a friend who greatly urged it, was not to be restrained. Nor will the reader wonder that, thus excited and supported, it easily overbore their tender remonstrances, when he knows that this lively youth fought three duels before he attained to the stature of a man; in one of which, when he was but eight years old, he received from a boy much older than himself a wound in his right cheek, the scar of which was always very apparent. The false sense of honour which instigated him to it might seem indeed something excusable in those unripened years, and considering the profession of his father, brother, and uncle; but he was often heard to mention this rashness with that regret which the reflection would naturally give to so wise and good a man in the maturity of life.

He served first as a cadet, which must have been very early; and when at fourteen years old he bore an ensign's commission in a Scots regiment in the Dutch service; in which he continued till the year 1702, when he received an ensign's commission from Queen Anne, which he bore in the battle of Ramillies, being then in the nineteenth year of his age. In this memorable action, which was fought May 23, 1706, our young officer was of a party in a forlorn hope, commanded to dispossess the French of the churchyard at Ramillies, where a considerable number of them were posted to remarkable advantage. They succeeded much better than was expected; and it may well be supposed that Mr. Gardiner, who had before been in several encounters, was glad of such an opportunity of signaling himself. Accordingly, he had planted his colours on an advanced ground; and while he was calling to his men he received a shot into his mouth; which, without beating out any of his teeth, or touching the fore-part of his tongue, went through his neck, and came out about an inch and a half on the left side of the vertebra. Not feeling at first the pain of the stroke, he wondered what was become of the ball, and in the wildness of his surprise began to suspect he had swallowed it; but dropping soon after, he traced the passage of it by his finger, when he could discover it no other way. This accident happened about five or six in the evening; and the army pursuing its advantages against the French, without ever regarding the wounded (which was the Duke of Marlborough's constant method), the young officer lay all night in the field, agitated, as may well be supposed, with a great variety of thoughts. When he reflected upon the circumstances of his wound, that a ball should, as he then conceived it, go through his head without killing him, he thought God had preserved him by miracle; and therefore assuredly concluded that he should live, abandoned and desperate as his state seemed to be. His mind, at the same time, was taken up with contrivances to secure his gold, and he had recourse to a very odd expedient, which proved successful. Expecting to be stripped, he first took out a handful of that clotted gore of which he was frequently obliged to clear his mouth, and putting it into his left hand, he took out his money (about nineteen pistoles), and shutting his hand and besmearing the back part of it with blood, he kept it in this position till the blood dried in such a manner that his hand could not easily fall open, though any sudden surprise should happen. In the morning the French, who were masters of that spot, came

to plunder the slain; and seeing him to appearance almost expiring, one of them was just applying a sword to his breast, when, in the critical moment, a Cordelier, who attended the plunderers, interposed, taking him by his dress for a Frenchman; and said, "Do not kill that poor child." Our young soldier heard all that passed, though he was not able to speak one word; and, opening his eyes, made a sign for something to drink. They gave him a sup of some spirituous liquor, and afterwards carried him to a convent in the neighbourhood, where he was cured by the benevolent lady-abbess in the course of a few months. He received a great many devout admonitions from the ladies there, and they would fain have persuaded him to acknowledge what they thought so miraculous a deliverance, by embracing the *Catholic Faith*, as they were pleased to call it. But they could not succeed: for though no religion lay near his heart, yet he had too much of the spirit of a gentleman lightly to change that form of religion which he wore, as it were, loose about him.

He served with distinction in all the other glorious actions fought by the Duke of Marlborough, and rose through a course of rapid and deserved promotion. In 1706 he was made a lieutenant, and very quickly after he received a cornet's commission in the Scots Greys, then commanded by the Earl of Stair. On the 31st of January, 1714-15, he was made captain-lieutenant in Colonel Ker's regiment of dragoons. At the taking of Preston in Lancashire, 1715, he headed a party of twelve, and, advancing to the barricades of the insurgents, set them on fire, notwithstanding a furious storm of musketry, by which eight of his men were killed. A long peace ensued after this action, and Gardiner, being favourably known to the Earl of Stair, was made his aid-de-camp, and accompanied his lordship on his celebrated embassy to Paris. When Lord Stair made his splendid entrance into Paris, Captain Gardiner was his master of the horse; and as much of that admirably well-adjusted ceremony fell upon him, he gained great credit by the manner in which he conducted it. Under his lordship's favour a captain's commission was procured for him, dated July 22, 1715, in the regiment of dragoons commanded by Colonel Stanhope, then Earl of Harrington; and in 1717 he was advanced to the majority of that regiment; in which office he continued till it was reduced, November 10, 1718, when he was put out of commission. But his majesty King George I. was so thoroughly apprised of his faithful and important services, that he gave him his sign-manual entitling him to the first majority that should become vacant in any regiment of horse or dragoons, which happened about five years after to be in Croft's regiment of dragoons, in which he received a commission, dated June 1st, 1724; and on the 20th of July, the same year, he was made major of an older regiment, commanded by the Earl of Stair.

The remainder of his military appointments may be here summed up. On the 24th January, 1729-30, he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the same regiment, long under the command of Lord Cadogan, with whose friendship this brave and vigilant officer was also honoured for many years; and he continued in this rank and regiment till the 19th of April, 1743, when he received a colonel's commission over a new regiment of dragoons, at the head of which he was destined to fall, about two years and a half after he had received it.

Captain Gardiner lived for several years a very gay and dissolute life, inasmuch as even to distinguish himself at the dissolute court of the Regent Orleans. His conduct was characterized by every species of

vice, and his constitution enabled him to pursue his courses with such *insouciance* of manner, that he acquired the name of "the happy rake." Still the checks of conscience, and some remaining principles of good education, would break in upon his most licentious hours, and I particularly remember, says Dr. Doddridge, he told me that when some of his dissolute companions were once congratulating him on his distinguished felicity, a dog happening at that time to come into the room, he could not forbear groaning inwardly, and saying to himself, "Oh that I were that dog!" But these remonstrances of reason and conscience were in vain; and, in short, he carried things so far, in this wretched part of his life, that I am well assured some sober English gentlemen, who made no great pretences to religion, how agreeable soever he might have been to them on other accounts, rather declined than sought his company, as fearing they might have been ensnared and corrupted by it.

The crisis, however, of this course of wickedness arrived at last. I am now come, says his biographer, to that astonishing part of his story, the account of his conversion, which I cannot enter upon without assuring the reader that I have sometimes been tempted to suppress many circumstances of it; not only as they may seem incredible to some, and enthusiastic to others, but I am very sensible they are liable to great abuses; which was the reason that he gave me for concealing the most extraordinary from many persons to whom he mentioned some of the rest.

This memorable event happened towards the middle of July, 1719; but I cannot be exact as to the day. The major had spent the evening (and, if I mistake not, it was the Sabbath) in some gay company, and had an unhappy assignation with a married woman, of what rank or quality I did not particularly inquire, whom he was to attend exactly at twelve. The company broke up about eleven; and not judging it convenient to anticipate the time appointed, he went into his chamber to kill the tedious hour, perhaps with some amusing book, or some other way. But it very accidentally happened that he took up a religious book which his good mother or aunt had, without his knowledge, slipped into his portmanteau. It was called, if I remember the title exactly, *The Christian Soldier, or Heaven taken by Storm*; and was written by Mr. Thomas Watson. Guessing by the title of it that he should find some phrases of his own profession spiritualized, in a manner which he thought might afford him some diversion, he resolved to dip into it; but he took no serious notice of anything he read in it: and yet, while this book was in his hand, an impression was made upon his mind (perhaps God only knows how) which drew after it a train of the most important and happy consequences. There is indeed a possibility, that while he was sitting in this solitude, and reading in this careless and profane manner, he might suddenly fall asleep, and only dream of what he apprehended he saw. But nothing can be more certain than that, when he gave me this relation [1739], he judged himself to have been as broad awake during the whole time as he ever was in any part of his life; and he mentioned it to me several times afterwards as what undoubtedly passed, not only in his imagination, but before his eyes.

He thought he saw an unusual blaze of light fall on the book while he was reading, which he at first imagined might happen by some accident in the candle. But lifting up his eyes he apprehended, to his extreme amazement, that there was before him, as it were suspended in the air, a visible re-

presentation of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross, surrounded on all sides with a glory; and was impressed as if a voice, or something equivalent to a voice, had come to him, to this effect (for he was not confident as to the very words), "Oh sinner! did I suffer this for thee, and are these the returns?" But whether this were an audible voice, or only a strong impression on his mind equally striking, he did not seem very confident, though, to the best of my remembrance, he rather judged it to be the former. Struck with so amazing a phenomenon as this, there remained hardly any life in him, so that he sank down in the arm-chair in which he sat, and continued, he knew not exactly how long, insensible; which was one circumstance that made me several times take the liberty to suggest that he might possibly be all this while asleep; but however that were, he quickly after opened his eyes, and saw nothing more than usual.

It may easily be supposed he was in no condition to make any observation upon the time in which he had remained in an insensible state. Nor did he, throughout all the remainder of the night, once recollect that criminal and detestable assignation which had before engrossed all his thoughts. He rose in a tumult of passions not to be conceived, and walked to and fro in his chamber, till he was ready to drop down in unutterable astonishment and agony of heart; appearing to himself the vilest monster in the creation of God, who had all his lifetime been crucifying Christ afresh by his sins, and now saw, as he assuredly believed, by a miraculous vision, the horror of what he had done. With this was connected such a view, both of the majesty and goodness of God, as caused him to loathe and abhor himself, and to *repent as in dust and ashes*. He immediately gave judgment against himself, that he was most justly worthy of eternal damnation: he was astonished that he had not been immediately struck dead in the midst of his wickedness: and (which I think deserves particular remark) though he assuredly believed that he should ere long be in hell, and settled it as a point with himself for several months, that the wisdom and justice of God did almost necessarily require that such an enormous sinner should be made an example of everlasting vengeance, and a spectacle as such both to angels and men, so that he hardly durst presume to pray for pardon; yet what he then suffered was not so much from the fear of hell, though he concluded it would soon be his portion, as from a sense of that horrible ingratitude he had shown to the God of his life, and to that blessed Redeemer who had been in so affecting a manner *set forth as crucified before him*.

The mind of Major Gardiner continued from this remarkable time till toward the end of October (that is, rather more than three months, but especially the two first of them) in an extraordinary a situation as one can well imagine. He knew nothing of the joys arising from a sense of pardon; but, on the contrary, for the greater part of that time, and with very short intervals of hope towards the end of it, took it for granted that he must in all probability quickly perish. Nevertheless, he had such a sense of the evil of sin, and of the goodness of the Divine Being, and of the admirable tendency of the Christian revelation, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life, while God continued him out of hell, in as rational and as useful a manner as he could; and to continue casting himself at the foot of divine mercy, every day, and often in a day, if peradventure there might be hope of pardon, of which all that he could say was, that he did not absolutely despair. He had at that time such a sense of the degeneracy

of his own heart that he hardly durst form any determinate resolution against sin, or pretend to engage himself by any vow in the presence of God; but he was continually crying to him that he would deliver him from the bondage of corruption. He perceived in himself a most surprising alteration with regard to the dispositions of his heart; so that, though he felt little of the delight of religious duties, he extremely desired opportunities of being engaged in them; and those licentious pleasures which had before been his heaven, were now absolutely his aversion. And indeed, when I consider how habitual all those criminal indulgences were grown to him, and that he was now in the prime of life, and all this while in high health too, I cannot but be astonished to reflect upon it, that he should be so wonderfully sanctified in body, as well as in soul and spirit, as that, for all the future years of his life, he, from that hour, should find so constant a disinclination to, and abhorrence of, those criminal sensualities, to which he fancied he was before so invincibly impelled by his very constitution, that he was used strangely to think and to say, that Omnipotence itself could not reform him, without destroying that body and giving him another.

Nor was he only delivered from that bondage of corruption which had been habitual to him for many years, but felt in his breast so contrary a disposition, that he was grieved to see human nature, in those to whom he was most entirely a stranger, prostituted to such low and contemptible pursuits. He, therefore, exerted his natural courage in a very new kind of combat, and became an open advocate for religion, in all its principles, so far as he was acquainted with them, and all its precepts, relating to sobriety, righteousness, and godliness. Yet he was very desirous and cautious that he might not run into an extreme, and made it one of his first petitions to God, the very day after these amazing impressions had been wrought in his mind, that he might not be suffered to behave with such an affected strictness and preciseness, as would lead others about him into mistaken notions of religion, and expose it to reproach or suspicion, as if it were an unlovely or uncomfortable thing. For this reason he endeavoured to appear as cheerful in conversation as he conscientiously could; though, in spite of all his precautions, some traces of that deep inward sense which he had of his guilt and misery would at times appear. He made no secret of it, however, that his views were entirely changed, though he concealed the particular circumstances attending that change. He told his most intimate companions freely, that he had reflected on the course of life in which he had so long joined them, and found it to be folly and madness, unworthy a rational creature, and much more unworthy persons calling themselves Christians. And he set up his standard, upon all occasions, against principles of infidelity and practices of vice, as determinately and as boldly as ever he displayed or planted his colours, when he bore them with so much honour in the field.

Such is the account given by an exceedingly honest, able, and pious writer of the remarkable conversion of Colonel Gardiner; an account too minute and curious to be passed over by a modern biographer, whatever credence may be given to the circumstances of which it is composed. While the minds of our readers will probably find an easy explanation of the "phenomenon" in the theories which some late writers have started respecting such impressions of the senses, we shall present a remarkably interesting notice of the pious soldier which was written twenty years before his death, and a still longer period

antecedent to Doddridge's publication, and must therefore be considered as entitled to particular attention and credit. It is extracted from a journal of the historian Wodrow [MS. Advocates' Library], where it appears under date May, 1725, as having just been taken down from the mouths of various informants:

"From him and others I have a very pleasant account of Major Gardiner, formerly master of horse to the Earl of Stair, and now lately, on the death of ——— Craig, made Major of Stair's gray horse. He seems to be one of the most remarkable instances of free grace that has been in our times. He is one of the bravest and gallantest men in Britain, and understands military affairs exactly well. He was a lieutenant or a captain many years ago in Glasgow, where he was extremely vicious. He had a criminal correspondence with ———, as my informer tells us he owns with sorrow. He acknowledges with the deepest concern there was scarce an evil but what he was addicted to it, and he observes that he on many accounts has reason to reckon himself the chief of sinners, much more than Paul; for besides the multitude of the most horrid sins, he did them not ignorantly and through unbelief, but over the belly of light and knowledge. When he was with my Lord Stair, ambassador at Paris, he was riding on one of his most unruly and fiery horses, which could not bear the spur, and in the streets met the hostie and crowd with it. Whether of design or accidentally I cannot say, but his horse and he soon made a clean street, and the hostie came to the ground. The ambassador's house was attacked for the abuse of the hostie, and he was obliged to write over to court about it. The change wrought on the major a few years ago was *gradual and imperceptible*. I think profane swearing was the first thing he refrained from, and then other vices, and still as he refrained from them, he bore testimony against them in others, in the army, at court, and everywhere, and reproveth them in great and small with the utmost boldness. At length he is thoroughly reformed, and walks most closely in ordinances; and while with his troops in Galloway, he haunts mostly at the houses of the ministers; and has made a sensible reformation among the troops he commands, and nothing like vice is to be seen among them. His walk and conversation is most tender and Christian; he rises by four in summer and winter, and nobody has access to him till eight, and some later, and these hours he spends in secret religion. He is a close and exemplary keeper of ordinances, and a constant terror to vice wherever he is, and a serious keeper of the Sabbath. We have at this time several excellent officers in the army, and who have been in it: Colonel Blackader, Colonel Erskine, Lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, and this gentleman. May the Lord increase them!"

"This resolute and exemplary Christian now entered upon that methodical manner of living which he pursued through so many succeeding years of life. A life anything like his could not be entered upon in the midst of such company as he had been accustomed to keep without great opposition, especially as he did not entirely withdraw himself from all the circles of cheerful conversation; but, on the contrary, gave several hours every day to it, lest religion should be reproached as having made him morose. He, however, early began a practice which, to the last day of his life he retained, of reproving vice and profaneness, and was never afraid to debate the matter

¹ The name is expressed in a secret hand used by the venerable historian.

with any, under the consciousness of such superiority in the goodness of his cause.

"A remarkable instance of this happened about the middle of the year 1720, though I cannot be very exact as to the date of the story. It was, however, on his first return to make any considerable abode in England, after this remarkable change. He had heard on the other side of the water that it was currently reported among his companions at home that he was stark mad—a report at which no reader who knows the wisdom of the world in these matters, will be much surprised any more than himself. He concluded, therefore, that he should have many battles to fight, and was willing to despatch the business as fast as he could. And therefore, being to spend a few days at the country-house of a person of distinguished rank with whom he had been very intimate (whose name I do not remember that he told me, nor did I think it proper to inquire after it), he begged the favour of him that he would contrive matters so that a day or two after he came down, several of their former gay companions might meet at his lordship's table, that he might have an opportunity of making his apology to them, and acquainting them with the nature and reasons of his change. It was accordingly agreed to; and a pretty large company met on the day appointed, with previous notice that Major Gardiner would be there. A good deal of raillery passed at dinner, to which the major made very little answer. But when the cloth was taken away, and the servants retired, he begged their patience for a few minutes, and then plainly and seriously told them what notions he entertained of virtue and religion, and on what considerations he had absolutely determined that, by the grace of God, he would make it the care and business of life, whatever he might lose by it, and whatever censure and contempt he might incur. He well knew how improper it was in such company to relate the extraordinary manner he was awakened, which they would probably have interpreted as a demonstration of lunacy, against all the gravity and solidity of his discourse; but he contented himself with such a rational defence of a righteous, sober, and godly life as he knew none of them could with any shadow of reason contest. He then challenged them to propose anything they could urge to prove that a life of irreligion and debauchery was preferable to the fear, love, and worship of the eternal God, and a conduct agreeable to the precepts of his gospel. And he failed not to bear his testimony, from his own experience, that, after having run the widest round of sensual pleasures, with all the advantages the best constitution and spirits could give him, he had never tasted anything that deserved to be called happiness till he had made religion his refuge and his delight. He testified calmly and boldly the habitual serenity and peace that he now felt in his own breast, and the composure and pleasure with which he looked forward to objects which the gayest sinner must acknowledge to be equally unavoidable and dreadful. I know not what might be attempted by some of the company in answer to this; but I well remember he told me the master of the table, a person of a very frank and candid disposition, cut short the debate, and said, 'Come, let us call another cause: we thought this man mad, and he is in good earnest proving that we are so.' On the whole, this well-judged circumstance saved him a great deal of future trouble. When his former acquaintance observed that he was still conversable and innocently cheerful, and that he was immovable in his resolutions, they desisted from farther importunity. And he has assured me that, instead of losing any one valuable friend by this

change in his character, he found himself much more esteemed and regarded by many who could not persuade themselves to imitate his example.

"I meet not with any other remarkable event relating to Major Gardiner, which can properly be introduced here, till the year 1726, when, on the 11th of July, he was married to the Right Honourable Lady Frances Erskine, daughter to the fourth Earl of Buchan, by whom he had thirteen children, five only of which survived their father—two sons and three daughters. From this period till the commencement of the French war he lived either at his villa of Bankton in East Lothian, or moved about through the country with his regiment. Towards the latter end of 1742 he embarked for Flanders, and spent some considerable time with the regiment at Ghent, where he much regretted the want of those religious ordinances and opportunities which had made his other abodes delightful. As he had the promise of a regiment before he quitted England, his friends were continually expecting an occasion of congratulating him on having received the command of one. But still they were disappointed; and on some of them the disappointment seemed to sit heavy. As for the colonel himself, he seemed quite easy about it, and appeared much greater in that easy situation of mind than the highest military honours and preferments could have made him. His majesty was at length pleased to give him a regiment of dragoons, which was then quartered just in the neighbourhood of his own house in Scotland. It appeared to him that by this remarkable event Providence called him home. Accordingly, though he had other preferments offered him in the army, he chose to return, and, I believe, the more willingly, as he did not expect there would have been an action."

The latter years of Colonel Gardiner's life were rendered gloomy by bad health, and for some time before his death he appeared to move constantly under a serious anticipation of that event. When the insurrection of 1745 commenced in the Highlands, his raw regiment of dragoons constituted an important part of the small military force with which Sir John Cope was required to meet the coming storm. Cope marched in August into the Highlands, leaving Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoon regiments in the low country; and when the insurgents, by a strange manœuvre, eluded the government general, and descended upon the Lowlands, these inexperienced troops were all that remained to oppose their course. After an ineffectual attempt to protect Edinburgh, the two regiments fled in a panic to Dunbar, where they were rejoined by the foot under the command of Sir John Cope, and the whole army then marched towards the capital in order to meet and give battle to the clans. The worthy colonel was much depressed by the conduct of his men, and anticipated that they would not behave better in the action about to take place: he said, however, that though he could not influence the conduct of others, he had one life to sacrifice for his country's safety, and he would not spare it.

"The two hostile bodies came into view of each other on the 20th of September in the neighbourhood of his own house near Prestonpans. The colonel drew up his regiment in the afternoon, and rode through all their ranks, addressing them at once in the most respectful and animating manner, both as soldiers and as Christians, to engage them to exert themselves courageously in the service of their country, and to neglect nothing that might have a tendency to prepare them for whatever event might happen. They seemed much affected with the address, and expressed a very ardent desire of attack-

ing the enemy immediately: a desire in which he and another very gallant officer of distinguished rank, dignity, and character, both for bravery and conduct, would gladly have gratified them, if it had been in the power of either. He earnestly pressed it on the commanding officer, as the soldiers were then in better spirits than it could be supposed they would be after having passed the night under arms. He also apprehended, that by marching to meet them, some advantage might have been secured with regard to the ground; with which, it is natural to imagine, he must have been perfectly acquainted. He was overruled in this advice, as also in the disposition of the cannon, which he would have planted in the centre of our small army, rather than just before his regiment, which was in the right wing. And when he found that he could not carry either of these points, nor some others, which, out of regard to the common safety, he insisted upon with unusual earnestness, he dropped some intimations of the consequences he apprehended, and which did in fact follow; and submitting to providence, spent the remainder of the day in making as good a disposition as circumstances would allow.

He continued all night under arms, wrapped up in his cloak, and generally sheltered under a rick of barley which happened to be in the field. About three in the morning he called his domestic servants to him, of which there were four in waiting. He dismissed three of them, with most affectionate Christian advice, and such solemn charges relating to the performance of their duty and the care of their souls, as plainly seemed to intimate that he apprehended it at least very probable he was taking his last farewell of them. There is great reason to believe that he spent the little remainder of the time, which could not be much above an hour, in those devout exercises of soul which had so long been habitual to him, and to which so many circumstances did then concur to call him. The army was alarmed by break of day by the noise of the approach of the enemy, and the attack was made before sunrise; yet it was light enough to discern what passed. As soon as the enemy came within gun-shot, they made a furious fire; and it is said that the dragoons which constituted the left wing immediately fled. The colonel, at the beginning of the onset, which in the whole lasted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breast, which made him give a sudden spring in his saddle; upon which his servant, who had led the horse, would have persuaded him to retreat: but he said, it was only a wound in the flesh, and fought on, though he presently after received a shot in his right thigh. In the meantime it was discerned that some of the insurgents fell by him.

Events of this kind pass in less time than the description of them can be written, or than it can be read. The colonel was for a few moments supported by his men, and particularly by Lieutenant-colonel Whitney, who was shot through the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of Falkirk; and by Lieutenant West, a man of distinguished bravery; as also by about fifteen dragoons, who stood by him to the last. But after a faint fire, the regiment in general was seized with a panic: and though their colonel and some other gallant officers did what they could to rally them once or twice, they at last took a precipitate flight. And just in the moment when Colonel Gardiner seemed to be making a pause, to deliberate what duty required him to do in such a circumstance, he saw a party of the foot who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to

head them; upon which he said eagerly, "Those brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commander;" or words to that effect: which while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried out aloud, "Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing." But just as they were out of his mouth a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened on a long pole, with which he gave him such a deep wound on his right arm that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off his horse. The moment he fell another Highlander gave him a stroke, either with a broadsword or a Lochaber-axe, on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw farther at this time was, that as his hat was falling off, he took it in his left hand, and waved it as a signal to him to retreat; and added, what were the last words he ever heard him to speak, "Take care of yourself:" upon which the servant retired, and fled to a mill at the distance of about two miles from the spot of ground on which the colonel fell; where he changed his dress, and disguised like a miller's servant, returned as soon as possible; yet not till nearly two hours after the engagement. The hurry of the action was then over, and he found his much-honoured master not only plundered of his watch and other things of value, but also stripped of his upper garments and boots; yet still breathing, though not capable of speech. In this condition he conveyed him to the church of Tranent, from whence he was immediately taken into the minister's house and laid in bed; where he continued breathing and frequently groaning, till about eleven in the forenoon, when he took his final leave of pain and sorrow. Such was the close of a life which had been so zealously devoted to God, and filled up with so many honourable services.

His remains were interred the Tuesday following, September 24, at the parish church at Tranent—where he had usually attended divine service—with great solemnity. His obsequies were honoured with the presence of some persons of distinction, who were not afraid of paying that piece of respect to his memory, though the country was then in the hands of the enemy. But indeed there was no great hazard in this; for his character was so well known, that even they themselves spoke honourably of him, and seemed to join with his friends in lamenting the fall of so brave and so worthy a man.

In personal appearance Colonel Gardiner was tall, well proportioned, and strongly built, his eyes of a dark gray, and not very large; his forehead pretty high; his nose of a length and height no way remarkable, but very well suited to his other features; his cheeks not very prominent, his mouth moderately large, and his chin rather a little inclining to be peaked. He had a strong voice, and lively accent; with an air very intrepid, yet tempered with much gentleness; and there was something in his manner of address most perfectly easy and obliging, which was in a great measure the result of the great candour and benevolence of his natural temper; and which, no doubt, was much improved by the deep humility which divine grace had wrought into his heart, as well as his having been accustomed from his early youth to the company of persons of distinguished rank and polite behaviour.

GARDNER, GEORGE, an eminent botanist, was born in 1810, at Ardentinn, where his father, a native of Aberdeen, acted as gardener to the Earl of Dunmore. He was the second son. In 1816 his

father became gardener to the Earl of Eglinton at Ardrossan, and there the subject of our sketch attended the parish school till 1822, when his parents removed to Glasgow. Here he was placed at the grammar-school, and, in the course of his studies, acquired a good knowledge of the Latin language. He had early imbibed, probably from his father's occupation, a taste for botany; but it was perhaps as much by accident as design that he subsequently devoted his life to the science.

He commenced the study of medicine in the Andersonian university of Glasgow, and continued, during the winter and summer sessions of 1829-1832, to pursue his studies with a degree of zeal and persevering industry which won for him high distinction in college honours. He also, in 1829-1831, attended the classes of anatomy, surgery, chemistry, *materia medica*, &c., in the university, where he likewise distinguished himself in the prize-list. In 1830 he joined the Glasgow Medical Society and during that year and 1831, 1832, his attendance at the Royal Infirmary was unremitting. Still, amidst these severer studies, he found leisure to indulge his early bias for botany. His first rudiments of the science were obtained from Dr. Rattray, and he continued to improve himself by botanizing rambles in the country, and frequent visits to the Botanical Garden, with the curator of which, Mr. Stewart Murray, he formed a friendship which continued to the day of his death. Through Mr. Murray, and from his having discovered in one of his rambles the rare *Nuphar minima* or *pumila*, growing in Mugdock Loch, he became known to Sir William J. Hooker, the eminent professor of botany in the university of Glasgow. He now attended Sir William's botanical lectures and that truly amiable gentleman soon formed a high estimate of his character and talents. As a student he made several botanical excursions to the Highlands with the professor and his class; and to the intimacy thus produced may be attributed the important change in his future career.

From the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, Gardner obtained his diploma as surgeon, with high marks of distinction. Meanwhile he had made himself acquainted with the flowering plants of Scotland, and studied cryptogamic botany so successfully that, in 1836, he brought out a work entitled *Musci Britannici, or Pocket Herbarium of British Mosses*, arranged and named according to Hooker's *British Flora*. This work was flatteringly received, and has been of great value to muscologists. The specimens are beautifully dried, and neatly attached; whilst its general accuracy can be depended upon, as he had not only free access to the splendid library of Sir William Hooker, but the benefit of his personal assistance.

A copy of the *Musci Britannici* having reached the late Duke of Bedford—well known for the interest which he took in botanical science—his grace became a liberal patron, and warmly encouraged his ambition to proceed upon a foreign exploratory mission. After the death of the lamented Drummond, whose labours in Texas and parts of Central America had greatly enriched the Royal Botanic Garden, the directors of that institution were solicitous still further to promote its scientific character; and arrangements were made for Gardner's proceeding to North Brazil, to explore the botany of that country. As in the case of Drummond, Sir William Hooker undertook to procure a number of subscribers for the dried specimens, and to be at the trouble of subdividing and forwarding them to the respective parties; the curator, at the same time, agreeing to take a similar charge of the seeds and living plants sent home. Many of

the public botanical gardens, as well as a number of amateur noblemen and gentlemen, were subscribers, and by this means for a moderate sum had their collections largely and richly increased. Amongst others the Duke of Bedford was a munificent contributor; and all preliminaries having been arranged for Gardner's departure, his grace not only interested his son Lord Edward Russell, R.N., commanding on the American station, in his behalf, but secured for him a free passage out in one of H.M. ships. This, however, he politely declined, preferring the greater privacy of a merchant ship, that he might have leisure to study, and especially to improve himself in his knowledge of the Spanish and Portuguese languages. So far from being offended, the duke magnanimously sent him a draft for £50 in lieu of the free passage.

In the summer of 1836 Gardner sailed from Liverpool, and, after a favourable passage, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, with the appearance of which and the surrounding scenery he was perfectly captivated, and wrote home in glowing terms, descriptive of his first impressions. Amidst scenes so tempting to a naturalist Gardner did not long remain inactive. He made frequent excursions in the vicinity of Rio, and particularly to the Organ Mountains, and his first collection of plants, seeds, and specimens for the herbarium was drawn chiefly from this quarter. These came home in excellent condition and proved highly interesting. They contained many new orchids, liliæ, palms, &c. He subsequently penetrated into the interior, and spent a considerable time in exploring the diamond regions. Five years—from 1836 till 1841—were passed in Brazil. Before returning home, which he did in the latter year, he paid a parting visit to the Organ Mountains, his object in doing so being, as he himself says in one of his letters, to "make a collection of some of the fine shrubs and herbaceous plants which are to be found principally on the higher levels" of that range, to take home with him in the living state. After penetrating into the interior, he found the difficulty of sending home living plants almost insurmountable; yet he continued to preserve large collections for the herbarium, which with seeds and such living plants as could endure the inland journey prior to their long voyage, were sent home as opportunity offered. Some of the melastomaceæ, as *Pleroma benthamianum* and *multiflora* may be mentioned among the number as now ornamenting every good collection of hot-house plants; also, many beautiful franciscas, &c.

Although botany was, of course, his chief pursuit, Gardner had always an eye to what might be of interest in other departments of natural history—hence his collections were swelled with minerals, recent and fossil shells, preserved skins of birds, fishes, &c. He at the same time did not neglect his medical acquirements. Throughout his extended journeyings, he carried his surgical instruments along with him, and performed several important operations with entire success, which not only improved his finances, but gained him many friends—thus securing a degree of respect, comfort, and in some cases safety, among the native tribes, which only a medical man might expect to enjoy. Amidst his multifarious labours he kept up his home correspondence with surprising regularity, writing often to Sir William Hooker and Mr. Murray, and occasionally communicating with the more distinguished foreign botanists of the day. Several of his papers and letters were inserted by Sir William in the *Journal of Botany*. In one of these, dated Province of Minas, September 3, 1840, he refers to the death of his "generous patron, the

Duke of Bedford," in terms which bespeak the deep gratitude by which he was actuated. Nor did he overlook the claims of his own relations to a share in his epistolary attention; and even his juvenile friends, such as Dr. Joseph Hooker, and Mr. Murray's family, were not forgotten.

In 1842, not long after his return, Gardner was elected professor of botany in the Andersonian University, and had prepared a course of lectures; but he did not retain that appointment, seeing, at the time, little prospect of the class being well attended. Meanwhile he occupied himself in arranging the materials of his *Brazilian Journal* with a view to publication. The work, however, was still incomplete, when, in 1843, he was appointed to Ceylon, as island botanist and superintendent of the botanic garden there, by the colonial government. This situation he owed to the influence of his never-failing friend Sir William Hooker, who had himself been, some time previously, promoted to the office of director-general of the Royal Gardens at Kew.

On arriving in Ceylon his first consideration was bestowed on the botanic garden, which he repaired, re-arranged, and greatly improved. He then began to make botanical excursions over the island, thus enriching the garden with the fruits of his journeys. He also transmitted to the botanic gardens in Britain, especially Kew, such plants and seeds as were likely to prove acceptable, obtaining in return the productions of other climes—South America, the West Indies, &c., for the Ceylon garden. During his rambles he discovered the upas tree, which was not previously known to exist in Ceylon. A writer in one of the Ceylon papers, whose article was copied into *Chambers's Journal*, says:—"When returning to Kormegalle we were most fortunate in the pleasure of having for a companion Dr. Gardner, the eminent botanist, in whose company the most insignificant plant or flower has an interest, in relation to which he has always something instructive to tell. On our journey back to Kandy, he discovered the upas tree, growing within a few miles of Kormegalle. It was not known before that it grows in Ceylon."

Gardner's position and eminence as a botanist led him into an extensive correspondence, notwithstanding which, and his multifarious official duties, he so regulated his labours as to be able, not long after his arrival in Ceylon, to finish the arrangement of his Brazilian papers, which were published in London, by Reeves Brothers, in 1846. The work, 562 pp. 8vo, is entitled *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, principally through the Northern Provinces and the Gold Districts, during the Years 1836-41.* It was very favourably received, being sufficiently popular in its style to interest the general reader, whilst it did not disappoint the expectations of the man of science.

Lord Torrington, governor of Ceylon, proved a kind friend and patron to Gardner, thereby enabling him greatly to extend his botanical labours; so also did Sir James Emmerson Tennent, the secretary. Both of these honoured names are often mentioned with grateful feelings in his letters. It was at Neuria Ellia Rest-house, the residence of Lord Torrington, that his demise took place. He arrived there on the 10th of March, 1849, about 3 o'clock P.M., and, after luncheon with Lord and Lady Torrington, retired to rest in his room, his lordship and Dr. Fleming riding out meanwhile. Next day the party was to have gone on an excursion to the Horton Plains. Lord Torrington and the doctor had not proceeded far when they were recalled by express, Gardner having been attacked by a severe fit of apoplexy. Everything was done which medical

science could suggest, but all to no purpose; he died at 11 o'clock at night, surrounded by a circle of deeply grieved friends. He was in the prime of life, and, as remarked at luncheon by Lady Torrington, never seemed in better health and spirits. He had been remarkable throughout life for abstinence. Even during three years of constant travelling, irregularity, and fatigue, while exploring the interior of Brazil, he drank nothing stronger than tea, of which he had secured a good supply before leaving Pernambuco.

Lord Torrington, in communicating the afflicting intelligence to Sir William Hooker, thus warmly eulogizes the character of the deceased: "I can honestly say that the colony, and the public in general, have experienced a severe loss in this talented and excellent man—one who was loved by all; never did I see so amiable a person, one who possessed more benevolence, or was more ready to impart information to those who asked for it."

Thus the science of botany was deprived of an enthusiastic student, and able expositor, in the prime of life and the vigour of intellect. It is believed by those who best knew him, that his end was hastened by excessive mental labour. Amongst his numerous MSS. is one in a finished state, which he was about to send to press, designed as an elementary work on the botany of India; and, as stated by Sir W. Hooker, in noticing his death in the *Journal of Botany*, he had made extensive collections towards a complete *Flora Zeylanica*. As a matter of general interest, it is not unworthy of notice that Gardner had taken out a patent for preparing coffee leaf, so as to afford a beverage, by infusion, "forming an agreeable, refreshing, and nutritive article of diet."

According to Gardner's will, his books and herbarium were to be offered to the Ceylon government, to form part of the establishment at Peradenia, at a certain valuation; and, if not accepted, to be forwarded to his executor in Britain, Sir W. Hooker. The government having declined the offer, they were accordingly placed at the disposal of Sir William, by whose disinterested efforts the herbarium realized prices much beyond what could have been expected.

GED, WILLIAM, the inventor of stereotype printing, was a goldsmith in Edinburgh, in the early part of the eighteenth century. He is said to have first attempted stereotyping in the year 1725. The invention, as may be generally known, consists in casting, by means of a stucco mould, a representation of the superficies of arranged types, which, being fitted to a block, may be used under the press exactly as types are used, and, being retained, may serve at any time to throw off an additional impression. As the metal required for this process is very little compared to that of types, stereotyping is accomplished at an expense, which, though it might come hard upon ordinary jobs, is inconsiderable in others, where it may be the means of saving a new composition of types for subsequent impressions. In the case of a book in general use, such as the Bible, and also in cases where the publication takes place in numbers, and one number is in danger of being sold to a greater extent than another, the process suggested by Ged is of vast utility.¹ In July, 1729,

¹ A use which certainly the inventor never contemplated has been found for this valuable handmaid to the printing art, in facilitating the rapid production of works of very large circulation. Some weekly periodicals of the present (1874) day, are only able to produce the enormous numbers required of them by casting several sets of stereotype plates, and employing various printing machines on the same sheet at the same time. By this means periodicals having a circulation even of half a million weekly are enabled to be issued with the utmost regularity.

Mr. Ged entered into a partnership with William Fenner, a London stationer, and, for the purpose of carrying his invention into practice, allowed Fenner half the profits, in consideration of his advancing the necessary funds. Afterwards Mr. John James, an architect, was taken into the scheme for the same purpose, as was likewise Mr. Thomas James, a letter-founder, and Mr. James Ged, the inventor's son. In 1730 the association applied to the university of Cambridge for printing Bibles and Common-prayer Books, by stereotype, and, in consequence, the lease was sealed to them, April 23, 1731. In their attempt they sank a large sum of money, and finished only two prayer-books, so that it was forced to be relinquished, and the lease was given up in 1738. Ged imputed his disappointment to the villany of the pressmen, and the ill treatment of his partners, particularly Fenner, whom John James and he were advised to prosecute, but declined. In 1733 this ingenious man returned with blighted prospects to Edinburgh. Afterwards, however, by the advice of his friends, he gave to the world a specimen of his invention, in an edition of *Sallust*, finished, it is said, in 1736, but not published till 1744, as the following imprint on the title-page testifies:—*Edinburgi, Gulielmus Ged, Aurifaber, Edinensis, non typis mobilibus, ut vulgo fieri solet, sed tabulis seu laminis fuis, excudebat, MDCCXLIV.* James Ged, his son and former partner, engaged in the insurrection of 1745 as a captain in the Duke of Perth's regiment, and being taken at Carlisle was condemned, but, on his father's account, by Dr. Smith's interest with the Duke of Newcastle, was released in 1745. He afterwards went to Jamaica, where he settled, and where his brother William was already established as a printer. William Ged, the inventor of an art which has been of incalculable advantage to mankind, experienced what has been the fate of too many ingenious and useful men; he died, October 19, 1749, in very indifferent circumstances, after his utensils had been shipped at Leith for London, where he intended to renew partnership with his son James. The Misses Ged, his daughters, lived many years after in Edinburgh, where they kept a school for young ladies, and were much patronized by the Jacobite gentry.¹ Another member of the family, by name Dougal, was a captain in the town-guard, or military police, of Edinburgh, in the days of Fergusson the poet.

GEDDES, ALEXANDER, celebrated as a poet, a critic, and miscellaneous writer, was born at Arradowl, in the parish of Ruthven, Banffshire, in the year 1737. His father, Alexander Geddes, rented a small farm on the Arradowl estate, and, in common with that class of people in Scotland at that time, was in very poor circumstances. His mother was of the Mitchells of Dellachy, in the neighbouring parish of Bellay, and both were of the Roman Catholic persuasion. The parents being anxious to procure for their son the benefits of learning, he was, with a view to the service of the church, at a very tender age, put to learn his letters under a woman who kept a school in the village, of the name of Sellar. Here he learned to read the English Bible, which seems to have been the only book his parents possessed, and which, contrary to the general practice of people of their communion, they encouraged him "to read

with reverence and attention." In perusing this book young Geddes took a singular delight, and by the time he was eleven years of age had got the historical parts of it nearly by heart. At this period the laird of Arradowl having engaged a tutor of the name of Shearer, from Aberdeen, for his two sons, was looking about him for three boys of promising parts, whom he might educate gratuitously along with them, and who might afterwards be devoted to the service of the church. Young Geddes, already celebrated for his talents and for his love of study, immediately attracted his notice, and, along with a cousin of his own, John Geddes, who afterwards became titular Bishop of Dunkeld, and another boy, was taken into the house of Arradowl, where he enjoyed all the advantages peculiar to the laird's superior situation in life, and we may reasonably suppose, though we have not seen it noticed, that his improvement was correspondent to his privilege. From the hospitable mansion of Arradowl he was, by the influence of the laird himself, admitted into the Catholic free seminary of Sculan, a seminary intended solely for young men who were to be afterwards sent abroad to receive holy orders in some of the foreign universities. No situation was ever better chosen for the educating of monks than Sculan, standing in a dismal glen, overhung with mountains on all sides, so high as to preclude the sun from being seen for many months in the year. "Pray, be so kind," said Geddes, writing from that dreary spot to one of his fellow-students, who had obtained leave to visit his friends, "as to make particular inquiries after the health of the sun. Fail not to present my compliments to him, and tell him I still hope I shall one day be able to renew the honour of personal acquaintance with him." Here, to a knowledge of the vulgar English Bible, he added a knowledge of the vulgar Latin one, which appears to have been all the benefit he received by a seven years' seclusion from the sun, and from the world which he illuminated. Having attained the age of twenty-one he was removed to the Scots College at Paris, where he completed his knowledge of the Latin language, to which he added Hebrew, Greek, Italian, French, Spanish, German, and Low Dutch. Theology and biblical criticism were the principal objects of his attention, for he had already formed the design of making a new translation of the Bible for the use of his Catholic countrymen, to the accomplishing of which all his studies seem to have been directed from a very early period of his life. When he had completed his course in the Scots College at Paris, he was solicited to take a share of the public labours of the college, and to fix, of course, his residence in that gay metropolis. This, however, after some hesitation, he declined, and, after an absence of six years, returned to his native country in the year 1764. Having entered into orders, Geddes, on his arrival in Scotland, was by his ecclesiastic superior ordered to reside at Dundee, as officiating priest to the Catholics of Angus. This situation he did not long fill, being invited by the Earl of Traquair to reside in his family at Traquair House, whither he repaired in the month of May, 1765.

Here Mr. Geddes was situated as happily as his heart could have wished; he had plenty of time, with the use of an excellent library, and he seems to have prosecuted his favourite study with great diligence. He had been in this happy situation, however, little more than a year, when the openly-displayed affection of a female inmate of the house, a relation of the earl, rendered it necessary for him, having taken the vow of perpetual celibacy, to take an abrupt departure from the Arcadian scenery of the Tweed.

¹ Among the curiosities preserved in Fingask Castle, Perthshire, the seat of Sir Peter Murray Threipland, Bart., is a page of the stereotypes of Ged's *Sallust*, which had probably been obtained from the inventor or his family by Sir Stewart Threipland, who was a distinguished partisan of the family of Stuart.

Leaving with the innocent author of his misfortune a beautiful little poem, entitled *The Confessional*, he again bade adieu to his native land, and in the varieties and volatilities of Paris endeavoured to forget his pain. Even in this condition, however, he did not lose sight of his great object, as during the time he remained in Paris he made a number of valuable extracts from books and manuscripts which he consulted in the public libraries.

Paris never was a place much to his mind, and it was less so now than ever, when it presented him with no definite object of pursuit. He therefore returned to Scotland in the spring of the year 1769. He had by this time recovered, in some degree, possession of himself; but he dared not encounter the fascination of the beloved object, or re-engage in the domestic scenes from which he had found it necessary to flee. Turning, therefore, to the scenes of his early life, he was offered the charge of a Catholic congregation at Auchinhalrig, in the county of Banff, which he accepted. The members of this little community were poor, their chapel was in ruins, and the most inveterate rancour subsisted among themselves, and between them and their Protestant neighbours. Mr. Geddes, however, was not to be appalled by the prospect of difficulties, however numerous and formidable. His first object was to pull down the old chapel, and to build a new one on the spot. His own house, too, which his biographer dignifies with the name of a parsonage-house, he found necessary to repair almost from the foundation, and he added to it the luxury of an excellent garden, from which he was able, on many occasions, to supply the necessities of his people. In these proceedings Mr. Geddes was not only useful in directing and overseeing the workmen, but as a workman himself, many of the most important operations being performed with his own hands. Having thus provided for the assembling of his congregation, his next object was to correct that extreme bigotry by which they were characterized. For this end he laboured to gain their affections by the most punctilious attention to every part of his pastoral duty, and by the most unbounded charity and benevolence. The ceremonies of Popery he despised as heartily as any Presbyterian. The Scriptures he earnestly recommended to his people, and exhorted them to think for themselves, and to allow the same privilege to others. Many of the peculiarities of Popery, indeed, he denounced as most iniquitous, and utterly repugnant to the spirit of genuine catholicity. In his judgment of others Geddes himself showed the utmost liberality; and he even ventured to appear as a worshipper in the church of a neighbouring parish on different occasions. By these means, if he did not convert to his views the Papists of Auchinhalrig, which we believe he did not, he acquired a very high character to himself, and formed many valuable friendships among men of all descriptions. Than this conduct nothing could be better fitted to attain the object which the Papists were by this time very generally beginning to entertain—that of obtaining political power and influence; and in this respect Geddes, by dereliction of principle, did more for their cause than all other men beside: yet their zeal could not be restrained, even for this most obvious purpose, and he had the mortification to find that he was provoking very generally the resentment of his clerical brethren. His diocesan bishop, Hay, threatened him with suspension if he did not behave with greater circumspection, particularly in regard to the dangerous and contaminating influence of heretical intercourse; but having no supreme court before which to bring the refractory and rebellious

priest, the bishop was under the necessity of letting the controversy drop. Unfortunately the poor priest had become personally bound for considerable sums expended in building the chapel and repairing the manse, for the payment of which he had trusted to the liberality of his people. There was no appearance of his expectations being realized, and his creditors—a class of people whom he could not so easily set at defiance as the bishop—becoming clamorous, a “charge of horning” was likely to suspend him more effectually than the order of his diocesan, when, through the friendship of the Earl of Traquair, he was introduced to the notice of the Duke of Norfolk, who, having learned the extent of the obligations he had come under in his pastoral capacity, claimed the privilege of discharging them as an earnest of future friendship. Geddes was thus relieved from serious embarrassments, but his income was far too scanty to supply his necessities, though they were by no means so numerous as those of many others in his situation. In order to provide for himself without burdening his congregation, he took a small farm at Enzie in Fochabers, in the vicinity of Auchinhalrig, which he stocked by means of a loan, built a little chapel upon it, where he proposed to officiate as well as at Auchinhalrig, and in imagination saw himself already happy and independent. There have been men of letters who have been at the same time men of business. They have been, however, but few; and Geddes was not of the number. It was in the year 1775 that he commenced his agricultural speculations, and by the year 1778 he found himself in a still deeper state of embarrassment than when he had been relieved by the Duke of Norfolk. The expedient he adopted on this occasion, was one that was much more likely to have added to his embarrassments than to have relieved them. He published at London “*Select Satires of Horace*, translated into English verse, and for the most part adapted to the present times and manners.” This publication, contrary to all human probability, succeeded so well that it brought him a clear profit of upwards of £100, which, with some friendly aid from other quarters, set him once more clear of pecuniary embarrassments. The remark of one of his biographers on this circumstance ought not to be suppressed:—“To be brought to the brink of ruin by farming and kirk-building, and to be saved from it by turning poetaster, must be allowed to be rather out of the usual course of events.”

Finding that his pen was of more service to him than his plough, Mr. Geddes now seriously thought of quitting his retirement, and trying his fortune in London. He was, however, so strongly attached to his flock, that it might have been long before he put his design into execution, had not a circumstance occurred to give it new vigour. Lord Findlater had about this time married a daughter of Count Murray of Mlegum, who, being educated abroad, was unacquainted with English. Mr. Geddes was employed by his lordship to teach her that language. In the house of his lordship he was introduced to the Rev. Mr. Buchanan, who had been tutor to his lordship, and was now minister of the parish of Cullen, with whom he formed a most intimate acquaintance, and did not scruple to attend occasionally upon his ministry in the church of Cullen. This latter circumstance rekindled the long-smothered ire of Bishop Hay, who sent him an angry remonstrance, which he followed up by suspending him from all his ecclesiastical functions. This at once dissolved the tie between Mr. Geddes and his congregation, from whom, in the end of the year 1779, he took an affectionate leave; and selling off what

property he possessed at Enzie by public roup, prepared, without regret, to leave once more his native country. His people testified their affection for him by buying up, with extraordinary avidity, everything that belonged to him, even to the articles of broken cups and saucers. Nor were his Protestant friends wanting to him on this occasion. Through their joint influence the university of Aberdeen stepped forward with praiseworthy liberality, and conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Leaving Enzie Dr. Geddes devoted a few weeks to visits of friendship, and in company with Lord Traquair repaired to London in the beginning of the year 1780. Through the influence of Lord Traquair he was almost immediately nominated to be officiating priest in the chapel of the imperial ambassador. The literary fame he had already acquired by his imitations of Horace, and the letters with which he was honoured by his friends in the north, introduced him at once to the most celebrated literary characters of the day, which gave great elasticity to his naturally buoyant spirits. Several libraries, too, both public and private, being thrown open to him, he resumed with redoubled ardour his early project of translating the Bible for the use of his Roman Catholic countrymen. Through the Duchess of Gordon he was also introduced to Lord Petre, who was like himself a Catholic, and was anxious to have a translation of the Bible such as Dr. Geddes proposed to make. To enable him to go on without any interruption, his lordship generously allowed him a salary of £200 a year till the work should be finished, besides being at the expense of whatever private library he might find necessary for his purpose. This was encouragement not only beyond what he could reasonably have hoped for, but equal to all that he could have wished; and the same year he published a sketch of his plan, under the title of *An Idea of a New Version of the Holy Bible, for the Use of the English Catholics*. This *Idea* in general, for we have not room to be particular, was "a new and faithful translation of the Bible, from corrected texts of the original, unaccompanied with any gloss, commentary, or annotations, but such as are necessary to ascertain the literal meaning of the text, and free of every sort of interpretation calculated to establish or defend any particular system of religious credence." At the close of this year he ceased to officiate in the imperial ambassador's chapel, the establishment being suppressed by an order from the emperor Joseph II. He continued to preach, however, occasionally at the chapel in Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, till the Easter holidays of 1782, when he found his time so completely taken up by his literary projects, especially his translation, that he voluntarily withdrew from every stated ministerial function. The following year Dr. Geddes paid a visit to Scotland, during which he wrote *Linton, a Tweeddale Pastoral, in Honour of the Birth of a Son and Heir to the Noble House of Traquair*. He passed with the earl and his countess on a tour to the south of France, came back with them to Scotland, and shortly after returned to London. He was about this time introduced to Dr. Kennicott, by whom he was introduced to Dr. Lowth, and both of them took a deep interest in his undertaking. At the suggestion of the latter Dr. Geddes wrote a new prospectus, detailing more fully and explicitly the plan he meant to follow. This was given to the public in 1786: it had a very general circulation, and was well received. In the year 1785 he was elected a corresponding member by the Society of Scottish Antiquaries—an honour which he acknowledged in a poetical epistle to that

respectable body. This epistle is printed in the first volume of the *Transactions* of the society, as also a dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon dialect, with the first eclogue of Virgil, and the first idyllium of Theocritus, translated into Scottish verse.

He was now advancing with his translation; but in the year 1787 he published an appendix to his prospectus, in the form of a *Letter addressed to the Bishop of London, containing Queries, Doubts, and Difficulties relative to a Vernacular Version of the Holy Scriptures*. He published the same year a letter to Dr. Priestly, in which he attempted to prove, by one prescriptive argument, that the divinity of Jesus Christ was a primitive tenet of Christianity. About the same time he published his letter on the case of the *Protestant Dissenters*. In the year 1788 he engaged as a contributor to the *Analytical Review*, for which he continued to furnish many valuable articles during the succeeding five years and a half. It was during the year just mentioned that he issued *Proposals for Printing by Subscription a New Translation of the Holy Bible, &c.* His *General Answer to the Counsels and Criticisms that have been communicated to him since the Publication of his Proposals for Printing a New Translation of the Bible*, appeared in the year 1790. Of the same date was his *Answer to the Bishop of Comand's Pastoral Letter, by a Protestant Catholic*, followed by *A Letter to the R.R. the Archbishop and Bishops of England, &c., Carmen Seculare pro Gallica, &c.*, and an *Epistola Macaronica ad Fratrem, &c.* In the year 1791 he was afflicted with a dangerous fever, and on his recovery accepted of an invitation to visit Lord Petre at his seat at Norfolk. This journey produced *A Norfolk Tale, or a Journey from London to Norwich, with a Prologue and an Epilogue* published in the following year. The same year he published *An Apology for Slavery*, a poem entitled *L'Avocat du Diable, &c.*, and *The First Book of the Iliad of Homer, verbally rendered into English Verse, &c.* Amidst these multifarious avocations he was still proceeding with his translation, and in the year 1792, though his subscription list was far from being filled up, he published *The First Volume of the Holy Bible, or the Books accounted Sacred by Jews and Christians, otherwise called the Books of the Old and New Covenants, faithfully Translated from Corrected Texts of the Originals, with various Readings, Explanatory Notes, and Critical Remarks*.

Dr. Geddes had by this time engaged a house for himself in Alsop's Buildings, New Road, Mary-le-Bone, which he had fitted up with his own hands in a curious and convenient style. He had also a garden both before and behind his house, which he cultivated with the industry of a day labourer, and with the zeal of a botanizing philosopher; he had "a biblical apparatus [a library] through the princely munificence of Lord Petre," superior to most individuals, and he wanted only the incense of the world's applause to this idol of a translation, which he had set up to outrage alike the faith of Jews and Christians, to make his triumph perfect and his happiness complete. The vain man had, by his *Idea*, his *Prospectus*, his *Appendix*, and his *Answer to Counsels and Queries*, secured, as he supposed, the concurrence of mankind, while he had in fact only excited expectations which, though his talents had been increased an hundred-fold, he would have found himself unable to satisfy. What must he have felt or thought when he found that the book, instead of pleasing all the world, as he had vainly hoped, pleased nobody. Christians of every description considered it an insidious attack upon the foundations of their faith, and the Catholics, for whose

benefit it was stated to have been mainly intended, were by a pastoral letter from their vicars apostolic forbidden to read it. Geddes, in an address to the public the following year, defended himself with great boldness, laying claim, like every other infidel, to the most fearless honesty and the strictest impartiality. The failure of his hopes, however, affected him so deeply that his biblical studies were for a time nearly suspended, and it required all the attentions of his friends to prevent him from sinking into the deepest despondency. In the meantime he soothed, or attempted to soothe, his chagrin by writing two Latin odes in praise of the French revolution, but which, on the representations of his friends, he allowed to lie unpublished till the period of the peace in the year 1801. He also wrote and published at this time a translation of Gresset's *Ver Vert, or the Parrot of Nevers*, which did him no honour, the poem having been only a short while before translated more happily by John Gilbert Couper. In the year 1795 he published an *Ode to the Honourable Thomas Pelham*, occasioned by his speech on the Catholic question in the Irish House of Commons, which was followed, in 1796, by a Hudibrastic paraphrase of a sermon which had been preached by a Dr. Coulthurst on the anniversary of his majesty's accession, before the university of Cambridge. In 1797 he published *The Battle of B—ng—r, or the Church's Triumph: a Comic Heroic Poem in Nine Cantoes*. The subject of this poem was suggested by the notable contest between Bishop Warren and Mr. Grindly, and it is unquestionably the most finished of all his English poems. The same year he published the second volume of his translation of the Bible, which brought it to the end of the Book of Ruth, beyond which it was not destined to advance in its regular form.

During the two succeeding years he published two burlesque sermons, ridiculing the fast-day sermons of the Established clergy, and in the year 1800 his *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures*, corresponding with a new translation of the Bible, vol. i., containing remarks on the Pentateuch. If there had been any doubt on the public mind respecting the principles of Dr. Geddes, this volume must have removed it. These remarks are less scurrilous perhaps, but not less impious, than those of Thomas Paine, and professing to be the result of laborious learning, sound philosophy, and a most enlarged and enlightened Christianity, are to weak minds much more dangerous, and to the well-informed more offensively disgusting than even the flippancies of that celebrated unbeliever. They had not, however, the merit of meeting the general ideas of mankind, and we believe are already nearly forgotten. The encouragement with which he commenced his publication was greatly inadequate to meet the expense; and this encouragement, instead of increasing, had greatly fallen off; the work being printed too solely at his own expense, he soon found himself involved in pecuniary difficulties, from which he had not the means of extricating himself. Never had a reckless man, however, such a singularly good fortune. We have already seen him twice rescued from ruin in a way, on both occasions, which no one less fortunate than himself could have hoped for, and on this occasion his situation was no sooner disclosed than a plan was devised for his relief, and executed almost without his knowledge. "It is to the credit of the age in which we live," says his biographer, "that, without any further application on his own part, persons of every rank and religious persuasion, Protestants and Catholics, clergy and laity, nobility and gentry, several of whom had never known him but by name,

and many of whom had professed a dislike of his favourite tenets, united in one charitable effort to rescue him from anxiety and distress; nor should it be forgotten that some part at least of the amount subscribed proceeded from the right reverend bench itself. The sum thus collected and expended for him from the year 1798 to the middle of the year 1800, independent of his annuity from Lord Petre, amounted to £900 sterling. Nor was this all: measures were taken at the same time to prevent any such disagreeable occurrence in future. In the buoyancy of spirit which this great deliverance excited, he published a modest apology for the Catholics of Great Britain, addressed to all moderate Protestants, particularly to the members of both houses of parliament. This work was published anonymously; but it had been written twenty years before, and from the style and the whispers of his friends, was soon known to be his. It was translated into the French and German languages, and, considered as the work of a man who professed himself to be a Catholic, is certainly a most singular performance. It was about this time the famous encounter between William Gifford, author of the *Baviad*, and Dr. Wolcott, better known by the name of Peter Pindar, took place in the shop of Mr. Wright, bookseller in Piccadilly, on which Dr. Geddes published *Bardomachia, or the Battle of the Bards*. This he was at the trouble of composing first in Latin, and afterwards translating into English, so that it was published in both languages. In the following year, 1801, Dr. Geddes sustained an irreparable loss in the death of his noble patron, Lord Petre. His lordship died of an attack of the gout in July, 1801, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. By his latter will he bequeathed to Dr. Geddes an annuity of £100; and his son, the heir of his virtues as well as of his honours, when he intimated the circumstance to the doctor, politely proposed to add a yearly salary of the same amount. Nor ought it to be suppressed on this occasion that Mr. Timothy Brown of Chiswell Street, before Dr. Geddes was apprised of Lord Petre's generous intentions, had engaged that the £200 a year which he was likely to lose by the death of his patron should be supplied by the voluntary contributions of those friends who had so generously come forward on the late occasion, or in case of their declining it, by an equal salary to be annually paid by himself. Though he was thus no loser in a pecuniary point of view, he felt the void hereby produced in his happiness, and almost in his existence, to be irreparable; and it was long before his mind recovered so much calmness as to reason on the subject, or to admit the sympathies of surviving friends. His grief, however, began to assume a milder character, and he attempted to soothe his feelings by composing for his departed friend a Latin elegy, and he gave successive proofs that the embers of his habitual hilarity still glowed with a few vital sparks. He did not, however, feel himself at any period sufficiently collected for a regular prosecution of his favourite undertaking. At the pressing request of his friends, he began to prepare for the press the Psalms, to be printed in a separate volume. With the translation he did not get further than the one hundred and eighteenth. A trifling ode on the restoration of peace, written in Latin, was one of his amusements at this time, and a Latin elegy on the death of Gilbert Wakefield was the last of his compositions. Mr. Wakefield died in the month of September, 1801, when Dr. Geddes was already deeply affected with the painful disease that carried him off early in the following spring. Through the whole of the winter his sufferings must often have been extreme, though he had intervals in

which he was comparatively easy. He died suddenly on the 20th of February, 1802, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

As there has been a story told of Dr. Geddes having recanted his opinions on his death-bed, it becomes an imperious duty to state the manner of his death, as related by those who were about him at the time. The rites of that communion to which he professed to belong were, notwithstanding his avowed contempt for the greater part of them, administered to him by his friend M. St. Martin, a doctor of the Sorbonne and professor of divinity. The day before his death Dr. Geddes was visited by this friend, who was anxious to recall him from those aberrations he had made from the faith, and for this purpose had a list of questions drawn up, to which he meant to insist upon having answers. The state into which by this time the Doctor had fallen rendered this impracticable. Sensible that he was in great danger, M. St. Martin endeavoured to rouse him from his lethargy, and proposed to him to receive absolution. Geddes observed that in that case it would be necessary for him to make his confession. M. St. Martin, aware that this was beyond his strength, replied that *in extremis* this was not necessary, that he had only to examine the state of his own mind, and to make a sign when he was prepared. He could not, however, avoid putting a question or two upon the more important points upon which they differed. "You fully," said he, "believe in the Scriptures?" Geddes, rousing himself from his sleep, said, "Certainly." "In the doctrine of the Trinity?" "Certainly, but not in the manner you mean." "In the mediation of Jesus Christ?" "No, no, no,—not as you mean; in Jesus as our Saviour—but not in the atonement." After a pause he said, "I consent to all"—but of these words M. St. Martin did not comprehend the meaning. The Doctor shortly after gave the sign that he was ready, and received from M. St. Martin absolution in the way he had proposed. It was the intention of M. St. Martin to have passed the night with him, but calling in the evening, found that the physician had forbidden any of his friends to be admitted. A domestic, however, in a neighbouring house, of the Catholic persuasion, who knocked at the door during the night, just as he was dying, was admitted, and, according to the rites of her church, repeated over him the Creed, Paternoster, and Ave Maria. Dr. Geddes opened his eyes as she had concluded, gave her his benediction, and expired.

Perhaps there is not in the history of literary men a character that calls more loudly for animadversion, or that requires a more skilful hand to lay it open, than that of Dr. Geddes. He professed a savage sort of straightforward honesty, that was at war on multiplied occasions with the common charities of life; yet amid his numerous writings will any man take it on him to collect what were really his opinions upon the most important subjects of human contemplation? He professed himself a zealous Catholic; yet of all or nearly all that constitutes a Catholic he has spoken with as much bitterness as it was possible for any Protestant to have done. If it be objected that he added to the adjective Catholic the noun Christian, when he says that he admits nothing but what has been taught by Christ, his apostles, and successors in *every age and in every place*, we would ask how much we are the wiser. He professed to believe in Jesus Christ, and in the perfection of his code; but he held Moses to have been a man to be compared only with Numa and Lycurgus; a man who like them pretended to personal intercourse with the Deity, from whom he never received any immediate communication; a man who had the art to take advan-

tage of rarely occurring natural circumstances, and to persuade the Israelites that they were accomplished under his direction by the immediate power of God; a man, in short, conspicuous above all men as a juggling impostor. Now, to the divine mission of Moses we have the direct testimony of Jesus Christ himself, with the express assurance that without believing in Moses it was impossible to believe in him. But we cannot here follow out the subject, nor can we enter into any particular analysis of his works, to which the eccentricities of his character, the singularity of his opinions, and the peculiar circumstances of his life, gave for a time an interest to which they were not at any time entitled. His translation of the Bible, after all the professions he had made, the means he had accumulated, and the expectations he had excited, was a complete failure, and has only added another demonstration to the thousands that had preceded it, how much more easy it is to write fluently and plausibly about great undertakings than to perform them. We intended here to have noticed more particularly his translation of the first book of the *Iliad* of Homer, which he undertook for the purpose of demonstrating his superiority to Cowper, but upon second thoughts have forborne to disturb its peaceful slumbers. Upon the whole, Dr. Geddes was unquestionably a man of learning and of genius, but from an unhappy temper, and the preponderating influence of arrogance and vanity in his constitution, they were of little avail to himself, and have not been greatly useful to the general interests of mankind.

GEDDES, JAMES, an advocate at the Scottish bar, was born in the county of Tweeddale about the year 1710, and being the son of a gentleman in good circumstances, was educated by tutors under his father's roof. The progress which he made in the learned languages and philosophy was considered extraordinary; and he fulfilled every promise at the university of Edinburgh, where he distinguished himself, particularly in mathematics, which he studied under the celebrated Maclaurin. Having prepared himself for the bar, he entered as an advocate, and soon acquired considerable reputation. His labours as a lawyer did not prevent him from devoting much time to his favourite studies—the poets, philosophers, and historians of antiquity; and in 1748 he published at Glasgow his *Essay on the Composition and Manner of Writing of the Ancients, particularly Plato*. The year after this publication he died of lingering consumption, much regretted, both on account of his learning—the fruits of which had not been fully given to the world—and for his manners and disposition, which were in the highest degree amiable.

GEDDES, MICHAEL, a distinguished divine of the Church of England, and author of some admired works, was educated at the university of Edinburgh, where, in 1671, he took the degree of Master of Arts, in which he was incorporated at Oxford, on the 11th of July, in the same year. He was one of the first four natives of Scotland who were permitted to take advantage of the exhibitions founded in Baliol College, Oxford, by Bishop Warner, with the view of promoting the interests of the Episcopal church in Scotland. Geddes, however, did not return to propagate or enforce the doctrines of that body in his native country. He went in 1678 to Lisbon as chaplain to the English factory, the exercise of which function giving offence to the Inquisition, he was sent for by that court in 1686, and forbidden to continue it. This persecution obviously arose from the attempts now making by King James at home to establish Popery. The English merchants, resenting

the violation of their privilege, wrote on the 7th of September to the Bishop of London, representing their case, and their right to a chaplain, as established by the commercial treaty between England and Portugal; but before this letter reached its destination, the bishop was himself put into the same predicament as Mr. Geddes, being suspended from his functions by the ecclesiastical commission. Finding that his case had become hopeless, Geddes returned to England in May, 1688, where he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, and after the promotion of Burnet to the bishopric of Salisbury, was made by him chancellor of his church.¹ During his residence at Lisbon he had amassed a great quantity of documents respecting Spanish and Portuguese history, which enabled him, in 1694, to publish a volume, styled *The Church History of Malabar*. Of this work Archbishop Tillotson says, in a letter to Bishop Burnet, dated June 28th, 1694, "Mr. Geddes' book finds a general acceptance and approbation. I doubt not but he hath more of the same kind, with which I hope he will favour the world in due time." He was accordingly encouraged in 1696 to publish *The Church History of Æthiopia*, and in 1697 a pamphlet entitled *The Council of Trent Plainly Discovered not to have been a Free Assembly*. His great work, however, was his *Tracts on Divers Subjects*, which appeared in 1714, in three volumes, being a translation of the most interesting pieces which he had collected at Lisbon, and of which a list is given in Moren's *Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, art. "Geddes." The learned doctor must have died previous to the succeeding year, as in 1715 appeared a posthumous volume of tracts against the Roman Catholic church, which completes the list of his publications.

GEIKIE, WALTER. It has often been observed that the Scottish national character abounds in contradictions. Poetical though it be, it has never produced a Milton; and in spite of all its wisdom and sagacity, it has not as yet exhibited a first-rate statesman. The same inconsistency is perceptible in the fine arts; so that, in spite of the imaginative and the humorous, by which that character is distinguished, Scotland has been barren of caricaturists. From the time of Hogarth to that of H. B., England has so plentifully abounded with such artists as to be eminently the land of caricature delineation; but Scotland, with all its shrewd observation, its perception of the ludicrous, and quiet love of fun, which constitute the chief elements in this department of pictorial art, has as yet produced no specimens of it except those of poor Walter Geikie—the very man, too, be it observed, from whom, on account of his physical disqualifications, productions of this kind were least to be expected.

Walter Geikie, whose droll and homely sketches are to be found upon the table of every Edinburgh drawing-room, was the son of Mr. Archibald Geikie, perfumer, and was born in Charles Street, George Square, Edinburgh, on the 9th November, 1795. Before he had completed his second year he was attacked by a dangerous ear disease; and although he recovered, it was at the expense of being deaf and dumb for life. It was too much the fashion at this time in Scotland to consider *dummies* as incapable of education, so that they were generally allowed to go at large, and vegetate as they best might; but happily, Walter was the son of a pious and intelligent father, who had a better sense of his paternal responsibility: he taught his bereaved boy the alpha-

bet, so that the latter not only learned to read, but to understand what he read. Writing and arithmetic followed, in which Walter showed himself an apt scholar. When he had thus acquired the rudiments of education, it happened, fortunately for him, that Mr. Braidwood, the successful teacher of the deaf and dumb, was invited to Edinburgh, to open an institution there, and Geikie became one of his earliest pupils. In this new school the boy's proficiency was so rapid that he was soon employed as a monitor. He showed also that he was no mere commonplace learner, for he was in the practice of writing down extracts of the passages that best pleased him in the authors whose works he perused. While he was thus storing his mind with knowledge, and qualifying himself, notwithstanding his defects, for a life of usefulness, his path was determined. While yet a child, he had been in the practice of cutting out representations of the objects that struck him on paper; afterwards he had attempted to portray them with chalk on floors and walls; and rising higher still in pictorial art, he at length betook himself to the use of the pencil. He did not, however, satisfy himself, like other young sketchers, with merely copying the pictures of others: instead of this, he would be satisfied with nothing short of the original object; and therefore he often roamed about the suburbs of Edinburgh, or among the fields, transferring into his note-book whatever most pleased his fancy. This was the form of language in which he found he could best express himself, and therefore it is not to be wondered at that he should cultivate it so carefully. At the age of fourteen he was sent to learn drawing by regular rule, under Mr. Patrick Gibson, and such was his progress, that in 1812 he was admitted a pupil of the Academy of Drawing, established for the encouragement of Scottish manufactures, where he had for his preceptor Mr. Graham, the teacher of Allan and Wilkie.

By this course of training the future profession of Walter Geikie was confirmed. He was to be an artist; and it remained to be seen in what department his excellence was to consist. It was not certainly in painting, for he soon discovered that his attempts in oil were decidedly inferior to those of others in warmth and harmony of colouring; and although his *Itinerant Fiddlers*, *All-Hallow Fair*, and the *Grassmarket*, now in the collection at Hopetoun House, were the best specimens of his painting in oil, they scarcely exceed the efforts of a mere fourth-rate artist. It was in sketching that he best succeeded, while the subjects of his preference were not the beautiful or the sublime, but the homely and the ludicrous. He would rather sketch a pig-sty than a palace, and an odd face had more attraction in his eyes than all the ideal beauty of the *Venus de Medicis*. It was upon this predilection that he acted. He hunted about in quest of singular visages, at which, with his ready pencil, he would take a flying shot as he passed along the street; and as such commodities are by no means scarce in Edinburgh, his collection was soon both rich and varied. This kind of sportsmanship, however, was not without its dangers, for those who were best fitted for the artist's purposes were generally the least disposed to have their effigies perpetuated. One amusing incident of this kind is related by his biographer. Geikie had become desperately enamoured of the turned-up nose, rhinoceros upper lip, and pot-belly of a porter of the Grassmarket, and longed to appropriate them in such a way as not to impoverish their lawful owner. But the porter, who had seen his hungry look, and suspected his purpose, had continued to dodge him, until one day he found himself all but fixed upon the artist's paper.

¹ Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, 334.

Enraged at the discovery, he stormed, swore, and threatened; but Geikie, who was in ecstasy with his rich attitudes, and could not hear the threats, continued the drawing, until he saw his model rushing upon him like a maddened bull in the arena. He took to his heels, but was so hotly pursued that he had to take refuge in a common stair; and the porter, thinking that his tormentor was housed, resolved to await his coming forth. Geikie, in the meantime, who was watching every movement through a dingy window in the stair, contrived to finish his sketch, and crown it with the last touch. But how to get out when his work was finished! This seemed beyond the power of strategy, for there stood his merciless enemy on the watch; and there he remained for hours. Some lucky chance at last called away the bearer of burdens, and Geikie stole from his concealment when he found the coast clear. He had caught the porter, and saved his own bones. The fastidious object of his sketch forms a conspicuous figure in the group of the *Street Auctioneer*.

The mirthful spirit of the artist, which drew him so powerfully to congenial subjects, was not confined to drawing; it found vent also in buoyant mimicry, in which he could act the droll characters of his daily search, as well as draw them. In this way, though deprived of the power of utterance, he could deliver jokes that set the company in a roar. It is gratifying also to add, that with all this mirthfulness there was a soundness of moral principle and depth of religious feeling within him that aimed at nobler ends than the harmless amusement of society. From infancy he had received a religious education, and it was all the more endeared to him, perhaps, from the difficulty which he must have found in acquiring those spiritual ideas of which he saw so few visible symbols. Sacred and sincere, indeed, must be the devotion of the deaf and dumb! He was also eager to impart what he had learned, and therefore with two friends under the same bereavement as himself he established a religious meeting of the deaf and dumb, to whom, on the Sabbaths, he preached and expounded by signs. After an uninterrupted course of good health a short illness of a few days occurred, under which Geikie died on the 1st of August, 1837. He was buried in the Grayfriars' churchyard. Of his productions it is unnecessary to enter into farther analysis, as these, ninety-four in number, illustrative of Scottish character and scenery, have been published in one volume, and are familiarly known to almost every class. They are also accompanied with explanations, and a biographical introduction by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, from which the foregoing facts have been chiefly derived.

GERARD, ALEXANDER, D.D., an eminent divine and writer, was the eldest son of the Reverend Gilbert Gerard, minister of the chapel of Garioch, a parish in Aberdeenshire, where he was born on the 22d of February, 1728. He was removed at the period destined for the commencement of his education to the parish of Foveran, in the same county, the humble schoolmaster of which appears to have possessed such superior classical attainments, that the reverend gentleman felt justified in delivering his son up to his care—a preference which the future fame of that son, founded on his correctness of acquisition and observation, must have given his friends no cause to regret. At the age of ten, on the death of his father, he was removed to the grammar-school of Aberdeen, whence he emerged in two years, qualified to enter as a student of Marischal College. Having there performed his four years of academical attendance in the elementary branches, he finished

his career with the usual ceremony of "the graduation," and appeared before the world in the capacity of Master of Arts at the age of sixteen—not by any means the earliest age at which that degree is frequently granted, but certainly at a period sufficiently early to entitle him to the character of precocious genius. Immediately after finishing these branches of education, he commenced in the divinity hall of Aberdeen his theological studies, which he afterwards finished in Edinburgh.

In 1748 he was a licensed preacher of the Church of Scotland, and about two years thereafter Mr. D. Fordyce, professor of natural philosophy in Marischal College, having gone abroad, he lectured in his stead; and on the regretted death of that gentleman by shipwreck on the coast of Holland, just as he was returning to his friends, Mr. Gerard was appointed to the vacant professorship. At the period when Mr. Gerard was appointed to a chair in Marischal College, the philosophical curriculum, commencing with logic, proceeded immediately to the abstract subjects of ontology and pneumatics, the course gradually decreasing in abstruseness with the consideration of morals and politics, and terminating with the more definite and practical doctrines of natural philosophy. Through the whole of this varied course it was the duty of one instructor to lead his pupils, mathematics and Greek being alone taught by separate professors. The evils of this system suggested to the professors of Marischal College the formation of a plan for the radical alteration of the routine, which has since been most beneficially conducive to the progress of Scottish literature. A very curious and now rare pamphlet from the pen of Dr. Gerard exists on this subject; it is entitled *Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the Reasons of it, drawn up by Order of the Faculty*, printed at Aberdeen in 1755—a little work of admirable perspicuity and sound logical reasoning. The rationale of the ancient system was founded on the presumption that, as it is by the use of logic and the other metaphysical sciences alone that we can arrange, digest, and reason upon the facts which come under our observation, these must be committed to the mind as rules of management before any facts collected can be applied to their proper purposes, and that before any knowledge of nature, as it exists, is stored in the intellect, that intellect must be previously possessed of certain regulations, to the criterion of which the knowledge gained must be submitted. A quotation from Dr. Gerard's little work will afford one of the best specimens of the now pretty generally understood confutation of this fallacy. Speaking of logic he says:—"This is one of the most abstruse and difficult branches of philosophy, and therefore quite improper to begin with. It has a strict dependence on many parts of knowledge: these must of consequence be premised before it can be rightly apprehended; the natural history of the human understanding must be known, and its phenomena discovered; for without this the exertions of the intellectual faculties, and their application to the various subjects of science, will be unintelligible. These phenomena must be not only *narrated*, but likewise, as far as possible, *explained*; for without investigating their general laws, no certain and general conclusions concerning their exercise can be deduced: nay, all sciences, all branches of knowledge whatever must be premised as a groundwork to genuine logic. History has one kind of evidence, mathematics another; natural philosophy one still different; the philosophy of nature another distinct from all these; the subordinate branches of these several parts have still minuter

peculiarities in the evidence appropriated to them. An unprejudiced mind will in each of these be convinced by that species of argument which is peculiar to it, though it does not reflect how it comes to be convinced. By being conversant in *them* one is prepared for the study of *logic*, for they supply them with a fund of materials: in *them* the different kinds of evidence and argument are exemplified: from *them* only those illustrations can be taken, without which its rules and precepts would be unintelligible.

. . . In studying the particular sciences, reason will spontaneously exert itself: if the proper and natural method of reasoning is used, the mind will, by the native force of its faculties, perceive the evidence, and be convinced by it, though it does not reflect how this comes to pass, nor explicitly consider according to what general rules the understanding is exerted. By afterwards studying these rules one will be farther fitted for prosecuting the several sciences; the knowledge of the grounds and laws of evidence will give him the security of *reflection* against employing wrong methods of proof and improper kinds of evidence, additional to that of instinct and *natural genius*." The consequence of this acknowledgment of the supremacy of reason and practice over argumentation and theory was the establishment of a course of lectures on natural and civil history, previously to inculcating the corresponding sciences of natural and mental philosophy—an institution from which, wherever the former part consists of anything better than a blundering among explosive combustibles, and a clattering among glass vessels, or the latter is anything superior to a circumstantial narrative of ancient falsehoods and modern dates—the student derives a basis of sound and useful information, on which the more metaphysical sciences may or may not be built, as circumstances or inclination admit. It is a striking instance of the propensity to follow with accuracy the beaten track, or to deviate only when some powerful spirit leads the way, that the system has never advanced further than as laid down by Dr. Gerard;—according to his system, jurisprudence and politics are to be preceded by pneumatology and natural theology, and are to be mixed up "with the perusal of some of the best ancient moralists." Thus the studies of jurisprudence and politics, two sciences of strictly modern practical origin, are to be mixed with the dogmas of philosophers, who saw governments but in dreams, and calculated political contingencies in the abstract rules of mathematicians; and the British student finds that the constitutional information for which he will at a more advanced period of life discover that his country is renowned is the only science from which the academical course has carefully excluded him, and which he is left to gather in after-life by desultory reading or miscellaneous conversation and practice. The change produced by Dr. Gerard was sufficiently sweeping as a first step, and the reasons for it were a sufficient victory for one mind over the stubbornness of ancient prejudice. It is to be also remembered that those admirable constitutional works on the government and constitutional laws of England (which have not even yet been imitated in Scotland), and that new science by which the resources of governments and the relative powers of different forms of constitutions are made known like the circumstances of a private individual—the work of an illustrious Scotsman—had not then appeared.

In 1756 a prize offered by the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, for the best essay on taste, was gained by Dr. Gerard, and in 1759 he published this essay, the best and most popular of his philosophical works. It passed through three English editions and two VOL. II.

French, in which language it was published by Eidous, along with three dissertations on the same subject by Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Montesquieu. This essay treats first of what the author calls taste, resolved into its simple elements, and contains a sort of analytical account of the different perceptible qualities, more or less united, to be found in anything we admire: he then proceeds to consider the progress of the formation of taste, and ends with a discussion on the existence of a standard of taste. The author follows the system of reflex senses propounded by Hutchinson. The system of association, upon which Mr. Alison afterwards based a treatise on the same subject, is well considered by Gerard, along with many other qualifications, which he looks upon as the sources of the feeling—qualifications which other writers, whose ideas on the subject have not yet been confuted, have referred likewise to the principles of association for their *first* cause. Longinus, in his treatise on sublimity, if he has not directly maintained the original influence of association—or in other words, the connection of the thing admired, either through cause and effect, or some other tie, with what is pleasing or good—as an origin of taste, at least in his reasonings and illustrations, gives cause to let it be perceived that he acknowledged such a principle to exist.¹ The first person, however, who laid it regularly down and argued upon it as a source of taste, appears to have been Dr. Gerard; and his theory was admitted by Sir Joshua Reynolds (in as far as maintaining that beauty consists in an aptness of parts for the end to which they are assigned may be considered an admission of the principle of association), at a period when one of an inversely opposite nature was supported by Burke and Price. To those who have followed these two, the name of Dugald Stewart has to be added; while that eminent scholar and great philosopher Richard Payne Knight has, amidst the various and rather ill-arranged mass of useful information and acute remark accumulated in his inquiry into the principles of taste, well illustrated the theory propounded by Dr. Gerard; and it has been finally enlarged and systematized by Dr. Alison, and the author of a criticism on that work in the *Edinburgh Review*, one of the most beautiful and perfect specimens of modern composition.

At the period when Dr. Gerard produced this work, he was a member of a species of debating institution half-way betwixt a society and a club, subject neither to the pompous formality of the one nor the free-and-easy style of the other. This society is well known in Scottish literary history as embracing among its members many of the first men of the time. More or less connected with it were the classical Blackwell; and Gregory; and Reid, the parent of that clear philosophy which has distinguished the country; and Beattie, who, though his merits have perhaps been too highly rated, was certainly fit to have been an ornament to any association of literary men. The use of literary societies has been much exaggerated; but still it cannot be denied, that wherever a spot becomes distinguished for many superior minds, there is one of these pleasing sources of activity and enjoyment to be found. That it is more the effect than the cause may be true. Such men as Gerard, Reid, and Blackwell would have been distinguished in any sphere of life; but if the principle should maintain itself in no other science, it is at least true of philosophy, that intercommunication and untechnical debate clear and purify the

¹ This is particularly remarkable at the commencement of the seventh section.

ideas previously formed, and ramify them to an extent of which the thinker had never previously dreamed. It must have been grateful beyond conception to the members of this retired and unostentatious body, to have found learning and elegance gradually brightening under their influence, after a dreary and unlettered series of ages which had passed over their university and the district—to feel that, though living apart from the grand centres of literary attraction, they had the enjoyments these could bestow beside their own retired hearths and among their own professional colleagues—and to be conscious that they bestowed a dignity on the spot they inhabited, which a long period of commercial prosperity could never bestow, and gave a tone to the literature of their institution which should continue when they were gone.

In June, 1760, Dr. Gerard was chosen professor of divinity in Marischal College, being at the same time presented to the living of the Grayfriars' Church, in Aberdeen. During his tenure of these offices he published his *Dissertations on the Genius and Evidences of Christianity*, a subject which he treated with more soundness, reason, and gentlemanly spirit, than others of the same period have chosen to display. In June, 1771, he resigned both these situations, and accepted the theological chair of King's College, and three years afterwards published *An Essay on Genius*: this production is stamped with the same strength of argument and penetrating thought everywhere to be found in the productions of the author. The heads of the subject are laid down with much philosophical correctness, and followed out with that liberal breadth of argument peculiar to those who prefer what is reasonable and true to what supports an assumed theory. The language is not florid, and indeed does not aim at what is called elegant writing, but is admirably fitted to convey the ideas clearly and consistently, and seems more intended to be understood than to be admired. It commences with a discussion on the nature of "genius," which is separated from the other mental powers, and particularly from "ability," with which many have confounded it. Genius is attributed in the first process of its formation to imagination, which discovers ideas to be afterwards subjected to the arbitration of judgment; memory, and the other intellectual powers, being considered as subsidiary aids in instigating the movements of imagination.

Dr. Gerard afterwards presented to the world two volumes of sermons, published in 1780-82. He died on his sixty-seventh birth-day, 22d Feb. 1795. A sermon was preached on his funeral, and afterwards published, by his friend and pupil Dr. Skene Ogilvy of Old Aberdeen, which, along with the adulation common to such performances, enumerates many traits of character which the most undisguised flatterer could not have dared to have attributed to any but a good, able, and much esteemed man. A posthumous work, entitled *Pastoral Care*, was published by Dr. Gerard's son and successor in 1799.

GERARD, ALEXANDER. This enterprising eastern traveller, who died a martyr to his zeal in exploring the various regions of Hindoostan, was the son of Gilbert Gerard, professor of theology in King's College, Aberdeen, and grandson of Alexander Gerard, who had previously occupied the same chair in that college. This clerical succession, however, was broken in the case of Alexander, who selected the army as his sphere of occupation, and went to India at the early age of sixteen. It was not, however, in military transactions that he was to win

distinction; but the more scientific parts of his profession, for which he showed a remarkable aptitude, so that not long after his arrival in India, he was sent by Sir David Ochterlony to survey Malacca, a task which he executed with great accuracy, mostly at mid-day, under a burning sun. After this he was employed to make many of the surveys in the East which were judged of peculiar difficulty and importance, and in consequence of these appointments he resided many years in the then almost unknown district of Chinese Tartary, and among the Himalaya Mountains. The dangers he dared and the toils he endured among these mountains were almost incredible: he scaled heights that had never been ascended by the foot of any European traveller, and was rewarded by finding tribes in many places which had hitherto been deemed uninhabited and uninhabitable.

It was unfortunate, that while executing these professional surveys, and communicating his reports to the East India Company, Captain Gerard took no means of imparting to the world at large a full account of his explorations, contenting himself with a few occasional notices published in India. Fortunately, however, there was one exception to this general statement, by the appearance of a work published after his death, with the title which we give in full: *Narrative of a Journey from Cawnpore to the Borendo Pass in the Himalaya Mountains, via Gwalior, Agra, Delhi, and Sirhind, by Major Sir William Lloyd; and Captain Alexander Gerard's Account of an Attempt to Penetrate by Bekhur to Guroo and the Lake Manasorowara; with a Letter from the late J. G. Gerard, Esq., detailing a Visit to the Shutool and Borendo Passes, for the Purpose of Determining the Line of Perpetual Snow on the Southern Face of the Himalaya, &c. &c.*, with maps. Edited by George Lloyd. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1840. In this work the second volume is occupied by the "narrative" of Captain Gerard, and in it we can see the character of the man, and the nature of those travels and investigations which he prosecuted for so many years in India, until his energies were exhausted. Of this detailed expedition, however, our limits will only permit a few particulars.

He left Sobahtoo in the beginning of June, 1821, and ascended the Himalaya Mountains, noting carefully on the way the places inhabited, their range of elevation above the level of the sea, their temperature and produce, and the character of the tribes who occupied them. Toiling and struggling amidst the eternal snows, but still continuing his march upward, he and his company, now looking more like ghosts than men, reached the Borendo Pass, an elevation of 15,121 feet, on the 15th of June. It was a height at which travellers can sleep little, and breathe only with difficulty, while they are subject to frequent headaches. Here their native guides refused to proceed with them, declaring that to go higher was impossible; so that Gerard was obliged to alter his route to the source of the Pabur, and seek it by another. Charung Pass, an elevation of 17,348 feet, he reached on the 9th of July, and half a mile of this height was so slippery with stones, gravel, and snow half melted by the rain, that he was obliged to move upward on all fours, thrusting his hands deep into the snow to secure his hold. Another ascent which he performed was to the Keoobrung Pass, 18,313 feet in height, and a third was the Gangthung Pass, an elevation of 18,295 feet. Most of the communities with which the ledges of the Himalayas in these directions were dotted, consisted chiefly of Tartars and Chinese, the subjects of the Celestial Empire, whose conduct to the traveller was various;

some receiving him kindly and treating him with hospitality, while others were churlish, and would not allow him to proceed. In many cases, too, Captain Gerard did not find the occupants of these vast heights to be so uncomfortable as such localities would seem to intimate. They had a healthy climate cooled from the heat of the burning Indian sun, a fertile soil in which some of the fruits and grains of Europe were mixed with those of a warmer region, and his description of one of these—the village of Hango, 11,400 feet above the sea—would present allurements for a European agriculturist to become a settler there. It contains “thirty families of Tartars and two nuns. It is situated at the head of a dell, in the bosom of cultivation, extending nearly a mile in one direction, and half that in the other. There are a few poplar-trees, but apricots do not vegetate. I have seldom seen more luxuriant crops: the ear of the ooa showed so large and full, that I was induced to count the grains, and I found the average of eight picked casually to be seventy-eight fold. The produce here is the same as at Nako; most of the fields were ripe, and some even cut. The glen runs nearly east and west; a stream flows on each side of it, and one through the middle; and the supply of water never fails.” At Nisung, another village at an elevation of more than 10,000 feet, at which our traveller halted, he witnessed a usage which must have warmed his heart with recollections of his native home. “I remarked,” he says, “a custom here similar to that of the Scotch farmers, who, on commencing harvest, plait some of the first-cut stalks of corn, and fix them over the chimney-piece till next harvest. The Tartars fasten three stalks of barley over the outside of the door, the ear hanging down: every door in the village was thus ornamented.” Of the time alone occupied in these perilous expeditions of Gerard, an idea may be formed from the fact, that this one did not terminate until the end of September, 1821, being a journey that lasted four months.

But such journeys in Hindoostan, continued over a long course of years, were sufficient to wear out a constitution of iron; and at last, yielding to the solicitations of his friends, he returned to his native country. But the return was too late for the recovery of his health, and at home he was subject to periodical attacks of a fever under which he gradually sunk. It was one of these that carried him off on the 15th of December, 1839, at Aberdeen, after a short illness of three days.

Alexander was not the only one of the family of the Gerards distinguished in the records of Indian travel. His elder brother, Dr. James Gerard, of the Bengal medical establishment, who accompanied him in many of his expeditions and surveys, was distinguished by the same adventurous enthusiasm, and scarcely his inferior in that scientific skill and quickness of observation so necessary for exploring unknown and interesting countries; and he, too, like his brother, fell a martyr to his zeal for Indian exploration. The following short account of him by Captain Alexander Gerard, written only four weeks before his own death, in a letter to the editor of *Sir William Lloyd's Narrative*, will be more interesting than a lengthened narrative:

“You would be sorry to see my poor brother James's death. His trip to Bokhara with Colonel Sir A. Burnes was a mad-like expedition for him, as he had long been unwell, and was obliged to leave his bed to go, and could only travel in a palkee [palankin]. It was, however, his own wish, and, at his own particular request, that Burnes applied for him. This trip killed him, for he had several attacks of fever on his way to Bokhara, and

Burnes again and again urged him either to return or stop at Kabool till he recovered. But he would do neither. His love of research carried him on, and he persevered and accomplished the journey with the greatest difficulty. On his return he was detained three months at Meskid, and no less than eight at Herat, by fever, so after his arrival at Soobahtoo, his constitution was completely worn out. He never had a single day's good health, and gradually declined. But the doctors would not believe him on account of the florid complexion he had even on the very day of his death. Patrick and I were with him the whole time he survived, which was just a year, for I got leave of absence on purpose to prepare a map of his route from his notes; for he observed the bearings, estimated the distances, and noted the villages all the way from Herat to the Indus.” Of this survey taken from the notes, and drawn up under the inspection of Dr. Gerard, the captain gives the following interesting account:—“It was a splendid map. It measures ten feet long by three broad, on the scale of five miles to an inch. At my brother's dying request I presented it to Sir C. Metcalfe, then governor-general, from whom I received a thousand thanks. The map is now with the army of the Indus, and I was gratified to hear, that, as far as they had gone, they had found the positions of the roads wonderfully correct, considering the distances were estimated by time, and the bearings taken with a small pocket compass.”

Such was the active character and career of two enterprising brothers, whom no dangers could daunt or difficulties deter; whose only place of rest was the grave, and who persevered in their long pilgrimage until their mission was accomplished.

GERARD, GILBERT, D.D., a divine, father of the foregoing Alexander and James, and son of the Rev. Alexander Gerard, D.D. (a memoir of whom we have already given), was born at Aberdeen on the 12th of August, 1760, and having acquired the earlier elements of his professional education in his native city, at a period when the eminence of several great and well-known names dignified its universities, he finished it in the more extended sphere of tuition furnished by the university of Edinburgh. Before he reached the age of twenty-two, a vacancy having occurred in the ministry of the Scottish church of Amsterdam, a consideration of his father's qualifications prompted the consistory to invite the young divine to preach before them, and he was subsequently waited upon by that body, with an offer of the situation, which he accepted. During his residence in Holland he turned the leisure allowed him by his clerical duties, and his knowledge of the Dutch language and of general science, to the support, with the assistance of two literary friends, of a periodical called *De Racensent*. What may have been the intrinsic merits of this publication it would be difficult to discover, either through the medium of personal inquiry or general report, in a nation where modern Dutch literature is unnoticed and almost unknown; but it obtained the best suffrage of its utility in the place for which it was intended—an extensive circulation. During the same period he likewise occupied himself in contributing to the English press; and on the establishment of the *Analytical Review* in 1788, he is understood to have conducted the department of that periodical referring to foreign literature,—a task for which his hereditary critical acuteness, his residence on the Continent, and knowledge of the classical and of several modern languages, some of which were then much neglected, or had but

begun to attract the attention of educated Englishmen, must have given peculiar facilities.

During his residence at Amsterdam he received as a token of respect from his native university the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Soon after this event his professional and literary pursuits experienced a check from a severe illness, which compelled him to seek early in life a restorative for his weakened constitution, in breathing the air of his native country. The change of climate had the desired effect, and he returned restored in health to his duties in Holland. These he continued to perform until April, 1791, when strong family motives induced him to relinquish a situation which habit and friendship had endeared to him, and his resignation of which was followed by the regrets of those who had experienced the merits of their pastor. He soon after accepted the vacant professorship of Greek in the King's College of Aberdeen, a situation which he held for four years. Although the students of King's College are not very numerous, and the endowments connected with the institution are by no means affluent, both are very respectable, and there is every opportunity on the part of the instructor to exhibit, both to the world in general and to his students, those qualifications which make the man respected and esteemed. From the youth of the scholars generally committed to his care, the professor of Greek is not only the public lecturer in his department of literature, but the instructor of its elements; and he has not only to perform the more ostentatious duty of exhibiting to and laying before them the stores of his own knowledge, but to find the means by which this knowledge shall enter the mind of each individual student. The instructor meets his pupils during a considerable portion of the day, and for several months together; and a knowledge of individuals is thus acquired, which gives the benevolent and active discerner of character an opportunity of uniting the friend and the instructor towards the young man who looks to him for knowledge. The shrewdness of the young respecting those who have cognizance over them is proverbially acute, and it frequently happens that while the learned world has overlooked, in the midst of brilliant talents or deep learning, the absence or presence of the other more personal qualities requisite for the instruction of youth, the pupils have discovered these, and, as a consequence, have pursued or neglected their proper studies as they have personally respected or disliked the teacher of them. It was the consequence of the learning and personal worth of Dr. Gerard that his pupils respected his personal character, and acquired, from his knowledge and his kind friendship towards them, an enthusiasm for Greek literature, which few teachers have had the good fortune to inspire, and which has very seldom made its appearance in Scotland. A course of lectures on Grecian history and antiquities (unfortunately never given to the world) which he delivered to his students was profitably remembered by many, to whom they formed a stable foundation for more extended knowledge of the subject.

During the latter years of his father's life he had assisted him in the performance of his duties as professor of divinity, and on his death succeeded to that situation, where he brought, to the less irksome and more intellectual duties of instilling philosophic knowledge into more advanced minds, the same spirit of friendly intercourse which had distinguished his elementary instructions. The Scottish student of divinity is frequently a person who stands in need of a protector and friend; and when he has none to trust to but the teachers of the profession, on whom all have a claim, it is very natural that these individuals should

hesitate in the exercise of any little patronage on which there is an indefinite number of claimants. It is, however, worthy of remark, to the honour of the individuals who have filled these situations, that many of them have been the best friends to their students, and that although they had at that period to look to them for no professional remuneration, they considered themselves as being, from the commencement of the connection, not only the temporary instructors, but the guardians of the future conduct, and the propagators of the future fortune, of their students. Of these feelings on the part of Dr. Gerard many afterwards dispersed in respectable ministerial situations through the country retained an affectionate recollection. His influence, which was considerable, was used in their favour, and where he had not that to bestow, he was still a friend. In 1811 he added to his professorship the second charge of the collegiate church of Old Aberdeen, and continued to hold both situations till his death. During the intervening period he permitted his useful leisure hours to be occupied with the fulfilment of the duties of the mastership of mortifications for King's College, —certainly rather an anomalous office for a scholar, and one which, with a salary that could have been no inducement, seems to have brought along with it the qualities of its not very auspicious name. The duties, though petty and irksome in the extreme, were performed with the same scrupulous exactness which distinguished the professor's more important pursuits; and he had in the end, from his diligent discharge of these duties, and his being able to procure, from his personal influence with the government, a grant in favour of the university, the satisfaction of rescuing it from the poverty with which it was threatened, by a degree of augmentation of the stipends of several churches, of which the college was titular. During this period of adversity Dr. Gerard had before his eyes the brighter prospect of a benefice in the Scottish metropolis, which many of his friends there attempted to prevail on him to accept; but the retired habits consequent on a studious life, the small but select circle of intimate friends in the neighbourhood of his college, to whose appearance and conversation long intercourse had endeared him, and a desire to benefit an institution he might almost call paternal, prompted him to continue his useful duties.

Dr. Gilbert Gerard died on the 28th of September, 1815, and amidst the regrets of his acquaintances, the professional tribute to his memory was bestowed by the same reverend friend who preached his father's funeral sermon. His only published work is entitled *Institutes of Biblical Criticism*, published in Edinburgh in 1808. It has received from his profession that approval which the author's merit had given cause to anticipate. It is characterized by the author of the *Biographie Universelle* as "Un ouvrage plein d'érudition, et composé dans un bon esprit."

GIB, ADAM, long distinguished as leader of the religious party called Antiburghers, was a native of Perthshire, and born in 1713. He received his education at the university of Edinburgh. In the year 1741 he was ordained a minister of the Associated Presbytery, recently formed by Mr. Ebenezer Erskine and others, as detailed in the life of that eminent individual. Mr. Gib's charge was one of the most important in the kingdom—namely the congregation in the southern suburbs of Edinburgh, which was afterwards administered to by Dr. Jamieson, the learned author of the *Scottish Etymological Dictionary*. It is well known that during the progress of the rebellion of 1745–6, no body of individuals in Scotland manifested a warmer loyalty to the govern-

ment than that to which Mr. Gib belonged. When the insurgents were approaching Edinburgh, about 300 of the congregation in and around the city took up arms for its defence, hired a sergeant to teach them the military exercise, and were the *last* to deliver up their arms to the castle, when all hope of holding out the town had been abandoned. During the six weeks' occupation of the city by Prince Charles, the established Presbyterian clergy were, with one exception, mute, having mostly fled to the country. Mr. Gib was also obliged to abandon his meeting-house; but he did not flee so far as the rest, nor resign himself to the same inactivity. He assembled his congregation at Dreghorn, about three miles from the town, and within a short distance of Colinton, where the insurgents kept a guard, and not only preached the gospel as usual, but declared that he was doing so as an open proof and testimony "that we are resolved, through the Lord's grace, to come to no terms with the enemy that has power in the city, but to look on them as enemies, showing ourselves to be none of their confederacy. In our public capacity," he continued, "it is fit that we make even a voluntary removal from the place where they are, as from the seat of robbers, showing ourselves resolved that their seat shall not be ours." Mr. Gib thus discoursed on five different Sundays, "expressly preaching up an abhorrence of the rebellion then on foot, and a hope of its speedy overthrow, and every day making express mention of the reigning sovereign in public prayer; praying for the safety of his reign, the support of his government, a blessing on his family, and the preservation of the Protestant succession in that family; at the same time praying for the suppression of the rebellion, expressly under the characters of an unnatural and anti-Christian rebellion, headed by a *Popish pretender*." What is most surprising of all, to pursue Mr. Gib's own relation of the circumstances, "while I was doing so, I ordinarily had a party of the rebel guard from Collington, who understood English, standing before me on the outside of the multitude. . . . Though they then attended with signs of great displeasure, they were restrained from using any violence: yet, about that time, as I was passing on the road near Collington, one of them who seemed to be in some command, fired at me; but for anything that appeared, it might be only with a design to fright me."

In a subsequent part of the campaign, when the Seceders re-appeared in arms along with the English army, Mr. Gib seems to have accompanied them to Falkirk, where, a few hours before the battle of the 17th January, he distinguished himself by his activity in seizing a rebel spy. When the rebels in the evening took possession of Falkirk, they found that person in prison, and, being informed of what Mr. Gib had done, made search for him through the town, with the intention, no doubt, of taking some measure of vengeance for his hostility.

Referring the reader to the article EBENEZER ERSKINE for an account of the schism which took place in 1747 in the Associated Presbytery, respecting the burgess oath, we shall only mention here that Mr. Gib took a conspicuous part at the head of the more rigid party, termed Antiburghers, and continued during the rest of his life to be their ablest advocate and leader. A new meeting-house was opened by him, November 4, 1753, in Nicholson Street, in which he regularly preached for many years to about 2000 persons. His eminence in the public affairs of his sect at last obtained for him the popular epithet of *Pope Gib*, by which he was long remembered. In 1765, when the General Assembly took the subject of the Secession into consideration, as a thing that

"threatened the peace of the country," Mr. Gib wrote a spirited remonstrance against that injurious imputation; and, as a proof of the attachment of the Seceders to the existing laws and government, detailed all those circumstances respecting the rebellion in 1745 which we have already embodied in this notice. In 1774 Mr. Gib published *A Display of the Secession Testimony*, in two volumes 8vo; and in 1784 his *Sacred Contemplations*, at the end of which was "An Essay on Liberty and Necessity," in answer to Lord Kaimes' essay on that subject. Mr. Gib died, June 18, 1788, in the seventy-fifth year of his age and forty-eighth of his ministry, and was interred in the Grayfriars' Churchyard, where an elegant monument was erected to his memory, at the expense of his grateful congregation.

GIBB, JOHN. This active and skilful civil engineer was born at Kirkcows, a small property belonging to his father near Falkirk, in 1776. His father having died when he was only twelve years of age, John learned the first lessons of his future profession by serving an apprenticeship to a mechanical trade: after this he was so fortunate as to learn the higher departments of civil engineering at the Lancaster and Preston canal, in the construction of which his brother-in-law was engaged under its superintendent, Mr. Rennie. From this he was afterwards transferred to Leith, where he was employed in the formation of the Leith docks under his father-in-law, Mr. Easton.

Having thus acquired a knowledge of his profession under the patronage and direction of such near relatives, John Gibb was enabled to commence business on his own account; and his character for professional skill being established, he was employed by the magistrates and town-council of Greenock in the erection of the new harbour of that town, under the superintendence of Mr. Rennie. It was a fortunate turning-point in his progress, for, while employed upon this commission, he was so fortunate as to attract the attention of Mr. Telford to his superior management and skill. As Mr. Telford was at that time looking out for a resident engineer to the harbour-works at Aberdeen, he recognized in Gibb a fit person for so responsible a charge, and engaged him accordingly. The latter removed to Aberdeen in 1809, and warranted the recommendation by erecting the extensive piers at the entrance into the Aberdeen harbour. It was at an after period of his life that, along with his son, he deepened the bed, and constructed quay-walls for the conversion of the harbour into a wet-dock, as well as introduced many other important improvements—works which secured the high approbation of Mr. Telford, one of the most competent judges in civil engineering. These he declared Mr. Gibb had superintended with unremitting attention, and had distinguished himself in them by remarkable ingenuity and perseverance.

Aberdeenshire being found too contracted a field for his professional exertions, Mr. Gibb became a contractor for extensive works in other districts, and principally in the south of Scotland, and his first contract of this kind, in 1817, won him honourable commendation from the highest quarters. The Crinan Canal was to be finished in a twelvemonth, and at the end of February in that year it was closed to admit of the necessary operations. Mr. Gibb engaged to complete these operations within the specified time, and his offer was accepted. In this he was better than his word, for in nine months the arduous task was finished. In the report of the parliamentary commissioners for the improvement of the canal, consisting of Lords Castlereagh, Melville,

Binning, and Glenbervie, they thus record the gratifying fact:—"The canal was closed at the end of February, 1817, to admit of the necessary operations, for the completion of which we allowed the contractor (Mr. Gibb of Aberdeen) a twelvemonth, expiring February, 1818. But his activity has outrun our expectations, the canal having been actually opened for use in the beginning of November last. On a review of what has been done by Mr. Gibb, we cannot but be gratified at such an instance of exertion." Such promptitude, combined with such professional care and skill, necessarily led to numerous engagements in the erection or completion of public works, and as he was effectually aided by his son, who worked with him in partnership, he was enabled to continue his exertions to a good old age. The last commission in which they were conjointly occupied was the erection of the Glasgow bridge faced with Aberdeen granite, designed by Mr. Telford; and this they performed so satisfactorily, that the bridge trustees presented to them at the close of the work two elegant pieces of plate in token of their satisfaction. After having outlived most of his contemporaries, so that he was one of the oldest members of the Institution of Civil Engineers of London, Mr. Gibb died at Aberdeen on the 3d of December, 1850.

GIBBS, JAMES, a celebrated architect, was born in Aberdeen, according to the most approved authority, in the year 1674, though Walpole and others place the date of his birth so late as 1683, a period which by no means accords with that of his advancement to fame in his profession. He was the only son (by his second wife) of Peter Gibbs of Footdeesmire, a merchant, and, as it would appear from his designation, a proprietor or feuar of a piece of ground along the shore at the mouth of the Dee, where his house, called "the White House in the Links," remains an evidence of the respectability and comparative wealth of the family. Old Gibbs retained, during the stormy period in which he lived, the religion of his ancestors, and was a staunch non-juror. An anecdote is preserved by his fellow-townsmen, characteristic of the man and of the times. The conflicting religious doctrines of Presbyterian and Episcopalian, and of course the political doctrines of Whig and Tory, found in Aberdeen a more equal balance than perhaps in any other part of Scotland; and history has shown that, in the event of a serious struggle, the influence of the Huntly family generally made the latter predominate; in these circumstances, it may easily be supposed that the city was a scene of perpetual petty jarring, and that pasquinades and abuse were liberally given and bitterly received. Gibbs being a Roman Catholic was the friend of neither party, and an object of peculiar antipathy to the Presbyterians, who testified their sense of his importance and wickedness by instructing the children in the neighbourhood to annoy the old gentleman in his premises, and hoot him on the streets. Gibbs, to show his respect for both parties, procured two fierce dogs for his personal protection, and engraved on the collar of the one "Luther," and on that of the other "Calvin;" the compliment was understood by neither party; and the dogs and their master being summoned before the bailies to answer for their respective misdemeanours, the former were delivered over to the proper authorities, and executed according to law, at the cross, the public place of execution.

The subject of our memoir attended the usual

course of instruction at the grammar-school, and was afterwards sent to Marischal College, where he accepted of the easily acquired degree of Master of Arts. At that period when the Scottish colleges were partly remnants of monastic institutions, partly schools for the instruction of boys, having the indolence of the Roman Catholic age strangely mingled with their own poverty and the simplicity of Presbyterian government, there were but two classes of persons at the universities—the sons of the noblemen and gentlemen, living in a style superior to the citizens, and a poorer class who were supported by the bursaries, or even common charity; the two classes wore different dresses, and of course had little communication with each other, excepting such as might exist between master and servant. To which of these classes Gibbs may have belonged is not known; that it should have been the latter is not so improbable as it may appear, as custom, the master of everything, made it by no means degrading to those of inferior rank; while a burgh, whatever might have been his wealth, would hardly in that age have been so daring as to have forced his son upon the company of the offspring of lairds. For some time after his father's death he was reared and educated by his uncle-in-law and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. Morrison, people in much the same respectable circumstances with his father; but destitute, perhaps from his religious principles, of influence sufficient to enable him to follow his father's business with success, or more probably having a natural bent for more tasteful pursuits, Gibbs, at the early age of twenty, left his native town, nor did he ever return to a spot not very congenial to the pursuit of a profession which must be studied among the remains of ancient grandeur, and practised in the midst of luxury and profusion. From 1694 to 1700 he studied architecture and the mathematics in Holland, under an architect to whom the biographers of Gibbs have given the merit of possessing reputation, while neither his own talents nor the subsequent fame of his scholar has preserved his name from oblivion. Here the young architect made himself acquainted with the Earl of Marr, then on a visit to the Continent, who, according to the praiseworthy custom for which Scotsmen have received rather uncharitable commendation, of assisting their countrymen when they meet them in a foreign country, gave him commendatory letters to influential friends, and money to enable him to pursue the study of his profession, for which it would appear the earl had a taste. After leaving Holland he spent ten years in Rome, where, according to Dallaway, he studied under P. F. Garroli, a sculptor and architect of considerable merit; and where, like many who have afterwards issued from the great manufactory of artists to astonish and gratify the world, he probably spent his days in labour and unnoticed retirement.

In 1710 Gibbs returned to Britain, and by the influence of the Earl of Marr, then secretary of state for Scotland in Queen Anne's Tory ministry, the means of exhibiting his knowledge to advantage, and gaining emolument, were amply provided. The renowned legislative measure by which the metropolis was to be made religious by act of parliament on the erection of fifty new churches having been passed, the name of Gibbs was added by his generous patron to the list of those eminent architects who were to put the vast plan in execution. Previous, however, to commencing this undertaking, he completed the first of his architectural labours, the additional buildings to King's College, Cambridge. It is generally allowed that this is a production on which the architect could not have found

¹ Cunningham errs in supposing that James Gibbs was the only son and only child of Peter Gibbs. There was a son William, by the first wife, who went abroad after his father's death—what became of him is not known.

ded much of his fame. "The diminutive Doric portico," says Dallaway, "is certainly not a happy performance, either in the idea or the execution. Such an application of the order would not occur in a pure and classic instance." While, on the other hand, the historian of the university of Cambridge remarks:—"It is built of white Portland stone, beautifully carved, with a grand portico in the centre; and contains three lofty floors above the vaults. The apartments, which are twenty-four in number, are exceedingly well fitted up, and in every respect correspond with the outward appearance, which equals that of any other building in the university." The latter part of the sentence, in reference to the spot which contains King's College Chapel and Clare Hall, is sufficiently complimentary for the architect's best works. The truth appears to be, that those trammels which architects have had more reason to detest than any other class of artists, restrained the genius of Gibbs in this instance, and that being obliged to apply given form, size, and number of apartments, to given space, he had no opportunity of displaying the beauties which attend his other works. The first of "the fifty," which Gibbs completed, was St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, a work which, with its calm tastefulness and simple grandeur, might have been honourable to the fame of the greatest architect the world ever saw. The west front of this building, surmounted by a light and neatly designed spire, is decorated with Corinthian columns, over which is a pediment bearing the royal arms; the order is continued round the sides in pilasters, and there is a double series of windows in the inter-columniations, an unfortunate sacrifice of architectural effect to internal accommodation. The interior is divided into three unequal parts, by a range of four Corinthian columns and two pilasters on each side, standing on tall pedestals; the central space or nave being covered by a semi-elliptical ceiling, rising from the top of the entablature over each column, and is rich in moulding and ornament. The following plainly told but judicious opinion of this building, is given by Ralph, in his *Critical Review of Public Buildings*:—"The portico is at once elegant and august, and the steeple above it ought to be considered as one of the most tolerable in town; if the steps arising from the street to the front could have been made regular, and on a line from end to end, it would have given it a very considerable grace: but, as the situation of the ground would not allow it, this is to be esteemed rather a misfortune than a fault. The round columns at each angle of the church are very well conceived, and have a very fine effect in the profile of the building: the east end is remarkably elegant, and very justly challenges particular applause. In short, if there is anything wanting in this fabric, it is a little more elevation, which I presume is apparently wanted within, and would create an additional beauty without." "All the parts," says Allan Cunningham, "are nicely distributed, and nothing can be added, and nothing can be taken away. It is complete in itself, and refuses the admission of all other ornament." Much discussion seems to have been wasted on the portico of St. Martin's, some insisting that it is a mere model of the portico of the Pantheon, or some other production of classic art; others maintaining its equality in merit and design to the best specimens of Grecian architecture. A portico, to bear the name, must have basements, pillars, capitals, and an entablature, just as a house must have a roof and windows, and a bridge arches; so all that originality can possibly achieve in such a work, is the harmony of the proportions and ornaments with each

other, and with the rest of the building; it is in having made the proportions and ornaments different from those of the Pantheon, and adapted them to a totally different building, that Gibbs has been original, and it is on the pleasure which the whole combination affords to the eye that his merit depends; a merit, however, which cannot come in competition with that of the *inventor* of the portico. The next church of the fifty undertaken by Gibbs was St. Mary's in the Strand, a work on which, if we may judge from its appearance, he bestowed more labour with less effect. Instead of appearing like the effort of a single grand conception, forming a complete and harmonizing whole, it is like a number of efforts clustered together. Instead of being one design, the interstices in which are filled up by details, it is a number of details united together; in gazing on which the mind, instead of absorbing the grandeur of the whole at one view, wanders from part to part, finding no common connection by which the joint effect of all may be summoned before it at once.

Gibbs had just prepared the plans of the buildings we have described, and was in the high and palmy state of his fortunes, when his kind patron, having had his overtures to procure the allegiance of the Highland clans contumeliously rejected, and having been disgusted and thrown in fear by the impeachment of Oxford and Stafford, and the exile of Ormond and Bolingbroke, resolved to avenge his personal wrongs by a recourse to the feudal fiction of the divine origin of hereditary right, to maintain the theoretic purity of which a nation contented with its king was plunged in civil war, that the king they ought not to have been contented without should be restored. Family ruin followed the rebellion of the earl; but the architect, fortified by the practice of a profession, the principles of which politics could not sway, and possessing knowledge which, unlike the art of governing, could not be deprived of its efficacy by the influence of the party in power, remained unmolested on the step to which he had advanced, and looked forward to the prospect of other honours.

The most magnificent, though perhaps not the purest of Gibbs' works, is the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, on the completion of which he received the degree of Master of Arts from that university. The Radcliffe Library is of a circular form, rising in the centre of an oblong square of 370 feet by 110, with a cupola 140 feet high and 100 feet in diameter. The lofty dome of this building raises itself in the centre of almost every prospect of Oxford, and gives a characteristic richness to the landscape. "The Radcliffe dome," says Allan Cunningham, "in fact conveys to every distant observer the idea of its being the air-hung crown of some gigantic cathedral or theatre. It is perhaps the grandest feature in the grandest of all English architectural landscapes; it rises wide and vast amid a thousand other fine buildings, interrupts the horizontal line, and materially increases the picturesque effect of Oxford;" on a nearer and more critical view, however, the spectator is disappointed to find that a want of proportion betwixt the cupola and the rest of the building, slight, but still very perceptible, deadens the effect of the magnificent whole, a mistake on the part of the architect which has frequently turned the whole mass of taste and beauty into an object of ridicule to the bitter critic. It may be in general questioned how far such a building, however much its swelling magnificence may serve to add dignity to a vast prospect without, or solemnity to an important pageant within, is suited for the more retired

purposes of a library. The student seldom wishes to have his attention obstructed by the intrusion of a wide prospect upon his view whenever he raises his eyes; and perhaps when extent and grandeur are desired, a more suitable method of accommodating them with comfortable retirement may be found in a corridor or gallery, where any one, if he is anxious, may indulge himself by standing at one end, and luxuriate in the perspective of the whole length, while he who wishes to study uninterrupted may retire into a niche, whence his view is bounded by the opposite side of the narrow gallery. In the completion of the quadrangle of All Souls, Gibbs had the great good fortune to receive a groll of uncharitable praise from Walpole. "Gibbs," says the imperious critic, "though he knew little of Gothic architecture, was fortunate in the quadrangle of All Souls, which he has blundered into a picturesque scenery not void of grandeur, especially if seen through the gate that leads from the schools. The assemblage of buildings in that quarter, though no single one is beautiful, always struck me with singular pleasure, as it conveys such a vision of large edifices unbroken by private houses, as the mind is apt to entertain of renowned cities that exist no longer." Such is the opinion of one whose taste in Gothic architecture, as represented by the straggling corridors and grotesque and toyish mouldings of Strawberry Hill, would not, if curiosity thought it of sufficient importance to be inquired into, bear the test of a very scrutinizing posterity. A comparison of his various opinions of the different works of Gibbs are among the most amusing specimens of the construction of the noble critic's mind. Where the architect has been tasteful and correct, he only shows that mere mechanical knowledge may avoid faults without furnishing beauties, "and where he has been picturesque and not void of grandeur, the whole is the effect of chance and blunder." Among the other works of Gibbs are the monument of Holles, Duke of Newcastle, in Westminster Abbey; the senate-house at Cambridge, a very favourable specimen of his correct and tasteful mind; and some buildings in the palace of Stowe. The west church of St. Nicholas in his native city, a very fine specimen, if we may believe the accounts of contemporaries, of Gothic taste, having fallen nearly to ruin, Gibbs presented the magistrates with a plan for a church that might reinstate it. In this production we look in vain for the mind which imagined the lofty pomp of the Radcliffe, or the eye that traced the chaste proportions of St. Martin's; and one might be inclined to question with what feelings the great architect made his donation. The outside is of no description of architecture under the sun "in particular;" it just consists of heavy freestone walls, with a roof, and plain Roman arched windows. The inside is a degree worse. Heavy groined arches, supported on heavier square pillars, overtop the gallery. There is in every corner all the gloom of the darkest Gothic, with square corners instead of florid mouldings, and square beams instead of clustered pillars; while the great arched windows of the Gothic piles, which send a broken and beautiful light into their farthest recesses, are specially avoided, a preference being given to wooden square glazed sashes, resembling those of a shop—in the whole, the building is one singularly repulsive to a correct taste.

Gibbs, in 1728, published a folio volume of designs, which have acquired more fame for the knowledge than for the genius displayed in them. By this work he gained the very considerable sum of £1900. Besides a set of plans of the Radcliffe

Library, this forms his only published work: his other papers and manuscripts, along with his library, consisting of about 500 volumes, he left as a donation to the Radcliffe Library. After five years of suffering from a lingering and painful complaint, this able, persevering, and upright man died in London, in 1754, having continued in the faith of his ancestors, and unmarried. He made several bequests, some to public charities, others to individuals, one of which in particular must not be passed over. Remembering the benefactor who had assisted him in the days of his labour and adversity, he left £1000, the whole of his plate, and an estate of £280 a year to the only son of the Earl of Marr; an uncommon act of gratitude, which, however party feeling may regret the circumstances which caused it, will in the minds of good and generous men, exceed in merit all that the intellect of the artist ever achieved.

GIBSON, SIR ALEXANDER, Lord Durie, an eminent lawyer and judge, was the son of George Gibson of Goldingstones, one of the clerks of session. The period of his birth we have been unable to discover; but as we find him admitted a clerk of session in 1594, we may conclude that he was born considerably more than twenty years previous to that period. It appears that the appointment of Gibson to this duty created a new clerkship, and as the addition in number would reduce the arbitrary sources of emolument of the other two clerks, it was naturally apprehended that the interloper would be received with the usual jealousy of those whose interests are unduly interfered with. King James VI., who had generally some deep and mysteriously wise purpose in all he did, chose to be personally present at the appointment of his nominee, in order that the royal choice might meet with no marks of contempt. The mindful sovereign was on this occasion pleased to be so highly delighted with the disinterested conduct of his obedient clerks, who had so willingly received a partner "at his highness's wish and special desire," that he promised in presence of the court to remunerate them with "ane sufficient casualty for said consents." The chamber in the Register House instituted by this appointment still retains the denomination of "Durie's Office." At that period the duties of a principal clerk of session were of a more politically important nature than they have been since the union: these officers had to register the decrees and acts of parliament, in addition to their present duties. The only remnant of their former occupations is their acting as clerks at the elections of the Scottish representative peers. Gibson continued in his clerkship for all the remainder of his life, notwithstanding the higher offices to which he was afterwards promoted. In 1621 he was appointed a lord of session; and as the duties of judge and clerk were rather anomalous, we find by the books of sederunt that the prudent clerk had procured in the previous month his son to be installed in the office. Mr. Alexander Gibson, junior, being appointed conjunct clerk with Mr. Alexander Gibson, senior, during the life of the longest liver, the senior, it may be presumed, continued to draw the salary, without being much troubled with the duties. Seven years after his appointment to the bench, we find him accepting a baronetcy of Nova Scotia, with a grant of some few square miles of land in that district. In 1633 he was appointed a member of one of the committees for the revision of the laws and customs of the country. In 1640 he appears to have been elected a member of the committee of estates, and his appointment as judge was continued

under a new commission to the court in 1641. From the period of his elevation to the bench in 1621, till the year 1642, this laborious lawyer preserved notes of such decisions of the court as he considered worthy of being recorded as precedents, a task for which a previously extensive practice had fitted him. These were published by his son in one volume folio, in 1688, and are valuable as the earliest digested collection of decisions in Scottish law. Their chief peculiarities are their brevity, and, what would not appear at first sight a natural consequence, their obscurity. But Gibson produced by a too niggardly supply the effect which is frequently attributed to a too great multitude of words. He appears, however, to have always known his own meaning; and when, with a little consideration, his *rationes decidendi* are discovered, they are found to be soundly stated. The clamours which other judges of the day caused to be raised against their dishonesty and cupidity, were not applied to Durie. He seems, indeed, as far as the habits of the times could allow the virtue to exist except in an absolutely pure being, to have been a just and fearless judge, for in a period of general legal rapine and pusillanimity, the possession of a very moderate share of honesty and firmness in the judgment-seat made their proprietor worthy of a nation's honour. If the affirmation of a professional brother may be credited, Durie possessed, according to the opinion of Forbes, a later collector of decisions, most of the intellectual and moral qualities which can dignify the bench. It is a proof of the respect in which his brethren held him, that while the office continued elective in the senators of the college, he was repeatedly chosen as president. At that period the legal practice of Scotland appeared to have improved for the mere purpose of substituting sophism and injustice under form for rude equity; it was a handle to be made use of, rather than a rule to be applied. The crown had recourse to legal fictions, and unjust and arbitrary presumptions, in its dealings with the subject. The subject, instead of calling for a recourse to constitutional principles, sometimes rose against the administration of the law, just or unjust. With private parties the more powerful got the command of the law, and used it against the weaker. A striking instance of contempt towards the laws, which took place during one of the presidencies of Gibson of Durie, is mentioned in *Douglas' Baronage*, and *Forbes' Journal*, and is more fully and pleasingly narrated in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. The Earl of Traquair had an action depending in court, in which it was understood the president would, by his influence, cause the court to give judgment against him. A border freebooter, or gentleman thief, known by the name of Christie's Will, owed to the peer some gratitude and allegiance, having gained his protection by an insolent jest on the subject of his having been imprisoned for theft. This person being a gentleman both by descent and education, insinuated himself into the president's company during his usual morning ride on the sands of Leith. On the two reaching a very lonely spot, the judge was snatched from his horse, rolled into a blanket, and carried off he knew not where. He was imprisoned three months, during which time his friends and himself considered that he was in fairyland. The case was decided in favour of Traquair, and a new president appointed, when the judge one morning found himself laid down in the exact spot from which he had been so suddenly carried off, and returned to claim his privileges. This useful man died at his house of Durie on the 10th of June, 1644. He left behind him a son of his own name, who was

active among the other persons of high rank, who came forward to protect their national church from the imposition of a foreign liturgy. He is known as having boldly resisted one of King Charles I.'s prorogations, by refusing the performance of the duty of clerk of parliament, already alluded to. He appears, however, not to have always given satisfaction to the cause he had so well espoused, as he is more than once mentioned in *Lamon's Diary* as a malignant. He was raised to the bench in 1646. Besides this son, the wealth of the father allowed him to provide a junior branch of the family with the estate of Adistone in Lothian.

GIBSON, PATRICK, an eminent artist and writer upon art, was born at Edinburgh, in December, 1782. He was the son of respectable parents, who gave him an excellent classical education, partly at the high-school, and partly at a private academy. In his school-boy days he manifested a decided taste for literature, accompanied by a talent for drawing figures, which induced his father to place him as an apprentice under Mr. Nasmyth, the distinguished landscape-painter; who was, in this manner, the means of bringing forward many men of genius in the arts. Contemporary with Mr. Gibson as a student in this school, was Mr. Nasmyth's son Peter; and it is painful to think, that both of these ingenious pupils should have gone down to the grave before their master. Mr. Nasmyth's academy was one in no ordinary degree advantageous to his apprentices: such talents as they possessed were generally brought into speedy use in painting and copying landscapes, which he himself finished and sold; and thus they received encouragement from seeing works of which a part of the merit was their own, brought rapidly into the notice of the world. About the same time Mr. Gibson attended the Trustees' Academy, then taught with distinguished success by Mr. Graham. While advancing in the practical part of his profession, Mr. Gibson, from his taste for general study, paid a greater share of attention to the branches of knowledge connected with it, than the most of artists had it in their power to bestow. He studied the mathematics with particular care, and attained an acquaintance with perspective, and with the theory of art in general, which was in his own lifetime quite unexampled in Scottish — perhaps in British — art. Mr. Gibson, indeed, might rather be described as a man of high literary and scientific accomplishments, pursuing art as a profession, than as an artist in the sense in which that term is generally understood. In landscape-painting he showed a decided preference for the classical style of Domenichino and Nicholas Poussin; and having studied architectural drawing with much care he became remarkably happy in the views of temples and other classical buildings which he introduced into his works. When still a very young man, Mr. Gibson went to London, and studied the best works of art to be found in that metropolis — the state of the Continent at that time preventing him from pursuing his investigations any further.

Mr. Gibson painted many landscapes which have found their way into the collections of the most respectable amateurs in his native country. His own exquisitely delicate and fastidious taste perhaps prevented him from attaining full success at first, but he was continually improving; and, great as the triumphs of his pencil ultimately were, it is not too much to say, that if life had been spared to him, he must have reached still higher degrees of perfection.

Mr. Gibson's professional taste and skill, along with his well-known literary habits, pointed him out

as a proper individual to write, not only criticisms upon the works of modern art brought under public notice, but articles upon the fundamental principles of the fine arts, in works embracing miscellaneous knowledge. He contributed to the *Encyclopædia Edinensis* an elaborate article under the head "Design," embracing the history, theory, and practice of painting, sculpture, and engraving, and concluding with an admirable treatise on his favourite subject, "Linear Perspective." This article extends to 106 pages of quarto, in double columns, and is illustrated by various drawings. It is, perhaps, the best treatise on the various subjects which it embraces ever contributed to an encyclopædia. To Dr. Brewster's more extensive work, entitled the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, Mr. Gibson contributed the articles "Drawing," "Engraving," and "Miniature-painting," all of which attracted notice for the full and accurate knowledge upon which they appeared to be based. In the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1816, published in 1820, being edited by Mr. J. G. Lockhart, was an article by Mr. Gibson, entitled "A View of the Progress and Present State of the Art of Design in Britain." It is written with much discrimination and judgment, and is certainly worthy of being transferred into some more extended sphere of publication than the local work in which it appeared. An article of a similar kind, but confined to the progress of the fine arts in Scotland, appeared in the *New Edinburgh Review*, edited by Dr. Richard Poole. In 1818 Mr. Gibson published a thin quarto volume, entitled *Etchings of Select Views in Edinburgh, with Letter-press Descriptions*. The subjects chiefly selected were either street scenes about to be altered by the removal of old buildings, or parts opened up temporarily by the progress of improvements, and which therefore could never again be observable in the point of view chosen by the artist. The most remarkable critical effort of Mr. Gibson was an anonymous *jeu d'esprit*, published in 1822, in reference to the exhibition of the works of living artists then open, under the care of the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland. It assumed the form of a report, by a society of cognoscenti, upon these works of art, and treated the merits of the Scottish painters, Mr. Gibson himself included, with great candour and impartiality. The style of this pamphlet, though in no case unjustly severe, was so different from the indulgent remarks of periodical writers, whose names are generally known, and whose acquaintance with the artists too often forbids rigid truth, that it occasioned a high degree of indignation among the author's brethren, and induced them to take some steps that only tended to expose themselves to ridicule. Suspecting that the traitor was a member of their own body, they commenced the subscription of a paper disclaiming the authorship, and this being carried to many different artists for their adherence, was refused by no one till it came to Mr. Gibson, who excused himself upon general principles from subscribing such a paper, and dismissed the intruders with a protest against his being supposed on that account to be the author. The real cause which moved Mr. Gibson to put forth this half-jesting, half-earnest criticism upon his brethren, was an ungenerous attack upon his own works which had appeared in a newspaper the previous year, and which, though he did not pretend to trace it to the hand of any of his fellow-labourers, was enjoyed, as he thought, in a too malicious manner by some to whom he had formerly shown much kindness. He retained his secret, and enjoyed his joke to the last, and it is only here that

his concern in the pamphlet is for the first time disclosed.

In 1826 he gave to the world *A Letter to the Directors and Managers of the Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland*. Towards the close of his life he had composed, with extraordinary care, a short and practical work on perspective, which was put to press, but kept back on account of his decease.

In June, 1818, Mr. Gibson was married to Miss Isabella M. Scott, daughter of his esteemed friend Mr. William Scott, the well-known writer upon elocution. By this lady he had three daughters and a son, the last of whom died in infancy. In April, 1824, he removed from Edinburgh, where he had spent the most of his life, to Dollar, having accepted the situation of professor of painting in the academy founded at that village. In this scene, quite unsuited to his mind, he spent the last five years of his life, of which three were embittered in no ordinary degree by ill health. After enduring with manly and unshrinking fortitude the pains of an uncommonly severe malady, he expired, August 26, 1829, in the forty-sixth year of his age.

Mr. Gibson was not more distinguished in public by his information, taste, and professional success, than he was in private by his upright conduct, his mild and affectionate disposition, and his righteous fulfilment of every moral duty. He possessed great talents in conversation, and could suit himself in such a manner to every kind of company that old and young, cheerful and grave, were alike pleased. He had an immense fund of humour, and what gave it perhaps its best charm was the apparently unintentional manner in which he gave it vent, and the fixed serenity of countenance which he was able to preserve while all were laughing around him. There are few men in whom the elements of genius are so admirably blended with those of true goodness, and all that can render a man beloved, as they were in Patrick Gibson.

GILCHRIST, JOHN BORTHWICK, LL.D. This learned oriental scholar was born at Edinburgh in 1759, and educated in George Heriot's Hospital, an institution to which he bequeathed a liberal donation, in acknowledgment of the benefits he had derived from it. Having studied for the medical profession, and obtained the appointment of assistant-surgeon in the East India Company's service, he went out in that capacity to Calcutta. At this period it was thought enough by the Company if its officials possessed a tolerable knowledge of Persian, the court language of India, in which the acts of the Anglo-Indian government and the proceedings of the legal tribunals were registered. But this limited means of intercourse with the people under our rule did not satisfy Dr. Gilchrist, and he saw, that to hold intercourse with them, as the proper means of governing and benefiting them, it was necessary to possess a proper knowledge of the various languages of Hindostan. To facilitate their acquirement, and at the same time to set an example to others, he assumed an eastern garb, and travelled over those provinces where Hindostanee was spoken in its greatest purity; and besides the native language in its various dialects, he obtained a complete knowledge of the Sanskrit, Persian, and other eastern tongues. His success in these attainments inspired a new spirit in the Company's servants, and the study of Hindostanee was pursued among them with a diligence that had as yet been unknown. To facilitate this hopeful commencement, Dr. Gilchrist published in 1786 and 1790 his *Anglo-Hindostanee Dictionary*,

and in 1796 his *Hindustanee Grammar*. But a still more favourable opportunity of communicating his acquirements in oriental learning was furnished to him in consequence of the foundation of the college of Calcutta by the Marquis Wellesley, governor-general of India, in 1800. On this occasion Dr. Gilchrist was appointed to the chair of the Hindostanee and Persian languages, being the first appointment of the kind that had been made by our government in India. He did not, however, long hold this office, being compelled in consequence of ill health to return home in 1804. His departure from India was accompanied with highly honourable testimonials of the diligence and success of his labours, and the estimation in which he was held. He received from the governor-general in council a public letter to the court of directors at home, recommending him to their favour in their endeavours to promote the study of the oriental languages. But besides this, the marquis introduced him to Mr. Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, in a letter of which the following is an extract:—"Mr. John Gilchrist, late professor of the Hindostanee language in the college of Fort William, will have the honour of delivering this letter to you. The records of this government furnish ample proof of the importance of Mr. Gilchrist's services. I am anxious, however, that you should be apprised of the personal interest which I feel in Mr. Gilchrist's honourable reception in England; and I take the liberty of recommending him to your favourable notice, as a gentleman highly distinguished for his zeal in the promotion of an important branch of the public service, and for his eminent knowledge of the oriental languages."

On returning home Dr. Gilchrist set up his residence in his native Edinburgh, and there his fiery eastern temperament, his liberal opinions in politics, which trenched upon republicanism, and his eccentricity in conduct as well as opinions, astonished the gravity of his wondering fellow-citizens. Being too impatient to be idle, he instituted, in conjunction with Mr. James Inglis, a bank in the Scottish capital, under the title of "Inglis, Borthwick Gilchrist, & Co.;" but the other banks, doubtful of its management, looked so unfavourably upon it, that the establishment after some time was closed. He set up an aviary at his house on the north side of Nicholson Square, the building being largely trellised with wire-work and stored with all manner of bright and curious birds—and the natives, who gazed and marvelled, thought it the strangest of Noah's arks, or the best of raree shows. From his strong language, especially at civic meetings, and his aptitude to take offence, he was liable to be involved in serious quarrels; and on one occasion, in June, 1815, when a gentleman was reading aloud in a coffee-room an account of the victory of Waterloo, Dr. Gilchrist, who was present, gave him the lie, and proclaimed the intelligence to be false. This mortal offence would probably have been followed by a deadly meeting, had not the friends of both parties interfered. Such was Dr. Gilchrist in Edinburgh, and where these singularities were perhaps more vividly remembered in later periods than his talents, his kindness, and benevolence, by which they were more than counterpoised.

In 1816 this learned orientalist left Edinburgh to settle in London; and here he found more congenial occupation, by teaching the eastern languages in his own house to such young gentlemen as were qualifying themselves for the Indian service. Two years after his class was removed to the Oriental Institution, Leicester Square, where he taught Hindostanee and Persian under the sanction of the East

India Company. This connection, however, lasted only six years, and its dissolution was probably owing to incompatibility of temper between the employers and the employed. Dr. Gilchrist was not of a temper to brook contradiction or interference. His mode of teaching was also apt to give offence to the grave and the formal. At this time his bushy head and whiskers were as white as the Himalayan snow, and in such contrast to the active expressive face which beamed from the centre of the mass, that he was likened to a royal Bengal tiger—a resemblance of which he was even proud. His lectures also, which were extemporaneous, and governed by the fitful impulses of the moment, were a singular medley of "orient pearls at random strung;" but still they were pearls of price, and those pupils who were willing to learn were enriched by his prelections, however oddly delivered or illustrated. Nor was his style of writing less strange than that of his lecturing; and besides the eccentricities of style and innovations in orthography with which it astonished the reader's eye, the doctor had a sublime contempt of capitals, which he had banished from his printed compositions. These serious offences against the common usages of good taste cannot be perpetrated with impunity; and those who might have been attracted by the doctor's valuable erudition, were offended by the adjuncts with which it was garnished. In the meantime his publications, which were numerous and valuable, and chiefly connected with the languages, condition, and history of India, were mingled with pamphlets and broad-sheets filled with his personal resentments, or expounding his own crotchets. His chief subject of complaint was the ill treatment he had received from the East India Company, which had only allowed him a retiring surgeon's pension of £300 instead of £500, and a salary of £350 as a teacher of eastern languages, which was greatly disproportioned, as he thought, to his services. It was in this mood that the writer of the present memoir found him in London some forty years ago. Among those who were persistent friends of Dr. Gilchrist, and knew his real talents, was the late Joseph Hume, whose career had in some cases been similar to his own. Both had commenced their career as surgeons in India; both had commenced their rise by the study of eastern languages, which they turned to a profitable account; both had returned with a competence after a short stay in the East; and they were heartily at one in perceiving the existing evils of government, and advocating a reform. But here the similarity ended. Dr. Gilchrist unfortunately could not lay claim to the temper, caution, management, and good sense by which his more fortunate but not more talented friend was distinguished.

While residing in Edinburgh, Dr. Gilchrist had married a Miss Mary Ann Coventry; and on removing to London, the pair, who had no children, occupied a house in the fashionable locality of Clarges Street. The doctor's means of living in such a place were comfortable, not only from the extensive sale of his principal works connected with India and its languages, but also from the result of his banking speculation in Edinburgh, which had turned out better than could have been anticipated. After he had given an impulse to the study of the eastern tongues which has steadily increased to the present day, and trained young cadets for the East India service, whose proficiency reflected honour upon their teacher, and by whom he was respected and beloved, Dr. Gilchrist, worn out with the infirmities of old age, lived in retirement, and died at Paris on the 9th of January, 1841, at the age of eighty-two years.

GILFILLAN, ROBERT. This amiable poet of domestic life and popular song-writer, was born in Dunfermline, Fife-shire, on the 7th of July, 1798, and was the second of three sons. His father was a man of respectable condition, according to the reckoning of the times in provincial towns, for he was a master weaver, and kept several looms in full employment. His mother, who died in 1844, was justly characterized as "a woman of high intellectual powers, and one who, belonging to the middle classes of society, was distinguished by high literary acquirements, united to a modesty that rather fostered the talents of others than exhibited her own." Can we easily imagine a poet of good, current, lasting songs, born in a loftier position, or independent of such a maternity? Like most bards, and especially of this particular class, Robert Gilfillan's natural tendency was called forth in early life, under the pressure of a stirring public impulse. While still a boy, he had joined a group of urchins like himself, to make merry during the Christmas holidays with the sport of *guising*, or *guisarding*—an old Saxon revel, scarcely yet disused in Scotland, but which is now generally supplanted by the drawing-room amusement of charades; and while employed in this merry street masquerade, instead of confining himself to the hundred-year-old hackneyed stanzas about Alexander the Great and Guloshin, he chanted a song of his own composition on the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, at that time a recent event, and by which the sympathies of every cottage in Scotland had been roused into full native vigour. Young Gilfillan on this occasion received more than the usual poet's meed of pence and praise from the goodwives of Dunfermline, who listened at their doors in silent admiration.

After this sudden outburst of rhyme a long interval succeeded: school-boy trials, and the succeeding cares and difficulties of apprenticeship, are generally sufficient to banish the Muses for years, if not for life; and Robert Gilfillan, who at the age of thirteen removed with his parents to Leith, was employed during a seven years' service in the unpoetical occupation of hammering tubs and barrels, having been bound apprentice for that period to a cooper. Although he manfully endured this probation, he abandoned the trade of a cooper as soon as his term of indenture had expired; and, returning to Dunfermline in 1818, he was employed for nearly three years in the superintendence of a grocery establishment. Here his first love returned upon him in full vigour, and his attempts in song-writing were accompanied with the work of self-improvement, which he prosecuted not only by general reading, but associating with the young men of his neighbourhood who were like-minded with himself. In this way not only his acquired knowledge, but his conversational power in the use of it, made him distinguished in Dunfermline society, and caused him to be regarded as one whose future career would surpass that of his companions. After this he again settled in Leith, where he was first employed in the warehouse of a firm of oil and colour merchants, and subsequently in that of a wine merchant, as confidential clerk, until 1837, when he was appointed collector of the police-rates at Leith, which situation he held till the close of his life.

In this way Mr. Gilfillan held onward in his course, and fulfilled his mission as a useful member of society; but as a poet he had continued during his several changes of store-keeper, clerk, and tax-gatherer, to labour for a wider sphere and a more permanent memorial. The first earnest of this he enjoyed in the popularity of his songs, which, although still

unpublished, were circulated over the whole of Scotland, and sung not only at public festivals, but also at social and domestic meetings. How was it possible, under such circumstances, to resist the temptations of the press? It speaks much, however, for his self-denial, that he did not yield until he had attained the matured reflective age of thirty-three, and when his songs had stood the test of years. In 1831 he became an author, by publishing a small volume of about 150 pages, under the title of *Original Songs*, which he dedicated to Allan Cunningham, himself, next to Burns, the prince of Scottish song-poets. So successful was this appeal to public approbation, that in 1835 he brought out a new edition, increased by fifty additional pieces; and soon after its appearance a public dinner was given to him in the Royal Exchange, Edinburgh, and a massive silver cup presented to him on the occasion thus inscribed:—"Presented to Mr. Robert Gilfillan by the admirers of native genius, in token of their high estimation of his poetical talents and private worth. Edinburgh, 1835." In 1839 he published a third and still larger edition of his original volume, sixty new songs being added to the collection; and by this completed work he will continue to hold an honoured place in the third rank of Scottish song-writers—Burns being of the first, and standing alone, and Hogg and Cunningham being taken as the representatives of the second. In addition to those warm but simple and narrowed home affections which formed the chief themes of his lyrics, and in the delineation of which he has not often been surpassed, there is a moral purity in the songs of Gilfillan in which he has very seldom been equalled. But how, indeed, could it be otherwise, when we take into account the ordeal to which he submitted them? "It was his practice," says his biographer, "to read to his mother and sister his songs as he wrote them; and he was entirely guided by their judgment regarding them." This was better still than the house-keeper of Molière! One circumstance connected with this gentle home tribunal of criticism first gave him the hope that fame was within his reach. He was reading his *Fare thee well, for I must leave thee*, when his sister and a young lady, a cousin of his own, who was present, were so deeply affected, that they burst into tears. After such an incident some of our readers might wish to know the song: it is as follows:—

"Fare thee well, for I must leave thee,
But, O! let not our parting grieve thee;
Happier days may yet be mine,
At least I wish them thine—believe me!

"We part—but by those dew-drops clear,
My love for thee will last for ever;
I leave thee—but thy image dear,
Thy tender smiles, will leave me never.

"O! dry those pearly tears that flow—
One farewell smile before we sever;
The only balm for parting woe
Is—fondly hope 'tis not for ever.

"Though dark and dreary lowers the night,
Calm and serene may be the morrow;
The cup of pleasure ne'er shone bright,
Without some mingling drops of sorrow!

"Fare thee well, for I must leave thee,
But, O! let not our parting grieve thee;
Happier days may yet be mine,
At least I wish them thine—believe me!"

The rest of the incidents in Mr. Gilfillan's tranquil life scarcely require commemoration. Independently of his devotion to poetry, which was his master affection, he took pleasure in the various departments of light and every-day literature, and was a frequent contributor to the *Edinburgh Journal* and the *Dublin University Magazine*. Although he continued to the

end of his days a bachelor, he was not the less subject to painful bereavements, and these, too, at that period of life when the affections are most confirmed; for his mother died in 1844, and his sister in 1849, and thus the voices that had hitherto cheered him onward were no longer heard. His own death occurred on the 4th of December, 1850, and was occasioned by a stroke of apoplexy. His remains were buried in the churchyard of South Leith, where a monument, by the subscription of his admirers, has been erected to his memory.

GILLESPIE, GEORGE, an eminent divine at a time when divines were nearly the most eminent class of individuals in Scotland, was the son of the Rev. John Gillespie, minister at Kirkcaldy, and was born January 21, 1613. His advance in his studies was so rapid, that he was laureated in his seventeenth year. About the year 1634, when he must have still been very young, he is known to have been chaplain to Viscount Kenmure: at a subsequent period he lived in the same capacity with the Earl of Cassilis. While in the latter situation he wrote a work called *English Popish Ceremonies*, in which, as the title implies, he endeavoured to excite a jealousy of the episcopal innovations of Charles I., as tending to Popery. This book he published when he was about twenty-two years of age, and it was soon after prohibited by the bishops. Had Episcopacy continued triumphant, it is likely that Mr. Gillespie's advance in the church would have been retarded; but the signing of the national covenant early in 1638 brought about a different state of things. In April that year, a vacancy occurring at Wemyss in Fife, he was appointed minister; and at the General Assembly which took place at Glasgow in the ensuing November, he had the honour to preach one of the daily sermons before the house, for which he took as his text, "The king's heart is in the hands of the Lord." The Earl of Argyle, who had then just joined the covenanting cause, and was still a member of the privy-council, thought that the preacher had trenched a little, in this discourse, upon the royal prerogative, and said a few words to the assembly, with the intention of warning them against such errors for the future.

In 1641 an attempt was made to obtain the transportation of Mr. Gillespie to Aberdeen; but the General Assembly, in compliance with his own wishes, ordained him to remain at Wemyss. When the king visited Scotland in the autumn of this year, Mr. Gillespie preached before him in the Abbey Church at Edinburgh, on the afternoon of Sunday the 12th of September. In the succeeding year he was removed by the General Assembly to Edinburgh, of which he continued to be one of the stated clergymen till his death. Mr. Gillespie had the honour to be one of the four ministers deputed by the Scottish church, in 1643, to attend the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and it is generally conceded that his learning, zeal, and judgment were of the greatest service in carrying through the work of that venerable body, particularly in forming the Directory of Worship, the Catechisms, and other important articles of religion, which it was the business of the assembly to prepare and sanction. Baillie thus alludes to him in his letters: "We got good help in our assembly debates of Lord Warriston, an occasional commissioner, but of none more than the noble youth Mr. Gillespie. I admire his gifts, and bless God, as for all my colleagues, so for him in particular, as equal in these to the first in the assembly." It appears that Mr. Gillespie composed six volumes of manuscript during the course of his

attendance at the Westminster Assembly; and these were extant in 1707,¹ though we are not aware of their still continuing in existence. He had also, when in England, prepared his sermons for the press—part being controversial, and part practical; but they are said to have been suppressed in the hands of the printer with whom he left them, through the instrumentality of the Independents, who dreaded their publication. He also wrote a piece against toleration, entitled *Wholesome Severity Reconciled with Christian Liberty*.

In 1648 Mr. Gillespie had the honour to be moderator of the General Assembly; and the last of his compositions was the *Commission of the Kirk's Answer to the Estates' Observations on the Declaration of the General Assembly concerning the Unlawfulness of the Engagement*. For some months before this assembly he had been greatly reduced in body by a cough and perspiration, which now at length came to a height, and threatened fatal consequences. Thinking perhaps that his native air would be of service, he went to Kirkcaldy with his wife, and lived there for some months; but his illness nevertheless advanced so fast, that, early in December, his friends despaired of his life, and despatched letters to his brother, to Mr. Samuel Rutherford, the Marquis of Argyle, and other distinguished individuals, who took an interest in him, mentioning that if they wished to see him in life, speed would be necessary. The remainder of his life may be best related in the words of Wodrow, as taken, in 1707, from the mouth of Mr. Patrick Simpson, who was cousin to Mr. Gillespie, and had witnessed the whole scene of his death-bed:

"Monday, December 11, came my Lord Argyle, Cassils, Elcho, and Warriston, to visit him. He did faithfully declare his mind to them as public men, in that point whereof he hath left a testimony to the view of the world, as afterwards; and though speaking was very burdensome to him, and troublesome, yet he spared not very freely to fasten their duty upon them.

"The exercise of his mind at the time of his sickness was very sad and constant, without comfortable manifestations, and sensible presence for the time; yet he continued in a constant faith of adherence, which ended in an adhering assurance, his grippings growing still the stronger.

"One day, a fortnight before his death, he had leaned down on a little bed, and taken a fit of faintness, and his mind being heavily exercised, and lifting up his eyes, this expression fell with great weight from his mouth, 'O! my dear Lord, forsake me not for ever.' His weariness of this life was very great, and his longing to be relieved, and to be where the vail would be taken away.

"December 14, he was in heavy sickness, and three pastors came in the afternoon to visit him, of whom one said to him, 'The Lord hath made you faithful in all he hath employed you in, and it's likely we be put to the trial; therefore what encouragement do you give us thereanent?' Whereunto he answered, in few words, 'I have gotten more by the Lord's immediate assistance than by study, in the disputes I had in the assembly of divines in England; therefore, let never men distrust God for assistance, that cast themselves on him, and follow his calling. For my part, the time I have had in the exercise of the ministry is but a moment!' To which sentence another pastor answered, 'But your moment hath exceeded the gray heads of others; this I may speak without flattery.' To which he answered, disclaim-

¹ Wodrow's *Analecta* (MS. Adv. Lib.), i. 329.

ing it with a noe; for he desired still to have Christ exalted, as he said at the same time, and to another; and at other times, when any such thing was spoken to him, 'What are all my righteousnesses but rotten rags? all that I have done cannot abide the touchstone of His justice; they are all but abominations, and as an unclean thing, when they are reckoned between God and me. Christ is all things, and I am nothing.' The other pastor, when the rest were out, asked whether he was enjoying the comforts of God's presence, or if they were for a time suspended. He answered, 'Indeed, they are suspended.' Then within a little while he said, 'Comforts! ay comforts!' meaning that they were not easily attained. His wife said, 'What reck? the comfort of believing is not suspended?' He said, 'Noe.' Speaking further to his condition he said, 'Although that I should never more see any light of comfort, that I do see, yet I shall adhere, and do believe that he is mine and that I am his.'"

Mr. Gillespie lingered two days longer, and expired almost imperceptibly, December 16, 1646. On the preceding day he had written and signed a paper, in which "he gave faithful and clear testimony to the work and cause of God, and against the enemies thereof, to stop the mouths of calumniators, and confirm his children." The object of the paper was to prevent, if possible, any union of the friends of the Church of Scotland with the loyalists, in behalf of an uncovenanted monarch. The committee of estates testified the public gratitude to Mr. Gillespie by voting his widow and children £1000, which, however, from the speedily ensuing troubles of the times, was never paid.

GILLESPIE, Rev. THOMAS, was the first Relief minister, and founder of the synod of Relief. He was born in the year 1708, at Clearburn, in the parish of Duddingstone near Edinburgh, of parents distinguished for their piety. He lost his father, who was a farmer and brewer, when he was very young. His mother, who seems to have been a woman of decided piety, and at the same time of active business habits, continued her husband's business as farmer and brewer after his death. Gillespie, who was of delicate constitution and melancholy temperament, seems throughout life to have been marked by the shyness of disposition, the reserved manners, the fondness for retirement, and the tenderness yet conscientiousness of feeling, which usually distinguish the boy brought up in a retired domestic way, under a fond and widowed mother. His mother was accustomed to attend the services at the dispensation of the Lord's supper by Mr. Wilson of Maxton, Mr. Boston of Ettrick, Mr. Davidson of Galashiels, and other eminent evangelical ministers, with whom the south of Scotland was at that time favoured. On these occasions she commonly took with her her son Thomas, in whom the anxious mother had not yet traced those satisfactory evidences of decisive piety which her maternal regard for his best interests so earnestly desired; on one of these occasions she mentioned her distress on account of her son to Mr. Boston, who, at her request, spoke to him in private on his eternal interests. His counsels made a decisive impression upon the mind of Gillespie, at that time a young man about twenty years of age, and led him soon after to commence his studies as preparatory to the ministry, which he prosecuted at the university of Edinburgh.

After the origin of the Secession his mother became attached to that body; and through her advice and influence Gillespie went to Perth to study under Mr. Wilson, their first theological professor. In

this step he seems to have been influenced more by a desire to comply with the wishes of a fond and pious mother, than by personal attachment to the peculiarities of the Secession. His whole stay at Perth was ten days; for as soon as from conversations with Mr. Wilson he fully comprehended the principles on which the Secession were proceeding, he withdrew. He proceeded to England, where he pursued his studies at the theological academy in Northampton, at that time superintended by the celebrated Dr. Philip Doddridge. When he thus went to England Dr. Erskine states (in his preface to his *Essay on Temptations*) that he had attended the humanity, philosophy, and divinity classes in the college of Edinburgh, and that he carried with him attestations of his personal piety and acquirements in philosophical and theological literature from several ministers of the Church of Scotland: viz. Rev. Messrs. Davidson of Galashiels, Wilson of Maxton, Wardlaw of Dunfermline, Smith of Newburn, Gusthart, Webster, and Hepburn, of Edinburgh, James Walker of Canongate, M'Vicar of West Kirk, Kid of Queensferry, Bonnar of Torphichen, and Wardrope of Whitburn—all of whom mention their having been intimately acquainted with him.

After the usual trials, he was licensed to preach the gospel, 30th October, 1740, by a respectable class of English dissenters, among whom Dr. Doddridge presided as moderator, and ordained to the work of the ministry, 22d January, 1741. It is said that his first charge was over a dissenting congregation in the north of England. If so, it must have been for a very short time, for in March following he returned to Scotland, bringing with him warm and ample recommendations from Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Job Orton, and thirteen other ministers in that neighbourhood, "as a deeply experienced Christian, well qualified for the important work of the ministry, and one who bade fair to prove an ornament to his holy profession, and an instrument of considerable usefulness to the souls of men."

Soon after his return to Scotland he got a regular call to the parish of Carnock near Dunfermline, to which he was presented by Mr. Erskine of Carnock. At that time the forms of procedure in the Church of Scotland seem to have been not so strict and unaccommodating to circumstances as they are now; for in inducting him into Carnock the presbytery of Dunfermline proceeded on his deed of license and ordination by the English dissenters as valid, and dealt by him as one who had already held a charge. At his admission into Carnock he showed the influence which his theological education at Northampton, and his intercourse with the English dissenters had exerted upon his opinions as to Christian liberty, by objecting to the doctrine of the Confession of Faith respecting the power of the civil magistrate in religion; he was permitted to subscribe with an explanation of his meaning upon this point. The passages of the Confession to which he objected were the 4th section of the 20th chapter, and the 3d section of the 23d chapter: which declare that those may be proceeded against by the power of the civil magistrate who publish such opinions, or maintain such practices, as are contrary to the light of nature, the known principles of Christianity, or the power of godliness, or which are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the church; and that the civil magistrate hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline, be prevented or reformed, and all

the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed, for the better effecting of which he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God.

Mr. Gillespie laboured as parish minister of Carnock till the year 1752. He was a careful student, a diligent and faithful minister, and generally acceptable and useful in his pulpit labours, both in his own parish and as an occasional assistant elsewhere. The acceptance which his pulpit discourses met was not owing to any advantage of manner, for his delivery was uncouth, and his whole manner that of one nervously afraid of his audience. But he was solemn and affectionate, much impressed himself as conscious of his awful charge. He had struggled hard himself against the oppression of a constitutional tendency to despondency; and in his discourses he sought especially to comfort and counsel the desponding and tempted Christian. Dr. John Erskine, who was several months his stated hearer, and who besides this often heard him occasionally, bears witness in his preface to Mr. Gillespie's *Essay on the Continuance of Immediate Revelations in the Church*, that "he studied in his ministry what was most needful for the bulk of his hearers, giving law and gospel, comfort and terror, privileges and duties, their proper place. I never (says he) sat under a ministry better calculated to awaken the thoughtless and secure, to caution convinced sinners against what would stifle their convictions and prevent their issuing in conversion, and to point out the difference between vital Christianity and specious counterfeit appearances of it."

During the eleven years that Mr. Gillespie occupied the charge of Carnock he kept close to the humble and unostentatious yet useful duties of the pastor of a country parish. He seems never to have taken any prominent part in the business of the church courts: he was, both from habit and disposition, retiring and reserved, fond of the studies of the closet, but destitute alike of the ability and the inclination for managing public affairs, and leading the van in ecclesiastical warfare. It was his scrupulous conscientiousness, not his ambition, that made him the founder of a party. He was thrust on it by circumstances beyond his intention.

Mr. Gillespie entered the ministry in the Church of Scotland when the harsh operation of the law of patronage was causing painful and lamentable contests between the people and the dominant party in the church courts. It had already caused the secession; and there still remained in the Church of Scotland many elements of discord and sources of heart-burning; whole presbyteries even refused to act when the settlement of obnoxious presentees was enjoined by the superior courts—and to effect the execution of their sentences appointing the settlement of unpopular individuals, the General Assembly had at times wholly to supersede the functions of the presbytery, and appoint the induction to be completed by committees of individuals not connected with the presbytery; it might be men who, without scruple, were willing to act on whatever was ecclesiastical law, and carry through the matter intrusted to their care in the face of the menaces or murmurs of a dissatisfied and protesting people.

This method of settling obnoxious presentees by *riding committees*, as they were called in those days by the populace, was confessedly a most irregular and unconstitutional device. It was a clumsy expedient to avoid coming in direct collision with recusant presbyteries. It was found to answer the purpose very imperfectly; and it was soon seen that

there remained to the General Assembly but two alternatives, either to soften the operation of the law of patronage, and give way to the popular voice, or to compel the presbyteries to settle every man who received a presentation, against whom heresy or immorality could not be proved; otherwise there would be perpetual collision between themselves and the inferior courts. The assembly chose the latter and the bolder alternative. In 1750, accordingly, the assembly referred it to their commission, "to consider of a method for securing the execution of the sentences of the assembly and commission, and empowered them to censure any presbyteries which might be disobedient to any of the sentences pronounced by that meeting of assembly."

In 1751 Mr. Andrew Richardson, previously settled at Broughton, in the parish of Biggar, was presented to the charge of Inverkeithing by the patron of the parish. He was unacceptable to the body of the people, and his call was signed only by a few non-resident heritors. Opposition being made to his settlement by the parishioners, the presbytery of Dunfermline, and after them the synod of Fife, refused to comply with the orders of the commission to proceed to the settlement of Mr. Richardson. The case came before the assembly in 1752; and it was justly anticipated that it would bring to an issue the conflict between recusant presbyteries, who had a conscientious regard for the rights of the people, and the dominant party in the assembly, who had no regard for them, but were resolved to give effect to every presentation. The lord-commissioner, the Earl of Leven, in his opening speech, with sufficient plainness indicated the course of procedure which the government desired and expected the assembly should pursue, in the circumstances; and said that it was more than high time to put a stop to the growing evil of inferior courts assuming the liberty of disputing and disobeying their decisions. The ruling party in the assembly were prompt in obeying these orders of the lord-commissioner. They acted with more energy than prudence or tenderness. When the Inverkeithing case came to be considered, the assembly sent the presbytery from their bar to Inverkeithing with orders to complete Mr. Richardson's induction: they enjoined every member of presbytery to be present at the admission: they changed the legal quorum from three to five. These orders were issued by the assembly on Monday; the induction was appointed to take place on Thursday, and the members of the presbytery were all commanded to appear at the bar of the assembly on Friday, to report their fulfilment of these orders.

On Friday, when the members of the Dunfermline presbytery were called upon, it appeared that only three had attended at Inverkeithing, and they not being the number required by the decision of the assembly to constitute a presbytery, did not feel themselves authorized to proceed to the admission. Of the other six, Mr. Gillespie and other five pleaded conscientious scruples, and gave in a paper in defence of their conduct, quoting in their justification the language of the assembly itself, who in 1736 had declared that "it is, and has been ever since the Reformation, the principle of the church, that no minister shall be introduced into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation; and therefore it is seriously recommended to all judicatories of the church, to have a due regard to the said principle in planting vacant congregations, so as none be intruded into such parishes, as they regard the glory of God, and the edification of the body of Christ."

The assembly paid small regard to their own former declarations thus brought under their notice.

They felt, indeed, that it would be rather *trenchant* and severe, by one fell swoop to depose six ministers all equally guilty: they resolved, however, by a majority, to depose one of the six. This was intimated to them with orders to attend on the morrow. Next day Mr. Gillespie gave in a paper justifying a statement made in their joint representation, that the assembly had themselves stigmatized the act of 1712, restoring patronages, as an infraction of the settlement made at the union. The proof of this statement, which had been questioned in the previous day's debate, he proved by quotations from the assembly's act of 1736, made at the time when they wished to lure back and reconcile the four seceding brethren—the founders of the Secession.

After prayer to God for direction—which, in the circumstances of the case, and in the predetermined state of mind in which the ruling party in the assembly were, was a profane mockery of Heaven—they proceeded to decide which of the six should be deposed. A great majority of the assembly (102) declined voting; 52 voted that Mr. Gillespie should be deposed, and 4 that some one of the others should be taken. The moderator then pronounced the sentence of deposition on Mr. Gillespie. He stood at the bar to receive it, and when he had heard it to an end, with the meek dignity of conscious innocence, replied, "Moderator, I receive this sentence of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland with reverence and awe on account of the divine conduct in it. But I rejoice that it is given to me on the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but to suffer for his sake."

This hard measure dealt to him excited general commiseration and sympathy even among the ministers of the church. He was humble and unassuming, a quiet, retired student, not one versant in the warfare of church courts. Sir H. Moncrieff, in his *Life of Dr. Erskine*, testifies that he was one of the most inoffensive and upright men of his time, equally zealous and faithful in his pastoral duties, but one who never entered deeply into ecclesiastical business, and who was at no time a political intriguer. His sole crime was, that from a conscientious feeling, he would not be present or take any active part in a violent settlement, and they must be strangely fond of stretches of ecclesiastical power who will pronounce the deposition of such a man in such circumstances either praiseworthy or wise.

The sentence of deposition was pronounced on Saturday. On Sabbath, the day following, he preached in the fields at Carnock to his people, from the words of Paul, "For necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel." He told his hearers, that though the assembly had deposed him from being a member of the Established church, for not doing what he believed it was sinful for him to do, yet he hoped, through grace, no public disputes should be his theme, but Jesus Christ and him crucified,¹ and then went on to illustrate his text, without saying anything in justification of himself or in condemnation of the assembly.

He preached in the fields till the month of September, when he removed to the neighbouring town of Dunfermline, where a church had been prepared for him. At the following meeting of assembly, in 1753, an attempt was made by the evangelical party in the church to have the sentence of deposition rescinded; but though some of those who voted for his deposition, stung by their own consciences, or moved by sympathy, expressed their regret in

very poignant language,² yet the motion was lost by a majority of three.

He laboured in Dunfermline for five years without any ministerial assistance, and during that period he dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's supper thirteen times, preaching on these occasions commonly nine sermons, besides the exhortations at the tables. When he first determined to celebrate the Lord's supper in his congregation at Dunfermline, he requested the assistance of some of the evangelical ministers in the Church of Scotland; but from fear of the censures of the assembly, they refused him their aid.

The first minister who joined Mr. Gillespie in his separation from the Church of Scotland, was Mr. Boston, son of the well-known author of the *Fourfold State*. The parish of Jedburgh becoming vacant, the people were earnestly desirous that Mr. Boston, who was minister of Oxnam, and a man of eminently popular talents, might be presented to the vacant charge. No attention, however, was paid to their wishes. The people of Jedburgh took their redress into their own hands, they built a church for themselves, and invited Mr. Boston to become their minister; and he resigning his charge at Oxnam, and renouncing his connection with the Church of Scotland, cheerfully accepted their invitation. He was settled among them 9th December, 1757. He immediately joined Mr. Gillespie, to whom he was an important acquisition, from his popular talents and extensive influence in the south of Scotland. Though associated together, and lending mutual aid, they did not proceed to any acts of ecclesiastical government, till, by a violent settlement in the parish of Kilconquhar, in Fife, the people were led to erect a place of worship for themselves in the village of Colinsburgh, to which they invited as their pastor the Rev. Thomas Collier, a native of the district, who had for some time been settled at Ravenstonedale, in Northumberland, in connection with the English dissenters. At his admission to the charge of the congregation formed in Colinsburgh, on the 22d of October, 1761, Mr. Gillespie and Mr. Boston, with an elder from their respective congregations, first met as a presbytery. In the minute of that meeting they rehearsed the circumstances connected with their separation from the Church of Scotland, and declared that they had formed themselves into a presbytery for the relief of Christians oppressed in their privileges.

The number of congregations in connection with the Relief rapidly increased. It afforded an asylum for those who desired to have the choice of their own ministers, yet could not accede to the peculiarities of the Secession. Relief from patronage, the assertion of the people's right to choose their own ministers, the extending of their communion to all visible saints, to all sound in the faith and of holy life—these were the distinguishing peculiarities which marked the Relief. They were distinguished from the two bodies of the Secession by their permission of occasionally attending the ministry of other churches, their disregard of the covenants sworn by our Scottish ancestors, their neglect of the duty of covenanting, and their not restricting their communion to their own Christian societies. These peculiarities provoked the reproaches of the Secession writers of the day. In the progress of time, however, a large section of the Seceders came to be of one mind with their Relief brethren on all matters of doctrine and discipline. In the year 1847 the two

¹ Dr. Erskine's Preface to his *Essay on Temptations*.

² Memoir of Gillespie, in the *Quarterly Magazine*, by Dr. Stuart.

bodies were joined together under the designation of the United Presbyterian Church. This respectable denomination now (1866) numbers 588 congregations, with an aggregate attendance of 460,000 persons. The Relief and United Secession churches were both opposed to the principle of an established church; and although the voluntary principle of the United Presbyterian church is not formally avowed in her standards, it is distinctly implied in her position and actings.

It has been said that Gillespie cooled in his attachment to the Relief in the latter part of his life, and that he even expressed a wish that his congregation should join the Established church as a chapel of ease. This last assertion is certainly questionable. It has been contradicted by Mr. Smith in his *Historical Sketches of the Relief Church*, who, holding a charge in Dunfermline, and living among the personal associates of Gillespie, may be reckoned a competent witness as to what was known of Mr. Gillespie's sentiments. He states that the church and part of the congregation were carried over to the Establishment by the undue influence and representations of Mr. Gillespie's brother; and that Mr. Gillespie had no difference with his brethren as to the constitution and principles of the Relief church. He never discovered to his people any inclination to be connected again with the Establishment. His disapprobation of the church which deposed him continued to the end of his days. He was, however, dissatisfied with some of his brethren for the willingness they showed to listen to the application of Mr. Perrie (1770) to be received into the body. Perhaps, too, his being thrown into the shade in the conduct of the public affairs of the body, by the active business habits of Mr. Bain, after his accession to the Relief, might heighten his chagrin. These circumstances, operating on the tenderness of temper incident to old age and increasing infirmities, seem to have created in his mind a degree of dissatisfaction with some of his brethren; but that he repented of the steps he had taken in the formation of the presbytery of Relief, or that he had changed his sentiments on the terms of communion, on the impropriety of the civil magistrate's interference in ecclesiastical affairs, or similar points, there is no evidence.

The only productions of Gillespie that have been published are, *An Essay on the Continuance of Immediate Revelations in the Church*, published in his lifetime, and a *Treatise on Temptation*, in 1774, after his death, both prefaced by Dr. J. Erskine of Edinburgh. The first is designed to prove that God does not now give to any individuals, by impressions, dreams, or otherwise, intimations of facts or future events. He argues the point solidly and sensibly, and with some ingenuity. From his correspondence it appears that the topic had occupied his thoughts much. He corresponded with Doddridge, Harvey, and President Edwards; and his correspondence with Edwards was published in the *Quarterly Magazine*, conducted by Dr. Stuart, son-in-law to Dr. Erskine. Mr. Gillespie always prepared carefully for the pulpit. He left in MS. about 800 sermons, fairly and distinctly written. He died on the 19th of January, 1774.

GILLESPIE, REV. THOMAS, D.D., was born in the parish of Clossburn, Dumfriesshire, but in what year we have been unable to ascertain. He received the rudiments of education at the celebrated seminary of Wallacehall, in his own native parish, and afterwards went through the curriculum of the Dumfries Academy, a place noted for its excellence

VOL. II.

among the educational establishments of Scotland. Having been designed for the church, Mr. Gillespie enrolled as a student in the university of Edinburgh; and after having been distinguished in the divinity-hall by his talents and scholarship, was licensed as a preacher, and a few years afterwards was presented by the United College, St. Andrews, to the parish of Cults, in the presbytery of Cupar-Fife. In this ministerial charge he was the immediate successor of the Rev. David Wilkie, father of the celebrated painter; and, on taking possession of his manse he was grieved to find that, in the process of cleaning and white-washing, the sketches with which Sir David Wilkie, when a little boy, had covered the walls of his nursery, were remorselessly swept away. To a man of Gillespie's taste and enthusiasm it seemed as if his entrance into a peaceful home had been preceded by an onslaught of the Vandals; but after settling in Cults he made many inquiries into the early history of Sir David, which he communicated to Allan Cunningham, the artist's eloquent biographer. Over the portal of the manse, also, in imitation of Gil Blas, he afterwards carved that couplet of the Latin poet—

Inveni portum, spes et fortuna valet;
Saepe me lussit, ludite nunc alios.

This final good-bye to hope and fortune, however, was somewhat premature; for having been appointed assistant and successor to Dr. John Hunter, professor of humanity in St. Andrews, whose daughter Mr. Gillespie had married, he relinquished the ministerial charge of Cults, and became a resident in the ancient town of St. Andrews.

In his capacity of a country divine, and afterwards as a professor, Mr. Gillespie was distinguished by superior talent, both as an able writer and ready eloquent speaker. His chief work was a volume of sermons on the *Seasons*; but his contributions to some of our best newspapers and journals, both in prose and verse, showed how high a rank he might have attained as an author had he devoted his labours to this department. But his productions through the press were the light buoyant sallies of an occasional hour of leisure, as a relief from more important occupations, rather than serious and continued efforts; and as such they were read, admired, and forgot, amidst the gay sparkling literature of the hour to which they were contributed. It was in the pulpit as an eloquent persuasive divine, and in his university chair as an effective teacher of classical literature, that his whole energies were thrown forth; and when he died a blank was left both in presbytery and college, which his learned and reverend brethren felt would not soon be filled up. Dr. Gillespie's death, which was sudden, occurred at Dunino, on the 11th of September, 1844. He was twice married, and his second wife was daughter of the Rev. Dr. Campbell, formerly minister of Cupar, and sister of the Right Hon. Lord John Campbell.

GILLESPIE, REV. WILLIAM, minister of Kells in Galloway, was the eldest son of the Rev. John Gillespie, who preceded him in that charge; and was born in the manse of the parish, February 18, 1776. After receiving the rudiments of education at the parish school, he entered the university of Edinburgh in 1792, and was appointed tutor to Mr. Don, afterwards Sir Alexander Don, Bart., in whose company he was introduced to the most cultivated society. While acting in this capacity, and at the same time prosecuting his theological studies, he amused himself by writing verses, and at this time commenced his poem entitled the *Progress of Refinement*, which was not completed or published till some years after—

43

wards. Among other clubs and societies of which he was a member may be instanced the Academy of Physics, which comprehended Brougham, Jeffrey, and other young men of the highest abilities, and of which an account has already been given in our article DR. THOMAS BROWN. In 1801, having for some time completed his studies and obtained a license as a preacher, he was ordained helper and successor to his father, with the unanimous approbation of the parish. Soon after he was invited by his former pupil, Mr. Don, to accompany him in making the tour of Europe; and he had actually left home for the purpose when the project was stopped by intelligence of the renewal of the war with France. In 1805 Mr. Gillespie published the "*Progress of Refinement, an Allegorical Poem*," intended to describe the advance of society in Britain from its infancy to maturity, but which met with little success. It was generally confessed that, though Mr. Gillespie treated every subject in poetry with much taste and no little feeling, he had not a sufficient amount of inspiration, or that vivid fervour of thought which is necessary, to reach the highest rank as a versifier. In 1806, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the full charge of the parish of Kells. For some years afterwards he seems to have contented himself in a great measure with discharging his duties as a clergyman, only making occasional contributions to periodical works, or communicating information to the Highland Society, of which he was a zealous and useful member. At length, in 1815, he published, in an octavo volume, *Consolation and other Poems*, which, however, received only the same limited measure of applause which had already been bestowed upon his *Progress of Refinement*. Mr. Gillespie, in July, 1825, married Miss Charlotte Hoggan; but being almost immediately after seized with erysipelas, which ended in general inflammation, he died, October 15, in the fiftieth year of his age. As the character of this accomplished person had been of the most amiable kind, his death was very generally and very sincerely mourned: his biographer, Mr. Murray, in his *Literary History of Galloway*, states the remarkable fact, that, amidst the many wet eyes which surrounded his grave, "even the sexton—a character not in general noted for soft feelings—when covering the remains of his beloved pastor, sobbed and wept to such a degree that he was hardly able to proceed with his trying duty."

GILLIES, JOHN, LL.D., F.R.S., F.A.S., member of many foreign societies, and historiographer to his majesty for Scotland. The many literary titles of this erudite and once popular historian, evince the high estimation in which he was held by the learned men of his day. He was born at Brechin, in the county of Forfar, on the 18th of January, 1747. Although of a family belonging to the middling classes, he was not its only distinguished member, as one of his younger brothers became an eminent lawyer at the Scottish bar, and finally attained the rank of lord of session. John Gillies was educated at the university of Glasgow, and there he so highly distinguished himself by his classical attainments, that, before he was of age, he was appointed to teach the classes of the Greek professor, who had been laid aside by old age and infirmity. Instead of waiting, however, for those turns of fortune that might have elevated him to the chair which he had filled as deputy, he repaired to London, for the purpose of devoting himself to authorship. Before he settled down in the metropolis he resolved still further to qualify himself for his future occupation

by the study of the living languages; and for this purpose he took up his residence for some time on the Continent. Upon his return he was engaged by the Earl of Hopetoun to accompany his second son as travelling tutor; and as it was necessary that he should relinquish certain profitable literary engagements into which he had already entered, before he set out with his pupil, he was remunerated for the sacrifice by the earl in 1777, who settled upon him a pension for life. But in the year previous his young charge died abroad; and a few years afterwards he was induced to undertake the charge of two other sons of the earl, who were about to travel on the Continent—one of them being John, afterwards Sir John Hope, and finally Earl of Hopetoun, distinguished by his military achievements—the other, Alexander, afterwards Sir Alexander Hope, lieutenant-governor of Chelsea Hospital. During the interval that elapsed between his first and second tutorship, and when no such interruption was anticipated, he had commenced the purposed business of his life in earnest, by publishing his first work. This was the "*Oration of Lysias and Socrates*," translated from the Greek, with some account of their Lives; and a Discourse on the History, Manners, and Character of the Greeks, from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Chæronea," 1778, 4to. About the same time he received the diploma of LL.D., the first of his literary distinctions.

On returning from the Continent, when his office of travelling-tutor had ended, which it did in 1784, Dr. Gillies resumed those labours which were so congenial to his tastes and habits, and which were now continued to the end of a very long life. His previous duties had not only furnished him with such a competence as to make him independent of the many painful contingencies to which authorship as a profession is subject, but had closely connected him with the Hopetoun family, to whose early patronage and continuing kindness he was wont to attribute much of the happiness by which his tranquil course was enlivened. Two years after his return to England he published the first portion of the work by which he is best known, entitled the "*History of Ancient Greece, its Colonies and Conquests, from the Earliest Accounts till the Division of the Macedonian Empire in the East; including the History of Literature, Philosophy, and the Fine Arts*," 2 vols. 4to, 1786. This work, which was continued in a second part, was so acceptable to the scholars of Germany, that a translation of it into German was published at Vienna in 1825, while at home it was so popular that it went through several editions. Time, however, which has so much diminished the lustre that invested the literature and science of the last century, has not spared his history any more than it has done the more distinguished productions of Hume and Gibbon; and Gillies, the once distinguished historian of Greece, is now subjected to an ordeal through which few of his contemporaries have passed unscathed. Newer and juster views, the fruit of a more ample experience and sounder philosophy; a more extensive knowledge of Grecian history and antiquity, and a more rigid and severe taste in historical writing, by which the present day is in the habit of judging the labours of the past, will no longer be satisfied with any history of ancient Greece that has as yet been produced. But, notwithstanding the faults that have been objected to the work of Gillies under this new and improved school of criticism, it was certainly a most useful production in its day, and well worthy of the approval with which it was welcomed by the learned; so that, not-

withstanding the complaints that have been made of the dulness of his dissertations, the pomposity of his style, and the occasional unfaithfulness of his translations, we have still to wait for a better history of Greece. By a curious coincidence the first part of the work, and the first volume of Mitford's *History of Greece*—two rival publications upon a common subject—were published during the same year.

The rest of the life of Dr. Gillies presents few incidents for the biographer. In 1793 he succeeded Dr. Robertson as historiographer royal for Scotland, a sinecure office, to which a salary of £200 per annum is attached. He was also elected a member of several societies in our own country, as also a corresponding member of the French Institute and of the Royal Society of Gottingen. In 1794 he married. His various publications continued to appear at distant intervals, until the debility of old age compelled him to lay aside his pen; and, having done enough for fame and fortune, he retired in 1830 to Clapham, near London, where the rest of his life was passed in tranquil enjoyment, until he died at the age of ninety without disease and without pain. This event occurred on the 15th of February, 1836.

Besides his writings which we have already specified, Dr. Gillies published:—1. "*View of the Reign of Frederic II. of Prussia, with a Parallel between that Prince and Philip II. of Macedon*," 1789, 8vo. 2. "*Aristotle's Ethics and Politics*, comprising his Practical Philosophy, translated from the Greek; illustrated by Introductions and Notes, the Critical History of his Life, and a New Analysis of his Speculative Works," 1797, 2 vols. 4to. 3. "*Supplement to the Analysis of Aristotle's Speculative Works*, containing an Account of the Interpreters and Corrupters of Aristotle's Philosophy, in connection with the Times in which they respectively flourished," 1804, 4to. 4. "*The History of the Ancient World, from the Dominion of Alexander to that of Augustus, with a Preliminary Survey of Preceding Periods*, 1807–10, 2 vols. 4to. This was afterwards reprinted in 4 vols. 8vo, as the *History of Ancient Greece, its Colonies and Conquests*, Part II., 1820. 5. "*A New Translation of Aristotle's Rhetoric*, with an Introduction and Appendix, explaining its Relation to his Exact Philosophy, and vindicating that Philosophy by Proofs that all Departures from it have been Deviations into Error," 1823, 8vo.

GLASS, JOHN, founder of a sect still known by his name, was the son of the Rev. Alexander Glass, minister of the parish of Auchtermuchty, in the county of Fife, where he was born on the 21st of September, 1695. In the year 1697 his father was translated to the parish of Kinclaven, at which place Mr. John Glass received the rudiments of his education. He was afterwards sent to the grammar-school of Perth, where he learned the Latin and Greek languages. He completed his studies at the universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, and having been licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Perth, was in 1719 ordained a minister of the Church of Scotland, in the parish of Tealing, in the neighbourhood of Dundee. Mr. Glass had been a diligent student, was deeply impressed with the importance of the ministerial character and the awful responsibility which attached to it, and was anxious, in no common degree, about the due discharge of the various duties which it involved. In his public services he was highly acceptable; had a singular gift of prayer; and in his sermons, which, according to the fashion of the time, were seldom less than two, sometimes three, hours in length, he attracted and kept up the unwearied attention of

crowded audiences. His fame as a preacher, of course, soon spread abroad, and his sacramental occasions attracted vast crowds from distant quarters; the usual concomitant, in those days, of popularity. But it was not public services alone that absorbed his attention; the more private duties of his station were equally attended to. Even so early as 1725, only two years after his settlement, he had formed within his parish a little society of persons whom he found to be particularly under serious impressions, and with whom he cultivated a more intimate intercourse, though no part of his charge was neglected. It is probable, however, that his peculiar notions of the constitution of a Christian church were by this time beginning to be developed, and this intercourse with a detached and particular part of his charge must have tended to hasten the process. Breach of covenant engagements, from a combination of circumstances, was at this time the topic very generally insisted on in the ministrations of the Scottish clergy. The binding obligation of both the national covenant of Scotland, and the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms being universally admitted, Mr. Glass began to preach against these covenants, as incompatible with the nature of the gospel dispensation and the sacred rights of conscience. A paper written by him at this time to the above effect excited a very great sensation throughout the country, and called forth some of the ablest defences of these famous deeds that have yet appeared. In the above paper Mr. Glass did not state himself as formally an enemy to the covenants, but only as an inquirer, wishing further light and information respecting them; yet it was evident to every intelligent person that he was no longer a Presbyterian. He was forthwith summoned before the church courts; and, refusing to sign the formula and some passages of the Confession of Faith, was, by the synod of Angus and Mearns, deposed from his office, on the 12th of April, 1728.

The same year he published his *King of Martyrs*, in which he embodied his views more fully matured. This book had no inconsiderable share of popularity, and it has served for a general storehouse, whence Mr. Patrick Hutchison, and after him all the modern advocates of spirituality, as a peculiar and distinguishing characteristic of the New Testament church, have drawn their principal arguments. On his deposition Mr. Glass removed from Tealing to Dundee, where, several persons joining him, he formed the first church of the kind in Scotland. This small body was not without its share of the obloquy to which Independency had long been exposed in Scotland, nor were the members without their fears respecting the practicability of the scheme, being doubtful of a sufficiency of gifts in the lay brethren. When they came to the proof, however, they were agreeably disappointed; and wherever they had occasion to form churches, which was in a short time in a great many places, appear to have found no lack of qualified persons. In the year 1733 Mr. Glass removed from Dundee to Perth, where he erected a small meeting-house, which was thought great presumption, especially as the handful of people that attended arrogated to themselves the name of a church. Attempts were even made to eject them forcibly from the town; and a zealous lady beholding Mr. Glass in the street, was heard to exclaim, "Why do they not rive [tear] him in pieces!" In the year 1739 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the same that gave positive orders to the commission to proceed against the Seceders with the censures of the church, took off, by a very curious act, the sentence of deposition

that had been passed against Mr. Glass. In this act he is stated to hold some peculiar views, which the Assembly do not think inconsistent with his being a minister. They accordingly restored him to the character of a minister of the gospel of Christ, but declared at the same time he was not to be considered a minister of the Established Church of Scotland, or capable of being called and settled therein, till he should renounce these peculiar views. This act, even among the anomalous acts of church courts, was certainly a very strange one. If Mr. Glass, however, was satisfied on scriptural grounds that he was a minister of Christ, it could make little difference whether he belonged to the Church of Scotland or not. At the time of his deposition Mr. Glass had a large family, and when he was deprived of his stipend had no visible means of supporting it. This, taken in connection with the persecutions of another kind which he was made to endure, affords sufficient evidence, whatever any may think of his principles, that he was sincere and conscientious in their profession. In this sacrifice of worldly interests it is pleasing to learn that he had the cheerful concurrence of his excellent wife, Catharine Black, a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Black of Perth. This worthy woman, persuaded that the cause in which he was engaged was the cause of God, encouraged him in his darkest moments to perseverance, and to a cheerful trust in Divine Providence, even for such things as might be needful for this present frail and transitory life; nor was his confidence in vain. In the death of their children (fifteen in number, all of whom he survived) their faith and patience were also severely tried, especially in the case of such of them as had arrived at the years of maturity. One of his sons was the occasion of much trouble to him, and left his house a disobedient son. Like the prodigal in the parable, however, he repented in his affliction, and returned a very different person. His son Thomas lived to become a respectable bookseller in Dundee, where he was settled in life, and was pastor to the congregation which his father had left in that place; but he was cut off in the prime of life by a fever. Another of his sons, George, was a sea-captain, and known as the author of the *History of the Canary Islands*, published by Dodsley in 1764. He afterwards went out for a London company to attempt forming a settlement on the coast of Africa, where he was seized by the Spaniards, and kept a prisoner for several years. The men whom he had conducted to Africa were in the meantime murdered, and his ship plundered. Having, by a pencil note inclosed in a loaf of bread, found means to make his case known to the British consul, the government interfered, and he was set at liberty. He took his passage with his wife and daughter for London, intending to revisit his native country. The ship in which he embarked was unfortunately loaded with specie, which, awakening the cupidity of a part of the crew, they conspired to murder the captain and secure the vessel. Captain Glass, hearing the disturbance on deck when the mutiny broke out, drew his sword, and hastening to the rescue, was stabbed in the back by one of the conspirators, who had been lurking below. Mrs. Glass and her daughter clung to one another imploring mercy, but were thrown overboard locked in each other's arms. The murderers landed on the coast of Ireland, where they unshipped the money-chests, which they hid in the sands, and went to an ale-house to refresh themselves. Here they were taken up on suspicion, confessed the atrocious crime, and were subsequently executed. Mr. Glass and his friends in Perth had

been apprised by letter that his son was on his voyage home, and were in daily expectation of his arrival, when intelligence of the fate of the ship and her crew reached Perth in a newspaper. Mr. Glass sustained the shock with his wonted resignation and equanimity. He died in 1773, aged seventy-eight. The doctrines and practices of his sect were afterwards modified by his son-in-law Mr. Robert Sandeman, author of *The Letters on Theron and Aspasio*, and from whom the members of the body are sometimes denominated Sandemanians.

GLENNIE, JAMES, a distinguished geometrician, a native of Fife, was born in 1750. His father was an officer in the army, and saw much severe service. Glennie received the rudiments of his education at a parochial school, and was afterwards removed to the university of St. Andrews, where he made considerable proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, but early discovered a strong and peculiar propensity to the sciences in general, but more particularly to geometry, a branch which he pursued with such zeal and success as to carry off two successive prizes in the mathematical class, when he was only nineteen years of age. Glennie was originally intended for the church, and with this view attended the divinity class, where he also distinguished himself, becoming a keen polemic and theologian, and an acute and able disputant. Whether, however, from his finding a difficulty in obtaining a church, or from the impulse of his own disposition, he abandoned the idea of entering into holy orders, and chose rather to seek his fortune in the army. Through the interest of the Earl of Kinnoul, then chancellor of the university of St. Andrews, and of the professors of that university, to whom Glennie's talents had strongly recommended him, he obtained a commission in the artillery, a branch of the service for which his geometrical knowledge eminently fitted him. On the breaking out of the American war, in 1775, Glennie embarked for that country with the troops sent out by the mother country to co-operate with those already there, in the suppression of the insurgents. On his arrival, now a lieutenant of artillery, he was placed under the command of General St. Leger; his reputation, however, as a promising officer and skilful engineer was already so great, that he was left in full command of his own particular department. Throughout the whole campaign which followed he conducted all his operations with such judgment and intrepidity as to attract the notice of the Marquis of Townshend, who, without solicitation or any interest whatever being made, transferred Glennie to the engineers; and this flattering circumstance, together with the reasons annexed, were certified in the *London Gazette*. In 1779 he was further gratified by being nominated one of the thirty practitioner engineers, and appointed second, and soon after first, lieutenant. So active and industrious were Glennie's habits, that even while engaged in the arduous and dangerous duties of his profession in America, he wrote a number of important papers on abstruse subjects. These he transmitted to the Royal Society, where they were read, and deemed so valuable as to procure him the honour of being elected a member, and that, as in the case of the celebrated Dr. Franklin, without fees, and even without his knowledge.

On his return to England Mr. Glennie married Miss Mary Anne Locke, daughter of the store-keeper at Plymouth.

The good fortune, however, which had hitherto attended Glennie, and the prosperous career which apparently lay still before him, were now about to close

in darkness and disappointment. The first blow to Glennie's hopes of future promotion proceeded from a circumstance sufficiently remarkable in itself. The Duke of Richmond, who was, at the time of Glennie's return from America, master-general of the board of ordnance, in which he had displaced Glennie's early patron the Marquis of Townshend, had conceived the absurd idea of fortifying all our naval arsenals, and of forming lines of defence on the coast, instead of increasing the navy, and trusting to that arm for protection against a foreign enemy. The duke was much opposed on this point in parliament; but as it was a favourite idea, he persevered, and supported as he was by the influence and eloquence of Pitt, would have carried the measure, but for the skill and talent of a subaltern of artillery; and that subaltern, who coped successfully with a minister of state on a great national question, was Glennie.

The Duke of Richmond, aware of Glennie's talents in the sciences of gunnery and fortification, frequently and anxiously endeavoured to obtain his approbation of his plans; with more candour than wisdom, however, he not only steadfastly withheld this approbation, but unhesitatingly declared them to be absurd and impracticable. Glennie's early patron, the Marquis of Townshend, knowing the former's opinion of the Duke of Richmond's plans, invited him to his residence, where he detained him until he had composed, which he did at the marquis's request, a pamphlet on the subject. The pamphlet, which was written with great ability and discovered a profound knowledge of the matter of which it treated, was immediately published, and produced a prodigious effect. It instantly opened the eyes of the public to the absurdity of the minister's ideas: his projects were overturned, and the country was saved; but Glennie was ruined.

In this celebrated pamphlet, which is simply entitled *A Short Essay*, it was demonstrated that extensive lines produce prolonged weakness, not strength, and showed that troops are much more formidable as an active and movable force than as an inert body, cooped up in fortifications. It showed further that the sum (calculated at forty or fifty millions) which should be required to carry the duke's plans into effect, was more than would be necessary to build a new and complete fleet, superior to that of any power on earth. Besides all this, it was shown that it would require 22,000 soldiers for the intended fortifications of Portsmouth and Plymouth alone.

Glennie, perceiving that all hopes of further promotion were now at an end, resigned his commission and emigrated to British America with his wife and children. Here he purchased a tract of land, and soon afterwards became a contractor for ship-timber and masts for government. The speculation failed, and both Glennie himself and a partner, a wealthy man who had joined him in it, were ruined. Driven back to England, but now, as many years had elapsed, forgotten and without friends, Glennie applied to the Earl of Chatham, who, recognizing his merits, but unable to do more for him, retained rather than employed him as "engineer extraordinary." Soon after, however, he procured Glennie the appointment of instructor to the East India Company's young artillery officers, with salary and emoluments amounting to £400 per annum. Glennie's good fortune was, however, again but of short duration. He was summoned as an evidence on some points in the celebrated trial of the Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke; his evidence was unfavourable to the duke; the consequence was, that he soon afterwards received an official letter

from the board of directors, dispensing with his services.

In 1812 Glennie, now in the sixty-second year of his age, went out to Copenhagen at the request of a gentleman who then held a seat in parliament, to negotiate the purchase of a certain plantation. Glennie having set out on his mission without coming to any explicit terms with his employer, his claim for compensation on his return was disputed, and referred to arbitration; but the referees could not agree, and the matter therefore was never adjusted. Glennie, now in an exceedingly destitute condition, without friends who could assist him, his health destroyed, and himself far advanced in life, made an unsuccessful attempt to procure a few mathematical pupils, and finally died of apoplexy on the 23d November, 1817, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His remains were interred in the churchyard of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

Amongst other proofs of Glennie's geometrical knowledge is to be found a solution of Dr. Matthew Stewart's "42d proposition on 39th theorem," which had remained unsolved, and had puzzled the learned for sixty-five years; and also a demonstration of the impossibility of "squaring the circle," a question which has long excited public curiosity, and which it is said engaged the attention and eluded the research of the great Newton.

GOODAL, WALTER, well known as a historical antiquary, was the eldest son of John Goodal, a farmer in Banffshire, and was born about the year 1706. In 1723 he was entered as a student in King's College, Aberdeen, but did not continue long enough to take a degree. In 1730 he obtained employment in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh under the famous Thomas Ruddiman, who was a native of the same district, and perhaps patronized him on account of some local recommendations. He assisted Ruddiman in the compilation of the first catalogue of the library, which was published in 1742. When Ruddiman was succeeded by David Hume, Goodal continued to act as sub-librarian, probably upon a very small salary. Like both of his successive superiors, he was a Tory and a Jacobite, but, it would appear, of a far more ardent character than either of them. Being, almost as a matter of course, a believer in the innocence of Queen Mary, he contemplated writing her life, but afterwards limited his design to a publication entitled *An Examination of the Letters said to be written by Mary to James Earl of Bothwell*, which appeared in 1754. In this work, says Mr. George Chalmers, he could have done more, if he had had less prejudice and more coolness. Hume had become librarian two years before this period; but "the chief duty," we are informed, "fell upon Walter, or, as he good-naturedly permitted himself to be called, Watty Goodal. One day, while Goodal was composing his treatise concerning Queen Mary, he became drowsy, and laying down his head upon his manuscripts, in that posture fell asleep. Hume, entering the library and finding the controversialist in that position, stepped softly up to him, and laying his mouth to Watty's ear, roared out with the voice of a stentor, that Queen Mary was a whore, and had murdered her husband. Watty, not knowing whether it was a dream or a real adventure, or whether the voice proceeded from a ghost or living creature, started up, and before he was awake, or his eyes well opened, he sprang upon Hume, and, seizing him by the throat, pushed him to the further end of the library, exclaiming all the while that he was some base Presbyterian parson, who was come to murder the character of Queen Mary as his predecessors had

contributed to murder her person. Hume used to tell this story with much glee, and Watty acknowledged the truth of it with much frankness."

In 1753 Mr. Goodal acted as editor of a new edition of the work called *Crawford's Memoirs*, which he is generally blamed for not having corrected or purified from the vitiations of its author. In 1754 he published an edition, with emendatory notes, of Scott of Scotstarvet's *Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*, and wrote a preface and life to Sir James Balfour's *Practicks*. He contributed also to Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, and published an edition of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, with a Latin introduction, of which an English version was given to the world in 1769. Goodal died July 28, 1766, in very indigent circumstances, which Mr. Chalmers attributes to habits of intemperance. The following extract from the minutes of the Faculty of Advocates throws a melancholy light upon the subject, and is fully entitled to a place in Mr. D'Israeli's *Calamities of Authors*—

"A petition was presented in name of Mary Goodal, only daughter of the deceased Mr. Walter Goodal, late depute-keeper of the Advocates' Library, representing that the petitioner's father died the 28th last month; that by reason of some accidental misfortunes happening in his affairs, any small pieces of household furniture or other movables he hath left behind will scarcely defray the expense of his funeral; that if there is any overplus, [it] will be attached by his creditors; that she is in the most indigent circumstances, and without friends to give her any assistance; that she proposes to go to the north country, where she hath some relations, in order to try if she can be put upon any way of gaining her bread; that she would not be permitted to leave the town until she should discharge some small debts that she was by necessity obliged to contract; that, besides, she was in such want of clothes and other necessities, that she can scarcely appear in the streets; and that, in her most distressed situation, she hath presumed to make this humble application to the honourable the dean and faculty of advocates, praying that they would be pleased to order her such a sum from their fund as they shall judge her necessities require.

"The dean and faculty, taking this clamant case under their consideration, were unanimously of opinion that the petitioner should have some allowance out of their fund." The sum given was ten pounds.

GORDON, ALEXANDER, author of various learned and useful antiquarian works, is one of the numerous subjects for the present publication, of whom nothing is known except their birth in Scotland, and their transactions in public life out of it. He was a well-educated man, possessing what was not in his time common among the Scottish literati—an intimate knowledge of the Greek language. In early life he travelled through France and other parts of the Continent, and spent some years in Italy. His first publication referred to the antiquities of his native country, which he seems to have explored with minute and painstaking fidelity. The work appeared in 1726, under the title of "*Itinerarium Septentrionale, or a Journey through most Parts of the Counties of Scotland*, in two parts, with sixty-six copperplates," folio: a supplement, published in 1732, was entitled *Additions and Corrections to the Itinerarium Septentrionale, containing several Dissertations on and Descriptions of Roman Antiquities discovered in Scotland since publishing the said Itinerary*. These were among the first efforts in what may be called pure antiquities which were made in Scotland. The *It-*

inerary was considered so valuable a work, that it was translated into Latin and published in Holland in 1731 (the supplement included), for the use of general scholars throughout Europe. In 1729 Mr. Gordon published "*The Lives of Pope Alexander VI. and his Son Cesar Borgia*, comprehending the Wars in the Reign of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII., Kings of France, and the Chief Transactions and Revolutions in Italy from 1492 to 1516, with an Appendix of Original Pieces referred to in the Work." This work was also in folio. In 1730 he published in octavo, "*A Complete History of Ancient Amphitheatres, more particularly regarding the Architecture of these Buildings, and in particular that of Verona*; by the Marquis Scipio Maffei; translated from the Italian." In 1736 Mr. Gordon was appointed secretary to the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, with an annual salary of £50; and also secretary to the Antiquarian Society: the former place he resigned in 1739, and the latter in 1741. About the same time he officiated as secretary to the Egyptian Club, an association of learned individuals who had visited Egypt, comprising Lord Sandwich, Dr. Shaw, Dr. Pococke, and others of nearly equal distinction. Mr. Gordon published two other works—*An Essay towards Explaining the Hieroglyphical Figures on the Coffin of the Ancient Mummy belonging to Captain William Lethicullier*, 1737, and *Twenty-five Plates of all the Egyptian Mummies and other Egyptian Antiquities in England*, about 1739—both in folio.

Mr. Gordon was destined, after doing so much to explain the antiquities of the old world, to the uncongenial fate of spending his last years in the new, where so few are to be found. He was induced in 1741 to accompany Governor Glen to Carolina in North America, where, besides a grant of land, he had several offices, particularly that of registrar of the province. He died about 1750, leaving a valuable estate to his family.

GORDON, GEORGE, commonly called Lord George Gordon, one of the most remarkable Scotsmen who have flourished in modern political history, was the third son of Cosmo George, third Duke of Gordon, by Catharine, daughter of William Earl of Aberdeen. He was born in Upper Brook Street, London, in December, 1750, and was baptized in January, 1752; George II. standing as his sponsor or godfather. Of his boyhood or education we know little or nothing; nor does there appear to have supervened any peculiar trait of conduct or bias of disposition, during his juvenile years, to distinguish him from his compeers, or forbode the singular eccentricity and erratic waywardness of his future career. At a very tender age he entered the navy, in which he arrived, by due gradation, at the rank of lieutenant. The reason of his afterwards abandoning the naval profession was a pretended disappointment at non-promotion in the service, while it was, in fact, a mere job effected by some of the opposition members to win him to their ranks, as will afterwards be seen. In the year 1772, being then little more than twenty years of age, he went to reside in Inverness-shire, with the view of opposing General Fraser of Lovat, as member for the county, at the next general election, which would of necessity take place in two years thereafter at farthest. This was indeed bearding the lion in his den, and appeared about as Quixotic an undertaking as that of displacing one of the chieftain's native mountains. Such, however, were his ingratiating qualities, the frankness of his manners, the affability of his address, and his happy knack of accommodating himself to the

humours of all classes, that, when the day of election drew nigh, and the candidates began to number their strength, Lovat found, to his unutterable confusion and vexation, that his beardless competitor had actually succeeded in securing a majority of votes! Nor could the most distant imputations of bribery or undue influence be charged upon the young political aspirant. All was the result of his winning address and popular manners, superadded to his handsome countenance, which is said to have been of almost feminine beauty and delicacy. He played on the bagpipes and violin to those who loved music. He spoke Gaelic and wore the philabeg, where these were in fashion. He made love to the young ladies, and listened with patience and deference to the garrulous sermonizing of old age. And, finally, he gave a splendid ball to the gentry at Inverness—one remarkable incident concerning which was his hiring a ship, and bringing from the isle of Skye the family of the M'Leods, consisting of *fifteen* young ladies—the pride and admiration of the north. It was not to be tolerated, however, that the great feudal chieftain should thus be thrust from his hereditary political possession by a mere stripling. Upon an application to the duke, Lord George's eldest brother, a compromise was agreed on, by which it was settled, that upon Lord George's relinquishing Inverness-shire, General Fraser should purchase a seat for him in an English borough; and he was accordingly returned for Ludgershall, the property of Lord Melbourne, at the election of 1774.

It would appear that, for some time after taking his seat, Lord George voted with the ministry of the day. He soon, however, and mainly, it is affirmed, by the influence of his sister-in-law, the celebrated Duchess of Gordon, became a convert to the principles of the opposition; and it was not long ere, at the instigation of Governor Johnston and Mr. Burke, he fairly broke with the ministry, upon their refusal to comply with a most unreasonable demand for promotion over the heads of older and abler officers, which the gentlemen just named had incited him to make. From this time forward he became a zealous opponent of government, especially as regarded their policy towards America, where discontents against their measures were becoming rife and loud. It was not, however, until the session of 1776 that he stood forth as a public speaker, when he commenced his career by a furious attack on ministers, whom he accused of an *infamous* attempt to bribe him over to their side by the offer of a sinecure of £1000 a year. Whether this charge was true or false, certain it is that ministers felt the effects of the imputation so severely, reiterated and commented on as it was in the withering eloquence of Fox, Burke, and others, that an attempt was made to induce him to cede his seat in parliament, in favour of the famous Irish orator Henry Flood, by the offer of the place of vice-admiral of Scotland, then vacant by the resignation of the Duke of Queensberry. Notwithstanding that Lord George's fortune was then scarcely £700 per annum, he had the fortitude to resist the proffered bait, and seemed determined, like Andrew Marvel, to prefer dining for three days running on a single joint, rather than sacrifice his independence by the acceptance of court-favour. His lordship, indeed, soon began to estrange himself from both parties in the house, and to assume a position then entirely new in parliamentary tactics, and somewhat parallel to the course chalked out for themselves by a few of our patriots in the House of Commons at a later period. Disclaiming all connection with either Whigs or Tories, he avowed himself as being devoted solely to the cause of the people. Continu-

ing to represent the borough of Ludgershall, he persevered in animadverting with great freedom, and often with great wit, on the proceedings on both sides of the house, and became so marked, that it was usual at that time to say that "there were three parties in parliament—the ministry, the opposition, and Lord George Gordon."

A bill had been brought into parliament, in the session of 1778, by Sir George Saville, who is described by a writer of the Whig party as one of the most upright men which perhaps any age or country ever produced, to relieve the Roman Catholic subjects of England from some of the penalties they were subject to by an act passed in the eleventh and twelfth year of King William III.—an act supposed by many to have originated in faction, and which at all events, from many important changes since the time of its enactment, had become unnecessary, and therefore unjust.

On the passing of this bill, which required a test of fidelity from the parties who claimed its protection, many persons of that religion, and of the first families and fortunes in the kingdom, came forward with the most zealous professions of attachment to the government; so that the good effects of the indulgence were immediately felt, and hardly a murmur from any quarter was heard. This act of Sir George Saville did not extend to Scotland; but in the next winter a proposition was made by several individuals to revise the penal laws in force against the Catholics in that kingdom also, at least a report prevailed of such an intention. The people in general, having still a keen recollection of the religious dissensions of the preceding century, were strongly excited by this rumour, and formed numerous associations throughout the country for the purpose of resisting, by petition, any remission of the Catholic penalties. In this movement they were countenanced generally by the evangelical section of the national clergy, and perhaps the public fervour was raised by no circumstance so much as by the indifference with which the majority of the moderate party had treated the subject in the General Assembly of 1778, when the idea of a prospective declaration against the measure was coldly negatived. The proceedings in Scotland, and some inflammatory pamphlets published about the same time, gradually awakened the public mind in England, or at least the less informed part of it, to a conviction of the danger of Sir George Saville's act, and a powerful society was formed at London, under the name of the "Protestant Association," for endeavouring to procure the repeal of the bill. Large subscriptions were raised in different parts of the kingdom, a secretary was publicly chosen, and correspondences set on foot between the different societies in England and Scotland. To crown all, in November, 1779, Lord George Gordon, M.P., was unanimously invited to become president of the association, of which situation he accepted. One thing ought here to be observed, in judging of the sincerity of this nobleman in the part he took in the subsequent public proceedings on this subject, both in and out of parliament, that he offered no opposition whatever to the passing of Sir George Saville's repeal act.

In detailing the fearful events which ensued both in England and Scotland, in consequence of this struggle of parties, it is necessary that some regard be had to chronological order; and we must, therefore, first of all turn our attention to the posture of affairs in our own country.

Soon after the passing of the tolerating act in favour of the English and Irish Catholics, those of that creed in Scotland, encouraged, as we have said,

by demonstrations in their favour in various influential quarters, prepared a petition to parliament, praying for the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges which had been extended to their more fortunate brethren. At this juncture an anonymous pamphlet appeared at Edinburgh, which caused an extraordinary sensation throughout the country. Its effects were first developed by the proceedings in the provincial synods, by almost all of which (excepting that of Lothian and Tweeddale) violent and angry resolutions were passed against the Papists, and the firmest determination expressed to oppose their petition. These resolutions being published in the newspapers, soon propagated the ferment, and fanned the popular excitement into a blaze. Numerous societies were organized at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and elsewhere, who severally passed resolutions to the same effect. That at Edinburgh, together with all the incorporations of the city, excepting the surgeons, the merchant company, and the society of candle-makers, petitioned the town-council early in January, 1779, to oppose the bill, which was agreed to; and the members for the city and county were instructed accordingly. Similar proceedings also took place at Glasgow.

The populace, however, were far too highly irritated to await patiently the issue of these decided measures, and on the 2d of February their fury burst out at Edinburgh with uncontrollable violence. Incendiary letters had previously been distributed in the streets, calling upon the people to meet at the foot of Leith Wynd on the above day, "to pull down that pillar of Popery lately erected there"—alluding to a house occupied, along with other families, by a Roman Catholic bishop, and which was supposed to contain a Catholic place of worship. A large mob accordingly assembled, and in spite of the exertions of the magistrates, backed by a regiment of fencibles, the house was set on fire and reduced to ashes. The house of another Popish clergyman in Blackfriars' Wynd was completely gutted. The Catholics in all the other parts of the town were indiscriminately abused, and their houses pillaged. Nor against these alone was the violence of the mob directed. The liberal Protestants known to favour toleration towards the Catholics became equally the marks of popular fury. Amongst these were the celebrated Professor Robertson, and Mr. Crosbie, an eminent advocate, whose houses were attacked, and which, but for the timely interference of the military, would doubtless, like the rest, have been fired and razed to the ground. Seeing no likelihood of a termination to the tumults, the provost and magistrates, after several days' feeble and ineffectual efforts to restore order, at length issued a proclamation of a somewhat singular description, *assuring the people that no repeal of the statutes against Papists should take place*, and attributing the riots solely to the "fears and distressed minds of well-meaning people." This announcement, nevertheless, had the effect of partially restoring quiet. The example of Edinburgh was in part copied in Glasgow; but the disturbances there, owing to the exertions and influence of the principal merchants and others, were soon got under;—the provost and magistrates finding it necessary, however, to issue a notice similar to that of their civic brethren at Edinburgh. But notwithstanding that these magisterial assurances were corroborated by a letter to the same effect from Lord Weymouth, home-secretary, dated 12th February, addressed to the lord justice-clerk, the excitement throughout the country every day increased, instead of abating. At no period of our history, unless perhaps during

the political crisis in 1831-32, has either branch of the legislature been addressed or spoken of in language half so daring, menacing, or contemptuous. The resolutions passed by the heritors and heads of families in the parish of Carluke, Lanarkshire, may vie with the most maledictory philippics poured forth on the heads of the "boroughmongers" in modern days. To such a height did this anti-catholic feeling at last rise, that the Papists deemed it at last prudent to memorialize parliament on the subject, and pray for protection to their lives and property, as well as redress for what they had already suffered. This petition was laid before the house by Mr. Burke on the 18th of March, and it is in the debate which thereupon ensued that we first find Lord George Gordon standing forth in parliament as the champion of the Protestant interests. In the following August, after the rising of the session, Lord George paid a visit to Edinburgh, where he was received with extraordinary attention, and unanimously chosen president of the "committee of correspondence for the Protestant interest." We ought to have mentioned that, in the month of April, the sum of £1600 had been adjudged by arbitration to the Catholics in compensation of their loss in the city of Edinburgh, which amount was paid from the city's funds.

The remarkable respect and honours which Lord George experienced from the Protestant societies in Scotland appear to have operated like quicksilver in his veins. He forthwith devoted himself heart and hand to their cause; and on his return to London he was, as we have already mentioned, chosen president of the formidable Protestant Association.

Encouraged by the deference paid by government to the wishes of the Scottish Protestants, the members of the London Association entertained the most sanguine hopes of getting a repeal of the late toleration act for England. The most strenuous exertions by advertisement and otherwise were therefore made to swell the numbers of the society; meetings were called, and resolutions passed, to petition the House of Commons for an abrogation of the obnoxious act.

After various desultory motions in parliament, which it is unnecessary to specify, Lord George, on the 5th of May, presented a petition from Plymouth, praying for a repeal of Sir G. Saville's act. Finding, however, the government and legislature little disposed to pay any attention to these applications, the members of the association resolved upon adopting more active and unequivocal measures to accomplish their object. A meeting was accordingly held in Coachmakers' Hall, on the evening of the 29th May—at which Lord George, who was in the chair, addressed them in a long and inflammatory harangue upon the wicked designs of the Papists, the fearful increase of Popery in the kingdom in consequence of the late act, and the measures indispensably necessary to be adopted for the salvation of Protestantism. He said their only resource was to go in a body to the House of Commons, and express their determination to protect their religious privileges with their lives; that for his part he would run all hazards with "the people," and if they were too lukewarm to do the like with him, they might choose another leader. This speech was received with tremendous acclamations; and resolutions were passed, that the whole Protestant Association should assemble in St. George's Fields on the following Friday (June 2d), to accompany his lordship to the House of Commons, where he was to present the Protestant petition, and that they should march to the house in four divisions, and by different routes.

His lordship also added, that unless 20,000 people, each decked with a blue cockade, assembled, he would not present the petition. Next evening Lord George gave notice in the House of Commons of his intention of presenting the petition on the appointed day, as also of the proposed processions of the association; and it is a remarkable fact, that although by the act of 1661 such a proceeding was declared quite illegal, not the slightest intimation was given to him by the ministry to that effect.

On the day appointed an immense concourse of people, not less, it was computed, than 100,000, assembled in St. George's Fields. Lord George arrived about twelve o'clock, and after haranguing them for a considerable time, directed them how they were to march. One party, accordingly, proceeded round by London Bridge, another over Blackfriars, and a third accompanied their president over Westminster Bridge. The petition, to which the subscriptions of the petitioners were appended, on an immense number of rolls of parchment, was borne before the latter body. On their assembling at the two houses of parliament, which they completely surrounded, they announced their presence by a general shout, and it was not long ere the more unruly of them began to exercise the power they now felt themselves to possess, by abusing and maltreating the members of both houses, as they severally arrived. At the door of the House of Lords the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Litchfield and Lincoln, the Duke of Northumberland, Lords Bathurst, Mansfield, Townshend, Hillsborough, Stormont, Dudley, and many others, were all more or less abused, both in character and person. Lord Boston, in particular, was so long in the hands of the mob, that it was at one time proposed that the house should go out in a body to his rescue. He entered at last, unwigged, and with his clothes almost torn from his person.

In the meantime the rioters had got complete possession of the lobby of the House of Commons, the doors of which they repeatedly tried to force open; and a scene of confusion, indignation, and uproar ensued in the house, almost rivalling that which was passing out of doors. Lord George, on first entering the house, had a blue cockade in his hat, but upon this being commented upon as a signal of riot, he drew it out. The greatest part of the day was consumed in debates (almost inaudible from the increasing roar of the multitude without) relative to the fearful aspect of affairs; but something like order being at last obtained, Lord George introduced the subject of the Protestant petition, which, he stated, was signed by 120,000 Protestants, and moved that it be immediately brought up. Leave being given, he next moved that it be forthwith taken into consideration. This informal and unprecedented proposition was of course resisted; but Lord George, nevertheless, declared his determination of dividing the house on the subject, and a desultory but violent debate ensued, which was terminated by the motion being negatived by 192 to 9. During the course of the discussion the riot without became every moment more alarming, and Lord George was repeatedly called upon to disperse his followers; but his manner of addressing the latter, which he did from the top of the gallery stairs, leaves it doubtful whether his intention was to quiet or irritate them still farther. He informed them, from time to time, of the progress of the debate, and mentioned by name (certainly, to put the best construction upon it, an extremely thoughtless proceeding) those members who opposed the immediate consideration of the petition; saying—"Mr. So-and-

so is now speaking against you." He told them it was proposed to adjourn the question to the following Tuesday, but that he did not like delays; that "parliament might be previously prorogued, and there would be an end of the affair." During his harangues several members of the house warmly expostulated with him on the imprudence of his conduct; but to no purpose. General Grant attempted to draw him back, begging him "for God's sake not to lead these poor deluded people into danger;" and Colonel Gordon (or, as other authorities say, Colonel Murray, uncle to the Duke of Athol), a near relative of his lordship's, demanded of him—"Do you intend, my Lord George, to bring your rascally adherents into the House of Commons? If you do, the first man that enters, I will plunge my sword not into his body, but *yours*." In this state did matters continue until about nine o'clock at night, when a troop of horse and infantry arrived. Lord George then advised the mob to disperse quietly, observing "that now their gracious king was made aware of the wishes and determination of his subjects, he would no doubt compel his ministers to comply with their demands." Those who attended from purely religious motives, numbering, it is said, not more than 600 or 700, immediately departed peaceably, first giving the magistrates and soldiers three cheers. The remainder also retired about eleven o'clock, after the adjournment of the house; but soon began to display the villainous designs which had congregated them. Dividing themselves into two bodies, one proceeded to the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador in Duke Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, the other to that of the Bavarian ambassador in Warwick Street, Golden Square, both of which edifices they completely gutted, burning the furniture, ornaments, &c., in heaps on the public street. A party of guards arrived, but after the mischief was over, who succeeded in capturing thirteen of the rioters. In concluding our account of this eventful day's proceedings, we must mention, that great negligence was charged, and seemingly not without reason, against government as well as the magistracy, for the absence of everything like preparation for preserving the peace—aware, as they perfectly were, of the intended multitudinous procession.

Next day (Saturday) passed over without any disturbance; but this quiescence proved only a lull before the storm. In the afternoon of Sunday, an immense multitude met simultaneously, and evidently by previous concert, in Moorfields, and raising the slogan of "No Popery," "Down with the Papists," &c., immediately attacked and utterly demolished the Catholic chapel, burning the altar, images, pictures, &c., in the open street. Here again, the guards arrived (to use an Iricism) in time to be too late; and encouraged by this circumstance, as well as by the lenient deportment of the military, who up to this time had refrained from the use of either sabre or fire-arms, the rioters hourly grew more daring and outrageous. They renewed their violence early on Monday (the king's birth-day), by destroying a school-house and three dwelling-houses, with a valuable library belonging to Papists, in Rope-makers' Alley. Separating their force into several detachments, they proceeded into various quarters of the city at once; thus distracting the attention of the authorities, who appeared to be paralyzed by the fearful on-goings around them—losing all self-possession, and of course their efficiency in checking the career of the rioters. The houses of Sir George Saville and several other public and private gentlemen, together with several Popish chapels, quickly fell a prey to pillage and flame. The violence of the

mob also received an accession of fury this day from two circumstances—viz. a proclamation offering a reward of £500 for the discovery of those concerned in destroying the Bavarian and Sardinian chapels; and the public committal to Newgate of three of the supposed ringleaders on those occasions.

It must here be recorded that early on the same morning (Monday, 5th June) the Protestant Association distributed a circular disclaiming all connection with the rioters, and earnestly counselling all good Protestants to maintain peace and good order.

Tuesday the 6th being the day appointed for the consideration of the Protestant petition, a multitude not less numerous than that of the previous Friday assembled round both houses of parliament, coming in however, not in one body, but in small parties. A disposition to outrage soon manifested itself, and Lord Sandwich, who fell into their hands, with difficulty escaped with life, by the aid of the military, his carriage being smashed to pieces. The House of Peers, after several of their lordships had commented on the unprecedented circumstances in which they were placed, unanimously decided on the absurdity of transacting business while in a state of durance and restraint, and soon broke up, after adjourning proceedings till the Thursday following. In the House of Commons, after several remarks similar to those in the upper house, and the passing of various resolutions to the same effect, a violent attack was made upon ministers by Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, and others of the opposition, on account of the relaxed state of the police, which had left the legislature itself at the mercy of a reckless mob. Lord George Gordon said if the house would appoint a day for the discussion of the petition, and appoint it to the satisfaction of the people, he had no doubt they would quietly disperse. Colonel Herbert remarked that although Lord George disclaimed all connection with the rioters, it was strange that he came into the house with their ensign of insurrection in his hat (a blue cockade), upon which his lordship pulled it out. A committee was then appointed "to inquire into the causes of the riot," &c., and the house adjourned to Thursday. Upon the breaking up of the house Lord George addressed the multitude, told them what had been done, and advised them to disperse quietly. In return, they unharnessed his horses, and drew him in triumph through the town.

In the meantime a furious attack had been made on the residence of Lord North in Downing Street, which was only saved from destruction by the interposition of the military. In the evening the house of Justice Hyde was surrounded, sacked, and all the furniture, pictures, books, &c., burned before his door. The rioters then directed their steps towards Newgate, for the purpose of releasing their companions in outrage, who were there confined. On arriving at the gates they demanded admittance; which being refused by Mr. Akerman, the governor, they forthwith proceeded to break his windows, and to batter in the doors of the prison with pickaxes and sledge-hammers. Flambeaus and other firebrands being procured, these were thrown into the governor's house, which, along with the chapel and other parts of the prison, was speedily in flames. The prison-doors were also soon consumed, and the mob rushing in set all the prisoners, to the number of 300 (amongst whom were several under sentence of death), at liberty. One most remarkable circumstance attending this daring proceeding must not be passed over in silence—that from a prison thus enveloped in flames, and in the midst of a scene of such uproar and confusion, such a number of

prisoners, many of them shut in cells to which access was at all times most intricate and difficult, could escape without the loss of a single life, or even the fracture of a limb! But what will appear perhaps scarcely less astonishing, is the fact, that within a very few days almost the whole of the individuals thus unexpectedly liberated were recaptured, and lodged either in their old or more secure quarters.

Still more emboldened by this reinforcement of desperate confederates, the rioters proceeded in different detachments to the houses of Justice Cox and Sir John Fielding, as also to the public office in Bow Street, and the new prison, Clerkenwell—all of which they broke in upon and gutted, liberating the prisoners in the latter places, and thereby gaining fresh numbers and strength. But the most daring act of all was their attacking the splendid mansion of Lord Chief-justice Mansfield, in Bloomsbury Square. Having broken open the doors and windows, they proceeded, as was their custom, to fling all the rich and costly furniture into the street, where it was piled into heaps and burned amid the most exulting yells. The library, consisting of many thousands of volumes, rare MSS., title-deeds, &c., together with a splendid assortment of pictures—all were remorselessly destroyed. And all this passed, too, in the presence of between 200 and 300 soldiers, and under the eye of the lord chief-justice himself, who calmly permitted this destruction of his property, rather than expose the wretched criminals to the vengeance of the military. At last, seeing preparations made to fire the premises, and not knowing where the conflagration might terminate, a magistrate read the riot act; but without effect. The military were then reluctantly ordered to fire; but although several men and women were shot, the desperadoes did not cease the work of destruction until nothing but the bare and smoking walls were left standing. At this time the British metropolis may be said to have been entirely in the hands of a lawless, reckless, and frenzied mob! The vilest of the rabble possessed more power and authority than the king upon the throne; the functions of government were for a time suspended; and the seat of legislation had become the theatre of anarchy and misrule. So confident now were the rioters in their own irresistible strength, that on the afternoon of the above day they sent notices round to the various prisons yet left standing, to inform the prisoners at what hour they intended to visit and liberate them! If any one incident connected with a scene of such devastation, plunder, and triumphant villany, could raise a smile on the face of the reader or narrator, it would be the fact, that the prisoners confined in the Fleet, sent to request that they might not be turned out of their lodgings so late in the evening; to which a generous answer was returned, that they would not be disturbed till next day! In order not to be idle, however, the considerate mob amused themselves during the rest of the evening in burning the houses of Lord Petre and about twenty other individuals of note—Protestant as well as Catholic—and concluded the labours of the day by ordering a general illumination in celebration of their triumph—an order which the inhabitants were actually compelled to obey!

On Wednesday this horrible scene of tumult and devastation reached its acme. A party of the rioters paid a visit to Lord Mansfield's beautiful villa at Caen-wood in the forenoon, and coolly began to regale themselves with the contents of his larder and wine-cellar, preparatory to their commencing the usual work of destruction. Their orgies were interrupted, however, by a party of military, and they fled in all directions. It was not until the evening

that the main body seriously renewed their diabolical work; and the scene which ensued is described by contemporary writers, who witnessed the proceedings, as being too frightful for the power of language to convey the slightest idea of. Detachments of military, foot and horse, had gradually been drawing in from different parts of the interior; the civic authorities, who up to that time had been solely occupied consulting and debating upon the course they should pursue in the awful and unparalleled circumstances in which they were placed, began to gather resolution, to concentrate their force, and to perceive the absolute necessity of acting with vigour and decision—a necessity which every moment increased. The strong arm of the law, which had so long hung paralyzed over the heads of the wretched criminals, once more became nerved, and prepared to avenge the cause of justice, humanity, and social order. The struggle, however, as may well be conceived, was dreadful; and we gladly borrow the language of one who witnessed the awful spectacle in detailing the events of that ever-memorable night. The King's Bench, Fleet Prison, Borough Clink, and Surrey Bridewell were all in flames at the same moment, and their inhabitants let loose to assist in the general havoc. No less than *thirty-six* fearful conflagrations in different parts of the metropolis were seen raging simultaneously, "*licking up everything in their way*," as a writer at the time expressively described it, and "*hastening to meet each other*."

"Let those," observes the writer before alluded to, "call to their imagination flames ascending and rolling in vast voluminous clouds from the King's Bench and Fleet Prisons, the Surrey Bridewell, and the toll-houses on Blackfriars Bridge: from houses in flames in every quarter of the city, and particularly from the middle and lower end of Holborn, where the premises of Messrs. Langdale and Son, eminent distillers, were blazing as if the whole elements were one continued flame; the cries of men, women, and children, running up and down the street, with whatever, in their fright, they thought most necessary or most pæcious; the tremendous roar of the infernal miscreants inflamed with liquor, who aided the sly incendiaries, whose sole aim was plunder; and the repeated reports of the loaded musketry dealing death and worse than death among the thronging multitude!" But it was not what was doing only, but what *might yet be done*, that roused the fears of all classes. When they beheld the very outcasts of society everywhere triumphant, and heard of their attempting the Bank; threatening Doctors-Commons, the exchange, the pay-office; in short, every repository of treasure and office of record, men of every persuasion and party bitterly lamented the rise and progress of the bloody and fatal insurrection, and execrated the authors of it. Had the Bank and public offices been the first objects of attack, instead of the jails and houses of private individuals, there is not the smallest reason to doubt of their success. The consequences of such an event to the nation may well be imagined!

The regulars and militia poured into the city in such numbers during the night of Wednesday and the morning of Thursday, that, on the latter day, order was in a great measure restored; but the alarm of the inhabitants was so great that every door remained shut. So speedily and effectually, however, did the strict exercise of authority subdue the spirit of tumult, that on Friday, the 9th of June, the shops once more were opened, and business resumed its usual course.

So terminated the famous riots of 1780—an event

which will long be memorable in the history of our country, and ought to remain a warning beacon to future popular leaders, of the danger of exciting the passions of the multitude for the accomplishment of a particular purpose, under the idea that they can stop the career of the monster they have evoked *when the wished-for end is attained*. It was impossible to ascertain correctly the exact number of the unhappy beings whose depravity, zeal, or curiosity hurried them on to a fatal doom. The sword and the musket proved not half so deadly a foe as their own inordinate passions. Great numbers died from sheer inebriation, especially at the distilleries of the unfortunate Mr. Langdale, from which the unrectified spirits ran down the middle of the streets, was taken up in pailfuls, and held to the mouths of the deluded multitude, many of whom dropped down dead on the spot, and were burned or buried in the ruins.

The following is said to be a copy of the returns made to Lord Amherst of the killed and wounded by the military during the disturbances:—

By association troops and guards, . . .	109	} killed.
By light horse, ...	101	
Died in hospitals, ...	75	
Prisoners under cure, ...	173	
	458	

To this fatal list, which, it will be seen, is exclusive of those who perished by accident or their own folly or infatuation, may be added those whom the vengeance of the law afterwards overtook. Eighty-five were tried at the Old Bailey, of whom thirty-five were capitally convicted, forty-three acquitted, seventeen respited, and eighteen executed. At St. Margaret's Hill forty were tried under special commission, of whom about twenty were executed. Besides these, several of the rioters were afterwards from time to time apprehended, tried, and executed in various parts of the country. Amongst those convicted at the Old Bailey, but afterwards respited, probably on account of the immediate occasion for his services, was the common *hangman*, Edward Dennis, the first of his profession, we believe, who was dubbed with the *sobriquet* of *Jack Ketch*. In concluding our account of these riots, we may mention that similar disturbances also broke out at the same time at Hull, Bristol, Bath, and other places, but were suppressed without almost any mischief, and no bloodshed.

On Thursday the 8th, the commons met, according to appointment, but as it was still thought necessary to keep a guard of military round the house, a state of investment incompatible with free and deliberative legislation, they immediately adjourned to the 19th. On Friday a meeting of the privy-council was held, when a warrant was issued for the apprehension of Lord George Gordon. This was forthwith put into execution, and Lord George was brought in a hackney-coach to the Horse Guards, where he underwent a long examination, and was afterwards committed a close prisoner to the Tower, being escorted by a strong guard of horse and foot. It is scarcely necessary to state, before tracing the subsequent career and fate of this singular individual, that no repeal of the toleration act took place. The question was taken up in the House of Commons on the very first day after the recess, when all parties were unanimous in reprobating the desired repeal, and the "Protestant Petition," which had given occasion, or been made the pretext, for so much mischief and loss of life, accordingly fell to the ground.

Having given such ample details of the cause, rise, and progress of what some zealous Protestant writers

of the day termed, rather inconsistently, the "Popish Riots," it would be equally tedious and supererogatory to enter into a lengthened account of the trial of the individual upon whom government charged the *onus* of the fatal events. The proceedings, as may be imagined, engrossed the undivided attention of the whole kingdom during their progress, but almost the sole point of interest connected with them now, after such a lapse of time, is the speech of the celebrated Honourable Thomas Erskine, counsel for the prisoner, which has been regarded as one of the very highest of those flights of overpowering eloquence with which that remarkable man from time to time astonished his audiences, and indeed the whole world. The trial of Lord George Gordon did not come on until the 5th of February, 1781; the reason of this delay—nearly eight months—we do not find explained. During his confinement Lord George was frequently visited by his brother the duke, and other illustrious individuals, and every attention was paid to his comfort and convenience. He was accompanied from the Tower to Westminster Hall by the duke and a great number of other noble relatives. His counsel were Mr. (afterwards Lord) Kenyon and the Honourable Thomas Erskine. The charge against the prisoner was that of high treason in attempting to raise and levy war and insurrection against the king, &c. His lordship pleaded *not guilty*. The trial commenced at nine o'clock on the morning of Monday the 5th, and at a quarter past five next morning the jury returned an unqualified verdict of acquittal. Twenty-three witnesses were examined for the crown, and sixteen for the prisoner. The evidence, as may be imagined, was extremely contradictory in its tendency, proceeding, as it did, from individuals whose impressions as to the cause and character of the fatal occurrences were so very dissimilar—one party seeing in the conduct of Lord George merely that of an unprincipled, callous-hearted, and ambitious demagogue, reckless of consequences to the well-being of society, provided he obtained his own private ends; while another looked upon him as an ill-used and unfortunate patriot, whose exertions to maintain the stability of the Protestant religion, and vindicate the rights and privileges of the people, had been defeated by the outrages of a reckless and brutal mob. By the latter party all the evil consequences and disreputability of the tumults were charged upon the government and civic authorities, on account of the lax state of the police, and the utter want of a properly-organized defensive power in the metropolis. A third party (we mean in the kingdom) there was, who viewed Lord George merely as an object of compassion, attributing his, certainly unusual, behaviour to an aberration of intellect—an opinion which numerous subsequent eccentricities in his conduct have induced many of a later era to adopt.

The speech of Mr. Erskine was distinguished for that originality of style and boldness of manner which were the chief characteristics of his forensic displays. One very remarkable passage in it has been considered by his political friends and admirers as the *ne plus ultra* of rhetorical tact and effective energy, although we confess that, as a precedent, we would reckon the employment of such terms more honoured in the breach than the observance. In reviewing Lord George's conduct and deportment during the progress of the unhappy tumults, the orator abruptly broke out with the following emphatic interjection:—"I say, BY GOD, that man is a *ruffian* who will dare to build upon such honest artless conduct as an evidence of guilt!" The effect of this most unexpected and unparalleled figure of oratory is

described by those who heard it to have been perfectly magical. The court, the jury, the bar, and the spectators were for a while spell-bound with astonishment and admiration. It is acknowledged by all that the speech of Mr. Erskine on this occasion was almost the very highest effort of his powerful and nervous eloquence. The speech of Mr. Kenyon was likewise remarkable for its ability and effect. Great rejoicings took place on account of his lordship's acquittal amongst his partisans, particularly in Scotland. General illuminations were held in Edinburgh and Glasgow; congratulatory addresses were voted to him; and £485 subscribed to reimburse him for the expenses of his trial. Although, however, Lord George continued in high favour with the party just named, and took part in most of the public discussions in parliament as usual, his credit seems to have been irretrievably ruined with all the moderate and sober-minded part of the nation. He was studiously shunned by all his legislative colleagues, and was in such disgrace at court, that we find him detailing to his Protestant correspondents at Edinburgh, in language of the deepest mortification, his reception at a royal levee, where the king coldly turned his back upon him, without seeming to recognize him. Repeated efforts appear to have been made by his relatives at this time to induce him to withdraw from public life, but without success; and his conduct became daily more eccentric and embarrassing to his friends. It is impossible indeed to account for it upon any other ground than that of gradual aberration of mind.

In April, 1787, two prosecutions were brought against Lord George at the instance of the crown; one for preparing and presenting a pretended petition to himself from certain prisoners confined in Newgate, praying him to intercede for them, and prevent their being banished to Botany Bay; the other for a libel upon the Queen of France and French ambassador. Mr. Wilkins, the printer of the petitions, was also proceeded against. Both pleaded not guilty. It is a somewhat curious fact, that on this occasion Mr. Erskine, Lord George's former counsel, appeared against him. Lord George acted as his own defendant, on the score of being too poor to employ counsel. The Newgate petition, evidently his lordship's production, was a mere farrago of absurdity, treason, and blasphemy, reflecting on the laws, railing at the crown-officers, and condemning his majesty by large quotations from the book of Moses. He was found guilty, as was also Mr. Wilkins. Upon the second charge, the gist of which was a design to create a misunderstanding betwixt the two courts of France and England, he was also found guilty. His speech on this last occasion was so extravagant, and contained expressions so indecorous, that the attorney-general told him "he was a disgrace to the name of Briton." The sentence upon him was severe enough: upon the first verdict he was condemned to be imprisoned two years—upon the second, a further imprisonment of three years; at the expiration of which he was to pay a fine of £500, to find two securities in £2500 each, for his good behaviour for fourteen years; and himself to be bound in a recognizance of £10,000. In the interval, however, between the verdict and the passing of the sentence, he took an opportunity of escaping to Holland, where he landed in May. Here, however, he was not allowed to remain long. He was placed under arrest, and sent back from Amsterdam to Harwich, where he was landed in the latter end of July. From that place he proceeded to Birmingham, where he resided till December, having in the meantime become a proselyte

to Judaism, and performing rigidly the prescribed rites and duties of that faith. Information having reached government of his place of residence, and the increasing eccentricities of his conduct evidently pointing him out as an improper person to be allowed to go at large, a messenger was despatched from London, who apprehended him and brought him to town, where he was lodged in Newgate. His appearance in court when brought up to receive the sentence he had previously eluded is described as being miserable in the extreme. He was wrapped up in an old greatcoat, his beard hanging down on his breast; whilst his studiously sanctimonious deportment, and other traits of his conduct, too evidently showed an aberration of intellect. He bowed in silence, and with devout humility, on hearing his sentence. Soon after his confinement, he got printed and distributed a number of treasonable handbills, copies of which he sent to the ministry with his name attached to them. These, like his *Prisoners' Petition*, were composed of extracts from Moses and the Prophets, evidently bearing upon the unhappy condition of the king, who was then in a state of mental alienation.

In the following July, 1789, this singular and unhappy being addressed a letter or petition to the National Assembly of France, in which, after eulogizing the progress of revolutionary principles, he requests of them to interfere on his behalf with the English government to get him liberated. He was answered by that body, that they did not feel themselves at liberty to interfere; but he was visited in prison by several of the most eminent revolutionists, who assured his lordship of their best offices for his enlargement. To the application of these individuals, however, Lord Grenville answered that their entreaties could not be complied with. Nothing further worthy of mention remains to be told in the career of this unhappy man. After Lord Grenville's answer he remained quietly in prison, occasionally sending letters to the printer of the *Public Advertiser*, written in the same half-frenzied style as his former productions. In November, 1793, after being confined ten months longer than the prescribed term of his imprisonment, for want of the necessary security for his enlargement, he expired in Newgate of a fever, having been delirious for three days previous to his death.

GORDON, JAMES, a member of the noble family of Gordon, and distinguished for his erudition, was born in the year 1543. Having been sent to Rome for his education, he there became a Jesuit, while yet in the twentieth year of his age; and such was his extraordinary progress in learning, that in six years afterwards (1569) he was created Doctor of Divinity. He next became professor of languages and divinity, in which capacity he distinguished himself in various parts of Europe, particularly in Rome, Paris, and Bordeaux. In these duties he was occupied for nearly fifty years, during which time he acquired much reputation for learning and acuteness. Gordon was frequently deputed as a missionary to England and Scotland, and was twice imprisoned for his zeal in attempting to make converts. He was also, on account of his superior abilities, often employed by the general of his order in negotiating their affairs; a duty for which his penetration and knowledge of the world especially qualified him.

Alegambe describes Gordon as a saint; but with all his talents and learning he does not seem to have had any very great pretensions to the honour of canonization, since it is beyond doubt that he led, notwithstanding Alegambe's account of him, an

exceedingly dissipated life. He, however, rigidly practised all the austerities of his order, and, with all his irregularities, rose every morning at three o'clock. His only writings are *Controversiarum Fidei Epitome*, in three parts or volumes; the first printed at Limoges, in 1612, the second at Paris, and the third at Cologne, in 1620.

GORDON, SIR JOHN WATSON. Among the distinguished painters whom Scotland has lately produced in such abundance, and of whom she is justly proud, a high place was occupied by the subject of the present memoir. He was born in Edinburgh, A.D. 1790, and was the son of Captain James Watson of the royal navy. He was descended from the Watsons of Overmains, a respectable family of Berwickshire, on which account John Watson, through his father, could claim kindred with Sir Walter Scott; and through his mother, with Principal Robertson the historian, and Falconer the author of the *Shipwreck*. For what reason he assumed the additional name of Gordon we are unable to discover.

Having selected the art of painting as his future occupation, John Watson Gordon entered the Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh, and studied four years under John Graham, the teacher of so many of our eminent artists; and here among others he had Wilkie and Allan for his class-fellows. At first it was uncertain what department of painting he would select, and he tried several with a view to discover in which of them he would be likely to excel. Of these, historical painting chiefly attracted his liking, and would probably have decided his choice, had he not by trial discovered the true bent of his own genius. He resolved to become a portrait painter, and it was a happy election for his excellence and his fame. Having made his choice, he pursued it with the diligence and perseverance that distinguished his character, and his future life became mainly a record of the numerous portraits he executed, and the universal recognition of their excellence. His sitters were the principal citizens of Edinburgh, and most eminent Scotsmen of the day; and of the latter class it is sufficient to mention the names of Sir Walter Scott, the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, Professors Wilson, Ferrier, and Munro, Principal Lee, Dr. Brunton, Lord-president Boyle, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquis of Dalhousie, Professor Simpson, Sir George Clark, George Combe, &c. &c. From his works alone could be formed a large picture-gallery of the portraits of the most eminent Scotsmen of the nineteenth century, arranged in chronological order and classified in their different departments. Nor was the admiration of these portraits exclusively confined to our own country, where they could be best recognized as striking and faithful likenesses; foreigners saw and appreciated their excellence as works of art, and were reminded of the portraits of Van Dyck or Velasquez. His professional excellence and the peculiar characteristics of his paintings are thus described by a contemporary critic in the *Athenaeum*:—

"Apparently almost heedless of colour, this artist seized with extraordinary vigour the salient points of a sitter's countenance, and gave them with the force of life. It would seem that not even Reynolds surpassed his brother knight in the swift and certain manner of his practice. Very often his pictures were little else than sketches on a large scale. This has been especially the case of late years, and is remarkably so in the portraits now in the Royal Academy; but even these display such admirable mastery of form and knowledge of personal character, that they

are more precious than most men's completed likenesses. Gordon's feeling for tone exhibited itself in every work he produced, and really did, in some degree, compensate by the richness of its manifestations, for the effect of what was with him something approaching colour-blindness. The last-named shortcoming was less perceived in Edinburgh than in the metropolis—an effect to be expected. It should be said in his honour that he always painted in a manly way; never exaggerating or aiming at sentiment, he never fell into sentimentality. He could put a figure on the canvas better than any of his contemporaries who were portrait painters. The characteristic love of the mass of his sitters for black garments found no corrective in Gordon's mind or taste; he not unfrequently sacrificed too much of the general brilliancy of his pictures to the effectiveness of the head; but that head was always worth looking at when you got to it."

It was in 1827 that Sir John Watson Gordon first began to exhibit his works in London at the Royal Academy; and this practice he continued annually without intermission until the close of his life, so that five of his pieces were hung in the gallery in the year in which he died. On the death of Raeburn he was recognized as his successor, although their style in national portraits was so different, for while Raeburn idealized the Scottish character, the other represented it exactly as he found it. In 1841 Watson Gordon was elected associate of the Royal Academy; and in 1850, on the death of Sir William Allan, he was elected president of the Royal Scottish Academy. This was an honour which naturally devolved upon him by the silent claims of gratitude, for the institution had been greatly indebted to his patriotic exertions, especially in the formation of an excellent gallery of paintings at a moderate cost—an advantage which it owed in a great measure to his correct discriminating judgment. In the same year he was appointed "limner" to her Majesty, and received the honour of knighthood. At the close of 1850 the most distinguished of Edinburgh in art, science, and literature entertained Sir John in the Waterloo Rooms, as a testimony of their admiration and esteem, and a celebration of his election as president of their Royal Academy; and in 1851 he was elected academician by the Royal Academy of London. In 1855 he sent two portraits to the Universal Exposition of Paris, for which the jury awarded him a first-class medal. But although honours thus crowded upon him in his declining years, the veteran of art still continued to keep the field as if his career had only commenced: his industry was as great, his eye as correct, and his pencil as firm and vigorous as ever, and he continued to work until his last illness warned him that his occupation had come to an end. That close was sudden and unexpected, and after a short term of suffering he died at Catherine Bank House, Edinburgh, on the 1st of June, 1864, at the age of seventy-three. Except to his art, Sir John Watson Gordon was never married, but his urbanity and kindly disposition were everywhere acknowledged, while the younger artists of Scotland loved and venerated him as a father. Amidst the regret of that chosen circle by whom his memory will continue to be venerated he passed away.

GORDON, GENERAL PATRICK. Even upon so remote an empire as Russia, which has grown into the chief political power of our age, an important influence has been exercised by Scotsmen. By one of our nation (General Patrick Gordon) the power of the Strelitzes was broken, and the throne of Peter

the Great securely established. By another, a Barclay of Towie, but known in history as Prince Barclay de Tolly, the mode of resistance to the French invasion was planned, by which Napoleon's design of universal conquest was frustrated, and his power irretrievably wounded. By another, Admiral Greig, the navy of Russia was put into a state of efficiency, and for the first time led to victory. It is of the first of these personages that we present the following brief notice.

Patrick Gordon was descended of a respectable parentage on both sides, his father, the younger brother of a younger house, being a grandson of Gordon of Haddo, and his mother heiress of Auchleuchries, part of the barony of Belhevie, Aberdeenshire, a possession, however, so overwhelmed by mortgages, that, besides the advantages of gentle birth, the pair had little else to bestow upon their children. Patrick was born at Auchleuchries on the 31st of March, 1635. Until he reached the age of sixteen, he was educated at the country schools; but when fit for a university education he was unwilling to attend college, on account of his creed, his mother having brought him up a Roman Catholic. This circumstance, also, in connection with his impatience of parental supervision, and his being only a younger son, made him resolve to go abroad in quest of fortune, not caring to what country he might direct his course, as he had no friend in any foreign place. In this bold reckless spirit he embarked at Aberdeen for Dantzic, and at the end of his voyage resumed his studies at the college of the Jesuits at Braunsberg; but finding the strictness of this place still more intolerable than that of the paternal abode, he resolved to return to Scotland, though he had only the suit of clothes he wore, and seven rix-dollars in his pocket, while he was unable to speak Dutch. Thus he "pilgrim'd it away all alone," meeting with the due share of adventures and mischances attendant on such a mode of travelling, and often through necessity or caprice defecting from the way, so that he traversed a considerable part of Poland. On arriving at Hamburg, still undecided as to what course of life he should follow, he was easily persuaded to forego his purpose of returning home, and to enlist as a soldier in the Swedish service, where Scottish recruits were in great demand.

Having thus decided in favour of a military life, he was soon introduced to its hardships and disappointments. His first service was in a campaign against the Poles, where, after being twice severely wounded, he was at last taken prisoner, and could only obtain his liberty by enlisting in the service of Poland. It was a Dugald Dalgetty transition, but to Gordon the cause of quarrel between Sweden and Poland seems to have been a matter of indifference; and he marched with the Lithuanian army that drove his late employers the Swedes out of their occupation of Warsaw. During the short siege he was employed chiefly in learning the Polish language, and studying the military profession by volunteering in every hazardous exploit. But while thus training himself for his future distinguished career, he also showed himself an adept in the levying of black mail, which he seems to have considered a perquisite of war that was neither dishonest nor unsoldierly. Thus some peasants having taken refuge with their property on an island of the Vistula, Gordon undertook to insure their safety as long as the siege lasted on their paying him a weekly pension of sixteen gulden and four florins. His traffic for the recovery of stolen cattle was still more reprehensible. Some comrades in the camp, with whom he acted in concert, would drive off the herds belonging to the

nobility in the neighbourhood; and, in these cases, Gordon was always ready, for a proper consideration, to find and bring them back. Only a month after the Swedes had been driven from Warsaw they returned to it in greater force, and Gordon was taken prisoner by some Brandenburg troopers. His career might, in this case, have been ingloriously ended as a deserter, had not fortune proved his friend, for he was carried before his countryman and former commander, General Douglas, who had now risen to the rank of lieutenant field-marshal in the Swedish army. The explanations and apologies of Gordon, that he had been captured and forced into the Polish service against his will, were favourably received; and he consented once more to become a soldier of the King of Sweden, and to serve in a picked corps of Scots which Douglas was about to organize as a training-school for officers. This second service under the Swedish banner lasted three years, and during that time Gordon had ample opportunities, which he was not slow to embrace, of establishing his character for courage and military skill. He also continued his practices of exacting tribute and lifting cattle, in which his Scottish fellow-soldiers showed themselves "to the manner born;" and if anything could excuse such unwarrantable doings, it was, that their pay was not only small, but often in arrear, so that they were frequently on the brink of starvation. It was in this picarooning way indeed that armies during war were chiefly maintained in the seventeenth century. But worse than these marauding exploits was a design, which, had it succeeded, would have covered the perpetrators with infamy. Gordon, as a Tory or Cavalier, could not but lament the execution of Charles I.; and, learning that an ambassador from the English Commonwealth, named Bradshaw, had arrived at an inn in the neighbourhood on his way to the Russian court, he conceived from the name that this must be no other than the man who presided over the court by which Charles was tried and sentenced to execution. Fired at the thought, Gordon and his associates resolved to put him to death, and for that purpose set off at midnight well armed to the inn. But before they reached it they learned that several officers and about forty dragoons had arrived to escort the ambassador to Marienburg. Thus a plot as iniquitous as that by which Dr. Dorislaus was assassinated in Holland, was fortunately defeated.

Gordon, who had now attained the rank of ensign, continued to signalize himself by dashing exploits and hair-breadth escapes, until he was captured by the Poles, and, knowing his daring character, they urged him with every inducement to re-enter the Polish service. Even John Sobieski himself, the heroic deliverer of Vienna, endeavoured to tempt him with the offer of the command of a company of dragoons stationed on the Sobieski estates. At last Gordon, after being a prisoner eleven weeks, once more deserted the Swedish service, and entered that of Poland, on being promoted to the rank of quartermaster. Thus his conduct hitherto had been "turn and turn again" with a facility and frequency seldom exhibited even by a mere soldier of fortune, and the excuse which he makes in his journal for this last instance is, that his main object "was to make his own fortune, and that he had little chance to do this among the Swedes, who had too many enemies to be successful." His services against the Russians and Cossacks were now so distinguished that he was promoted to the rank of captain of dragoons, and on the restoration of peace was stationed at Warsaw while the diet was sitting. But this inert life did not suit Gordon's views, and while he was deliberat-

ing what standard he should next follow, two tempting offers were presented; the one was to take service under the Austrians, and the other to become a soldier of the Russian czar. The Austrian offer for the time prevailed, and he was on his way to Vienna when unfavourable reports of the Austrian service made him pause, and ultimately fall back on that of Russia. To Russia accordingly his route was directed, and on reaching Moscow he was graciously received by the czar, thanked for his kindness to the Russian prisoners during the late war, and appointed to the rank of major. But finding the pay small, and the coarse manners and barbarous arrogance of the Russians intolerable, he would have left the service and the country altogether, had he not been warned that such a proceeding would be regarded as suspicious, and might subject him to the treatment of a spy. He was committed to the country, and there he found he must remain.

Among the many troubles with which Gordon had to contend, and by which his life at this time was embittered, was the difficulty of reducing the soldiers to order and discipline. Another was the insubordination and mal-practices of his own officers, by which his best efforts were counteracted. One of his captains, who assumed superior authority over the soldiers, and treated them as beasts of burden, had on one occasion caught some of them playing at cards, and not only deprived them of all the money they were using in their play, but imprisoned them until they had paid a heavy ransom. Major Gordon, on hearing of this tyrannical conduct, sent for the captain, and denounced his proceedings, upon which the other began to storm and become downright mutinous. Perceiving that it was now to be a question of superior force rather than authority, Gordon seized the man by the head, threw him down, and with a fresh, short, oaken cudgel so belaboured his back and sides, that he was scarcely able to rise, after which the major threatened to break his neck if he played such tricks hereafter, and packed him out of doors. It was a strange kind of military punishment to inflict by one officer upon another; but a Russian army at this time was little better than a mob over which military law slumbered and slept. The captain brought his complaint next day to the authorities, and Gordon got out of the difficulty by a not very creditable shift; "I denied all," he says in his journal, "according to the fashion of this country, where there are no witnesses," and the captain, finding that he could obtain no remedy, was fain to quit the regiment. It thus appears that our military adventurer was not too superior to the people whom he helped to drill and civilize. Both had points enough in common for the purposes of a mutual understanding.

In 1662 Gordon, being now twenty-seven years of age, rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He now resolved to lead a virtuous life, and after much deliberation and many prayers he concluded that the best step to such a course was marriage, from which his erratic life had hitherto debarred him. His choice was then to be fixed, and for this purpose, after passing all his female acquaintances in review before his mind's eye, he selected as the object of his addresses a young lady scarcely thirteen years of age, who was handsome, amiable, and virtuous, the daughter of a colonel who was high in favour with the czar. The courtship was as summary and decisive as the election. He called upon the young lady when she was alone; and on her proposing to send for her mamma, he assured her it was unnecessary, as his business was with herself. She gave him, according to the custom of the country, a small glass

of brandy, with which he proposed to drink the health of her lover; but when she assured him she had none, and repeated her denial, he then came to the point, by proposing that she should accept of himself as her suitor. A modest gratified blush was the answer, and thus a cordial agreement was established between them which needed no further explanation. An immediate marriage would have followed, but that the lady's father was a prisoner to the Poles, and on this account the union was not celebrated until the beginning of 1665.

In the following year Colonel Gordon was employed not in a military but civil capacity, being sent to England as envoy of the czar, to treat with Charles II. on subjects connected with the commercial intercourse between their respective subjects. This was a new task for our Scottish adventurer, but it was ably executed, and the visit enabled him to renew his intercourse with several of his countrymen in London, and some of the most distinguished cavaliers of the period. On his return to Russia in 1667 there occurs a gap in his diary; but the displeasure of the czar, who ordered him into confinement, and refused to defray the expenses of his mission to England, may explain the causes of the hiatus. He still, however, retained his military rank and regiment, as his services were too valuable to be dispensed with; and while stationed in the Ukraine for seven years, he signalized his courage and skill in subjugating the Cossacks of Little Russia. During this interval the Czar Alexis died, and was succeeded by Feodor; but both sovereigns were at one in refusing permission, which Gordon repeatedly asked, to quit the Russian service. At length an event occurred in 1678 which, by offering him an opportunity of distinguishing himself, reconciled him to his bondage. Tschigirin, the capital of the Zaporagian Cossacks, being besieged by the Turks and Tartars, Gordon was sent to assist in its defence, as chief engineer. The Russian garrison did not amount to more than 12,000 soldiers, while the enemy, commanded by Kara Mustapha, the grand vizier, and the Khan of the Crimea, mustered 100,000, provided with all the necessaries for a siege. Under such circumstances, a single attack might have sufficed to win the city, had not Gordon so skillfully fortified it, that the hosts of Turks and Tartars were successfully resisted during four weeks of desperate onsets. The governor was killed by the bursting of a shell, and Gordon succeeded him, at the request of the garrison. After inspiring them with his own dauntless spirit, and repairing the damages of the fortifications as fast as they occurred, the defence of Tschigirin was continued until neither city nor citadel could hope to hold out much longer. In the meantime the Russian army of relief was encamped in the neighbourhood, but did nothing; and when Gordon besought that only 6000 men should be sent to reinforce him, with which he promised to make good the defence, he was ordered by the Russian general in reply to evacuate the fortress. Rendered spiritless by this command, the garrison only thought of abandoning the place, and hearing volleys of musketry and loud outcries in the streets, they fled pell-mell through the town gates, leaving their commander to shift for himself. With his own hands he broke open the powder magazine, threw in straw, boards, and other combustible articles among the powder; and then, having set fire to the nearest house, made for the camp of the relieving army, which he reached through imminent dangers both from friend and enemy. The Turks entered and took possession of Tschigirin, but their triumph was soon marred, for the fire which Gordon had kindled at his departure caused the powder

magazine to explode, by which 4000 Turks were blown into the air. For his conduct in this defence he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and appointed to the chief command in Kiew, and in 1683 made a lieutenant-general. But let him rise as he might, nothing could reconcile him to a residence in Russia; and his repeated petitions for leave of absence that he might revisit Scotland, which were always refused by the Russian court, without doubt strengthened his desire for his native home. In the meantime Czar Feodor died, leaving his successor Peter, a boy only ten years of age, under the regency of his sister Sophia; but although the new regent and her minister treated Gordon with high consideration, his services being deemed too valuable to be dispensed with, he still remained an honoured prisoner at large. At length the death of Charles II. of England, and the succession of James II. to the British throne, made him appeal more urgently than ever for his discharge from the Russian service, or failing this, that a six months' leave of absence should be granted to him; and after much demur and delay his petition was favourably answered. But the permission extended only to a short visit to Britain, while his wife and children were to be retained in Russia as hostages for his return.

Of this second return to his native land there is little particularly to be noticed. Gordon had now won for himself a name that was well known, and his reception by all ranks, both in England and Scotland, was worthy of his reputation. Such was especially the case in his interviews with his majesty James II., who inquired of him particularly the nature of his military services, and the modes of conducting war among the Russians, and wished to retain him in his own employment instead of sending him back to Russia. That unhappy monarch could not but be aware that the changes he contemplated in the national religion could only be effected by the sword, in which case it would be necessary to have the bold and skilful on his side, and that in such an issue the adherence of General Gordon would be valuable, more especially as he was a devoted Papist. The Russianized Scot, however, was obliged to return to his old service, according to the terms of agreement, carrying with him a letter from James II. to the Russian powers, of which the following extract was the purport:—"Whereas, we are informed that our trusty and well-beloved subject Patrick Gordon, hath served your imperial majesties many years, and now serveth in the quality of lieutenant-general; who now, by the decease of his father, is to inherit lands, for which he is to perform service unto us; and we having use for the service of such of our subjects as have been bred up in military employments; we do, therefore, desire of your imperial majesties that you would dismiss the said Patrick Gordon, with his wife, children, family, and effects, out of your dominions, which we rather desire, because we know that your great virtue hath procured from God the blessing of a universal peace with all your neighbours. The doing this will be an encouragement for men of honour to repair to your service, whenever you shall have occasion for them; and whenever the opportunity is given us of doing you the like pleasure, we shall heartily embrace it." This letter, however, instead of effecting the release of Gordon from the Russian service, only made his bondage more strict and intolerable. Another device for securing his liberty did not fare better: it was, his appointment as envoy-extraordinary of the King of Great Britain to the Russian court, by which James would be able to recal him to England at his own pleasure. This unsatisfactory negotiation between two great powers,

which Gordon terms "a stage play," was at last ended by his being sent to the war against the Tartars in the Crimea. It was fortunate for him, however, that he was not secured for the service of James, whom no counsels could persuade, and whose disasters no skill or courage could retrieve.

The situation of the Russian empire was now so critical, that its fate seemed to hang upon the slightest chance. It had two czars, of whom the elder was an idiot unfit for the succession, while the younger, Peter, was only seventeen years old. Over this nominal sovereignty their sister Sophia, as regent, exercised complete control, but she was in turn governed by the Strelitzes—the janizaries of Russia—who in such a state of government established their own rule of military force and violence. There was no prospect of safety for the country unless the selfish and ambitious Sophia could be deposed, the incompetent czar set aside, and Peter raised to the supreme and sole authority. Here was a sphere of action which Gordon nobly occupied, and the success of which will be imperishably inscribed in the history of Russian greatness. The conflict commenced by the flight of Peter to the monastery of Troitzka, about forty miles from Moscow, in consequence of the explosion of a conspiracy by which his life was threatened; and when he issued orders to the troops to come to his rescue, Sophia countermanded his orders, and the troops remained in their cantonments. None obeyed the summons of Peter except Gordon, now raised to the rank of general, and who had a considerable force under his command. Aware of the real state of affairs, and in defiance of the countermands of the regency, he marched all night with his regiments, and reached the monastery next day, where Peter was still unprotected, and liable every moment to death or deposition. This bold movement of Gordon, in which he risked his head, saved the Russian empire, and prepared the way for its regeneration. Peter thus reinforced returned to Moscow in triumph, Sophia was immured in a convent, the chief conspirators banished or executed, and the imbecile Ivan, the elder czar, having agreed to resign his share of the empire, Peter himself was recognized as sole Czar of Russia. From this moment Gordon became the most distinguished and influential man in the empire; he was the valued friend and counsellor of his imperial master; and the latter showed, in his various reforms which he introduced into Russia, that the instructions of his Scottish preceptor were neither undervalued nor forgot.

The principal enemies of Russia at this time being the Turks, the young czar in 1695 laid siege to Azof, in which Peter's inexperience and impetuosity disregarded the prudent cautions of his Scottish general, and was requited by the enemy with such severe repulses as might have caused the siege to be raised with disgrace, had not Gordon succeeded in repairing the imperial blunders. As it was, the siege was discontinued until the following year, and this time the advices of Gordon had their due weight. Seeing that there was little hope of taking Azof by the operation of mines, batteries, and other usual operations of a siege which the council of war recommended, he stated that the best way of taking the town would be to carry on a whole rampart of earth along the front of the town, which as they advanced would hourly increase. "By having," he said, "ten or twelve thousand men night and day at work, we shall carry and roll as much earth before us as will not only be sufficient to fill up the fosse, but will have more over and above them than will exceed the height of the town walls; by which means, in a few weeks, we shall oblige the enemy to surrender, or

we shall bury them alive." This tedious and mechanical mode of operation, so unlike the stirring attempts of breaching and storming, was fortunately adopted by Peter, and the extraordinary method of taking towns was commenced: ten or twelve thousand men were constantly employed, who threw the earth from hand to hand like so many steps of a stair, while the process was protected by strong guards on the right, left, and rear. In this way the mound silently crept city-ward, until, in five weeks, it was close to the walls and ramparts, which it overtopped, and by which the Russians had full command of the city below. Confounded at this strange mode of attack, upon which the Turks had not calculated, Azof surrendered. By this event a most important acquisition was made by Russia, and to render it more grateful, her loss during the process did not amount to above 300 men. Czar Peter returned in triumph to Moscow, and, besides other distinctions, bestowed on General Gordon an estate with ninety serfs.

The last and also the most important of Gordon's military services in Russia, was the suppression of the Strelitzes—an event but for which Peter would have probably been dethroned, and the Russians thrown back into their original barbarism. This insolent soldiery, discontented at those reforms both civil and military by which their power would be subverted, and conceiving that the absence of the czar on his travels through Western Europe was a favourable opportunity for regaining their ascendancy, raised the standard of revolt, and resolved to march upon Moscow. Gordon, who had been left second in command to the general-in-chief by his imperial master, and was at the head of 12,000 soldiers stationed in Moscow, no sooner heard of this demonstration than he adopted the most vigorous measures to check it; but finding these ineffectual, he took the field, resolving to crush the mutiny by force. In the meantime the Strelitzes were not idle, and on their officers refusing to lead them to Moscow, they deposed them, elected other captains in their stead, and commenced their march to the capital. On the other hand, Gordon proceeded against them with such celerity that he met them mid-way, and tried the effect of negotiation, but in vain: to Moscow they declared they were determined to march, or die by the way. An engagement followed, but such were the masterly dispositions of Gordon, that the Strelitzes were defeated at every point, and driven off the field beyond the power of rallying. The leaders of the conspiracy and many of their followers were taken prisoners, and the judicial severity of their punishment so completely quelled this formidable spirit of discontent, that even its murmuring was now unheard. There was no longer the slightest hope of the deposition of the czar, and the restoration of Sophia or the widow of Ivan, under whom the Strelitzes would have been once more the real sovereigns of Russia. It was fortunate also that Peter, alarmed at the tidings of the conspiracy, had returned home, where he arrived in time to concert new measures for the public safety. His first step was to supersede these useless Strelitzes by new troops, armed and disciplined in the best European fashion, and he was soon at the head of armies by which native discontent and foreign hostility could be quelled, and his vast designs for the regeneration of Russia carried out.

So important an event in the history of Russia as the suppression of the Strelitzes occupied the larger portion of the year 1698, and at the close of it the brave old Scot was conscious that his last fight was fought, and his career about to be ended. This

he himself noted in the last entry of his journal, dated December 31st, in the following solemn words:—"Almighty God be praised for his gracious long-suffering towards me in sparing my life so long. Grant, gracious God, that I may make a good use of the time that thou mayest be pleased yet to grant me for repentance. This year I have felt a sensible decrease of health and strength. Yet thy will be done, gracious God." During the following summer he was so weak as to be unable to leave his bed, and he died on the 29th November, 1699. During the last stage of his illness the grateful czar had daily visited his old servant, friend, and preceptor; and when Gordon breathed his last sigh, Peter, who stood weeping by his bedside, closed his eyes, and departed a mourner from the house of mourning. The interment was that which graces a national benefactor. The long line was headed by the czar; the chief nobles of his empire followed, and after them the ambassadors of the principal powers of Europe. The body was carried on the shoulders of twenty-eight colonels, and twenty ladies of the highest families in Muscovy followed in the train of his widow. The remains were interred before the high altar of the first chapel of stone which the Roman Catholics were allowed to raise in Moscow, and built chiefly by the bounty of the deceased; and on the tomb the following inscription still arrests the eye of the passenger:—

"Sacrae Tzareae Majestatis Militiae Generalis
Patricius Leopoldus Gordon
Natus Anno Domini 1635 die 31 Martii
Denatus Anno Domini 1699 29 Novembris
Requiescat in Pace."

GORDON, ROBERT, of Straloch, an eminent geographer and antiquary, was born at Kinmunda in Aberdeenshire, on the 14th September, 1580. He was the second son of Sir John Gordon of Pitlurg, a gentleman who long stood high in the favour of his sovereign James VI., as appears, amongst other circumstances, from some curious letters addressed to him by that monarch, in one of which he is laid under contribution, though in the most affectionate terms, for a horse for the king's approaching marriage, and in another is warmly invited to the baptism of the unfortunate Charles I.

Robert Gordon received the first rudiments of his education at Aberdeen, and having passed the usual course of the humanity, mathematical, and philosophical classes, was the *first* graduate of the Marischal University, then recently founded by George Earl of Marischal. In 1598, being in his eighteenth year, he was sent to Paris to complete his education. Here he remained for two years. On his father's death, which happened in 1600, he returned to Scotland; and in 1608, having married a daughter of Alexander Irvine of Lenturk, he bought the estate of Straloch, ten miles north of Aberdeen, and now devoted himself to the pursuit of his favourite studies—geography, history, and the antiquities of Britain. To the first of these he seems to have been especially attached, and it was his perseverance, industry, and accuracy in this science, then in an extremely rude state, that first obtained him the celebrity which he afterwards enjoyed. There were only at this time three maps of Scotland in existence, all of them so rude and inaccurate as to be wholly useless. The inaccuracy of these sketches had been long known, and was the subject of great and universal complaint. Urged on by this, and the general dissatisfaction, Mr. Gordon employed himself in making geographical surveys by *actual* mensuration; a labour which none of his predecessors had ever subjected themselves to. He has therefore the merit of being the

first who applied this indispensable but tedious and laborious process for securing accuracy in topographical surveys to Scotland.

One consequence of Mr. Gordon's zeal and industry in these patriotic pursuits, was a great extension of his celebrity, which at length even reached the royal ear. In 1641 King Charles was applied to by the celebrated map and atlas publishers, the Bleaus of Amsterdam, for his patronage of an atlas of Scotland, which they were then contemplating, and requesting his majesty to appoint some qualified persons to assist them with information for the intended work; and, in especial, to arrange and amend certain geographic sketches of one Timothy Pont,¹ of which they had been previously put in possession, but in a confused and mutilated state. This task King Charles, in the following flattering letter, devolved upon Mr. Gordon. "Having lately seen certain charts of divers shires of this our ancient kingdom, sent here from Amsterdam, to be corrected and helped in the defects thereof, and being informed of your sufficiency in that art, and of your love both to learning and to the credit of your nation; we have therefore thought fit hereby earnestly to entreat you to take so much pains as to revise the said charts, and to help them in such things as you find deficient thereuntil, that they may be sent back by the direction of our chancellor to Holland; which, as the same will be honourable for yourself, so shall it do us good and acceptable service, and if occasion present we shall not be unmindful thereof. From our palace of Holyrood House, the 8th October, 1641."

Mr. Gordon readily undertook the task thus imposed upon him, and in 1648 the atlas was published with a dedication from Mr. Gordon to Sir John Scott of Scotstarvit, who had greatly encouraged and forwarded the work. A second edition of this atlas, which was long the standard book of reference for Scotland and its numerous islands, was published in 1655, and a third in 1664. It is now, of course, superseded by later and more scientific surveys.

The work consists of forty-six maps, general and particular, with ample descriptions and detached treatises on the antiquities of Scotland. Of such importance was this undertaking considered, that, wild and disordered as the times were, Mr. Gordon was during its progress made a special object of the care and protection of the legislature. An act of parliament was passed exempting him from all new taxations, and relieving him from the quartering of soldiers. To carry this law into effect, orders were issued from time to time by the various commanders of the forces in North Britain, discharging all officers and soldiers, as well horse as foot, from troubling or molesting, or quartering on Mr. Robert Gordon of Straloch, his house, lands, or tenants, and from levying any public dues on the said Mr. Robert Gordon, or on any of his possessions.

The charts exclusively executed by Mr. Gordon were: 1st. A chart of Great Britain and Ireland, taken from Ptolemy and the most ancient Roman authors. 2d. A map of ancient Scotland, as described in the Roman itineraries. 3d. A map of modern Scotland. 4th. A map of the county of Fife, from actual survey and mensuration. 5th. A map of the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, with part of the county of Kincardine. 6th. A large map or geographical view, taken from actual survey, of the most inland provinces of Scotland lying between the river Tay and the Murray Frith. 7th. A large map, from actual survey, of the most northern,

¹ Son of Mr. Robert Pont, minister of the West Kirk Edinburgh.

mountainous, and inaccessible parts of Scotland, including part of the island of Skye. To all of these Mr. Gordon appended treatises, descriptive of everything remarkable contained within their various bounds—towns, castles, religious houses, antiquities, rivers, lakes, &c., and occasionally introducing some interesting accounts of the most distinguished families in the different counties.

One of the treatises alluded to is particularly curious, from its containing an attempt to overturn the commonly received opinion as to the Ultima Thule of the Romans. This tract, which is entitled *De Insula Thule Dissertatio*, endeavours to show that none of the Orkney or Shetland Islands, and still less Iceland, answers to Ptolemy's chart of Thule; and Mr. Gordon concludes by giving it as his opinion that the island of Lewis, the most westerly of the Hebrides, is the real Thule of the ancient Romans. Besides these meritorious works, Mr. Gordon wrote many detached pieces of much interest and value; none of which, however, though many extracts have been made from them, have yet been published. Amongst the most important of these are, a critical letter in Latin to Mr. David Buchanan, containing strictures on the histories of Boyce, Buchanan, and Knox, and on Buchanan's treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*; and a preface intended to be prefixed to a new edition of Spottiswood's *History*. The last work of any importance which he undertook was a *History of the Family of Gordon*. This work, however, is incorrect in many important particulars, and in many instances erroneous with regard to its historical facts, especially previous to the year 1403. When Mr. Gordon undertook this work he was far advanced in years, led a retired life, and had no ready access to those documents and records which alone could have insured accuracy, circumstances which may be admitted as some apology in the case of a man who had already done so much, and had rendered such important services to his country. Mr. Gordon finally closed a long and active life in August, 1661, having then attained the eighty-first year of his age. It is much to be regretted that he did not, as he appears to have contemplated, write an account of his own times, which comprise one of the most important periods of Scottish history. There was no one better fitted for this task, as well from the talents which he possessed, as from the uncommon opportunities which he enjoyed of studying the leading characters and events of these stirring times; for his superior judgment, peaceable demeanour, and generally judicious conduct, gained him the confidence and esteem of all parties, and thus brought him often in contact, as an adviser and mediator, with the chief men of both the factions which then distracted the state. With the view of compiling such a work as has been alluded to, Mr. Gordon had collected a vast quantity of interesting documents relative to the Montrose wars. These his son, Mr. James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay, afterwards employed in compiling such an account as his father had contemplated. This latter work, which contains the transactions of the northern part of Scotland beyond the Forth from 1637 to 1643, after remaining in MS. until 1841, was published by the Spalding Club in three volumes 4to.

As has been already said, Mr. Gordon, though residing in the very midst of civil war and commotion, was not only permitted to live in quiet, and to pursue his studies without interruption, but was frequently summoned to attend the meetings of the commissioners appointed by parliament and by the General Assemblies of the church.

One of these invitations, from the Earl of Marischal and General Middleton, besides showing the importance which was attached to Mr. Gordon's advice, is sufficiently curious in itself. It is addressed "to the Right Honourable the Laird of Straloch," and runs as follows:—"Right Honourable: in regard we are called to be here for the time, for taking course for what may concern the public, &c., these are, therefore, to desire that you will be here at Aberdeen on Friday next, the 3d of October, 1645, when we shall meet you there. So looking assuredly for your meeting us, as you will testify your affection to the business, and have us to remain your affectionate friends. (Signed) MARISCHAL, JOHN MIDDLETON."

Another extract, still more interesting, from one of many letters addressed to Mr. Gordon, by Lord Gordon, craving his advice and assistance, will not only show the deference which was paid to his candour and judgment, but will also show how fully they were appreciated by both parties. Lord Gordon, who was afterwards killed at Alford, after earnestly soliciting a meeting for advice, adds, "If I be too far engaged, or be not well advised, my friends and I both may find the prejudice. In conscience this is no draught, but a mere necessity, which I hope you will consider. I do neither envy you in enjoying your furred gown nor the fireside, I promise you, but do earnestly wish to see you."

Besides his other accomplishments Mr. Gordon was a profound classical scholar, and wrote Latin with much readiness and elegance.

GORDON, REV. ROBERT, D.D. This acute original thinker and eloquent preacher was born in Glencairn, Dumfriesshire, on the 5th of May, 1786. His early opportunities for obtaining a superior education appeared certain, as his father, a man of considerable natural endowments, as well as high religious worth, was parochial schoolmaster at Kirkland of Glencairn. This prospect, however, was apparently extinguished when Robert was about six years old, by the death of his father; but it often happens that such a bereavement, instead of discouraging, only braces a mind of native energy, and fits it for future excellence by a stern apprenticeship of effort and self-reliance. Besides this, he still possessed an able guide, so far as his school-boy studies and the bias of his mind were concerned, in his surviving parent, of whom he was the only son; a woman characterized in her limited circle by strong intellect, as well as pious principles. How Robert availed himself of these advantages was well attested by the fact, that when he had scarcely reached his sixteenth year he was appointed by the heritors of Kirkland to the office of parish teacher, which his father had occupied. Not only the excellence of his scholarship, but also the steadiness and energy of his character, must have been well established, when they were allowed to outweigh such an immaturity in point of years. The choice was justified; for though so young, he conducted himself in such a trying position with the steadiness and gravity of matured manhood; and his pupils, several of whom were older than himself, regarded him not only with affection, but deep, dutiful respect.

As it was to the office of the ministry that the wishes of Robert Gordon had been directed, he did not long remain in that of a schoolmaster. Attendance at the university was necessary, and he repaired to Edinburgh, where, like many of those who have become the most talented divines of the day, he supported himself during his course of study at the university by the scanty resources of tutorship; and thus fought his way onward, step by step, until

he reached the divinity-hall. In this rough fashion not a few of the ablest linguists, as well as profoundest thinkers of our church are formed for active service. A situation as tutor in Perthshire occasioned his removal from Edinburgh, and the prosecution of his theological studies at Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he enrolled as a student in divinity in 1809, at the age of twenty-three. At this period, also, he was a member of the Theological Society, composed of theological students of the college, and there formed acquaintanceships with several who afterwards became distinguished ornaments in the church, and with whom his intercourse continued till the close of life. His appearances as a student at this period are thus described by one of the members. He "soon attracted much attention by his power of reasoning and of expressing his thoughts in nervous language. In fact there was a general reluctance to encounter him in argument, or to take the opposite side of a question to that which he supported. He manifested both a great facility in dealing with principles, and a great acuteness in detecting the fallacies of an opponent. Still, his example unquestionably exercised a very salutary influence in stimulating the other members to prepare themselves on questions to be discussed, so as not to treat them in a superficial manner, as they were aware that their reasonings and averments would have to undergo a sifting process. His manner of debating, too, characterized by great fairness, tended much to correct a habit into which young controversialists are apt to fall, viz. that of triumphing in small advantages, and of substituting empty declamation for argument." While such was his intellectual character, his moral deportment was in admirable coincidence and harmony. The same commemorator of his early days thus continues:—"Modesty was a quality by which he was eminently characterized at the time of which we speak. He could bear his part well in general society; but he always showed much deference to his elders, especially if they had other claims to respect. His early friends will remember that he used to manifest the deepest abhorrence of anything in the shape of falsehood, mean selfishness, and hypocrisy, and a most withering contempt of all false and hollow pretensions." In what strong relief all these qualities of his youth were brought out when Dr. Gordon entered into public life, can be well remembered by those who enjoyed his society.

The attendance of Mr. Gordon at the divinity-hall extended over five sessions, partly at the university of Edinburgh, but more especially at Aberdeen; and with the study of theology, that of the exact sciences occupied much of his attention. It was to these, indeed, that his original bias tended, and their study influenced his intellectual character both as a scholar and theologian. He cared little for the produce of imagination, and would at any time have preferred a problem to a poem: instead of being contented to see an idea looming in the distance and through the mist, and taking it upon such doubtful security, he must needs gauge it in all its length, breadth, and thickness, before he could be satisfied. It was no wonder, therefore, that he was so impassive to transcendentalism, and that in after-years he characterized one of Coleridge's marvellous monologues, to which he had listened with a countenance of mathematical severity, as "all buff." This intellectual tendency had made him a close and accurate meteorological observer; had enabled him to discharge successfully the duties of a factor as well as tutor to one of his employers, and had pointed him out as the fittest person to write the articles "Geography,"

"Euclid," and "Meteorology," in the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*. It was also these powers of calculation, combined with capacity for the multifarious details of business, that procured for him the tempting offer of an important situation in the East India House. But all these capacities he devoted exclusively to the service of the church; and they were manifested not only in his mode of teaching as an investigator and expounder of the lessons of divine truth, but the efficiency with which he managed those financial operations connected with the church's welfare that were committed to his care.

The first public situation which Robert Gordon held was that of master in the academy of Perth; but not long after, he was appointed minister to the parish of Kinfauns, Perthshire. In this rural charge he remained only four years, having been called in 1820 to the old chapel of ease in Buccleuch Street, Edinburgh; and soon after to the *quoad sacra* church of Hope Park, which was built for him. His arrival in Edinburgh produced an unwonted stir, and he was soon one of the most popular preachers of the day. At this no one was so astonished as himself: his innate modesty could not perceive wherefore he was so followed after; and while he shrunk from such popularity as a misplaced and uncertain liking, it only clung to him the more pertinaciously on that account. His preaching, indeed, was in a style that was all his own—it was religious truth in its own native simplicity and distinctness, enforced with all the impassioned earnestness of one pleading upon a life-and-death question—theological speculation without its coldness and abstraction, and oratory without its meretricious ornaments. Few could refuse to listen, or listening, fail to comprehend such preaching, although it so much transcended, both in expansiveness and depth, the usual standard of pulpit ministrations. A volume of these sermons, which he published, attested its true character, so that the work went through several editions, and is still prized as a standard production, while the most intellectual of the inhabitants of Edinburgh became part of his regular congregation. As might be expected, also, the diploma of Doctor in Divinity was speedily conferred upon him. In 1825 he was translated from Hope Park to the new North Church, and in 1830 to the High Church of Edinburgh.

During the whole course of Dr. Gordon's ministry he was seldom to be found engaged in the controversies of church courts; but when it was necessary in any important question to express his sentiments, they bore the stamp of his reflective conscientious character, and were received with respect. Such was the case in 1829, when the great question of Catholic emancipation would not permit him to be silent, and when he also found himself compelled to dissent from most of his brethren. In spite of all the warnings of history to the contrary, the majority had persuaded themselves into the fond belief that Popery, which must be all or nothing, would be contented with only a part; and that when its present demands were conceded, the question would be settled to all future time, and a vexatious controversy for ever laid to rest. His prophetic declarations upon this occasion, while they have been but too well justified by succeeding events, were very different from that uncharitable sweeping condemnation with which it is so much the fashion to condemn every item of Popery, and every individual holder of its tenets. Addressing the presbytery of Edinburgh, who had for the most part become enamoured of the soothing system, he said:—"I know nothing in the history of Popery, and I have been able to discover nothing in the manifestations of its spirit, that

will warrant me to hope that the removal of Catholic disabilities will induce the priesthood of the Romish church to remove the seal which they have dared to put on the Word of God, and to permit us to carry the Bible, without let or hindrance, among the multitudes from whom they have hitherto excluded it. I give them credit for a deeper and a stronger attachment to their faith, than to suppose that any political boon, or, as they think it, any act of political justice on our part, will have any weight with them in rendering them more willing to see their flocks transferred to the guardianship of Protestant pastors; nor can I conceive that they will do otherwise than smile at our simplicity when we avow a hope, that by conceding to them the privileges which they now demand, we shall have disarmed their hostility to our tenets, and drawn them over to what they think our heresies and our delusions. I should be disposed to draw the very opposite conclusion. It is by their fidelity to their common cause—their determined, persevering, united efforts—such efforts as a religious union alone could make—that they have compelled government to adopt the measures now in progress for conceding to them certain privileges. I say, *compelled*; for, after all the attempts to explain it away, this is in reality the acknowledgment of the highest political authority in the empire. And are they so unskilful either in spiritual or political tactics—so little able to avail themselves of the vantage-ground on which this measure, if successful, will place them—as to be less careful of the union which has secured so important a step towards the attainment of what must be the wish and ultimate object of every consistent Catholic—the supremacy of their system? Such were his sentiments upon the question of Catholic emancipation in 1829, and the events of the present day but too well attest their soundness.

After this decided stand, which Dr. Gordon made in opposition to the most esteemed and talented of his brethren, events succeeded of still more imperious urgency, which dragged him from his peaceful seclusion, and sent him into the arena. These were, the preludes to the disruption of the Church of Scotland, and finally the disruption itself. Still, however, his gentle spirit predominated, and throughout the storm of controversy that raged for years, his words were like oil upon the troubled waters when their commotion is at the fiercest. So high, however, was his intellectual standing, and so well understood the uncompromising conscientiousness of his principles, that this very gentleness, which in an inferior or doubtful person might have gone for nothing, only seemed, in the case of Dr. Gordon, to give his opinions greater weight and ascendancy. The public, that looked on in doubt and uncertainty, were compelled to respect a cause which had such a man for its advocate, and even the wavering of his own party were confirmed when they saw his hearty zeal in its behalf, and remembered his well-established character for wisdom, circumspection, and forbearance. Such was especially the case when they beheld him accompanying the presbytery of Dunkeld to the bar of the Court of Session in 1839, to be censured for ordaining a minister to the parish of Lethendy in opposition to a civil interdict. In 1841 he presided as moderator of the General Assembly, and in this capacity it was his painful duty—from which he did not shrink—to depose the seven ministers of Strathbogie. In the same year Dr. Gordon presided at the great meeting which was held on the 25th of August in the West Church, Edinburgh—a meeting limited expressly to those office-bearers of the church who approved of its late

resistance to the civil power, and were willing to persevere at every hazard; and his address on that solemn occasion, to about twelve hundred ministers and elders assembled from every part of Scotland, while he announced the principles for which they were now called to contend, and his own settled resolution to maintain them at whatever cost or hazard, sunk deep into every heart. His next public appearance was at the convocation held at Edinburgh in November, 1842, in consequence of the judgment pronounced by the House of Lords on what was called the second Auchterarder case, in which it was declared that the refusal of a people to a patron's presentee was not only no bar to his enjoying the temporalities of his parochial charge, but none also to his being ordained as minister of the parish. It was evident that the contest had come to such a height that a separation between church and state was inevitable, if each party still continued to hold by its respective principles; and accordingly the convocation was called for the purpose of considering whether, and in what manner, the separation should take place. These meetings extended over several evenings, and were held in Roxburgh Church, where between four and five hundred ministers gave their attendance. It was at one of those meetings that a speech of Dr. Gordon made a solemn impression upon the hearts of his auditory; and in the course of it he so clearly defined and so distinctly announced the duties of a church thus circumstanced, that his statements form the best apology for the disruption that afterwards ensued. "I set out," he said, "with the principle, that the state, the supreme power in the state, has an absolute, uncontrolled, uncontrollable dominion over civil things. Civil rulers may exercise their power in a bad way—they may do what is clearly wrong; but theirs is the power, as an ordinance of God: to God they are responsible; but I, as a subject of the realm, am bound to obey them. In the next place, I hold that we have a certain connection with the state, in which connection a certain temporal thing is concerned. They were entitled to offer us these temporalities on any conditions they chose at first. In the same way they may come forward at any future period and say, 'We have changed our mind:' they may propose new conditions to us; and if we cannot agree to these conditions, they may take back the temporalities they gave us. But then it may be said, 'We are not come to that; the state does not insist yet on the conditions to which we object.' It must be admitted, however, that the judgment of the supreme civil court is a *prima facie* ground for the belief that the state regards these conditions as binding, and that these decisions, unless repudiated by the state, must be so interpreted. We don't need them to pass a new statute declaring what the conditions are. The statute, as interpreted by the supreme court, is virtually a new statute. It is thought by some parties that the ecclesiastical courts will succumb to the decisions of the civil, and therefore that the interference of the state will not be required; it is therefore our duty to go to the state, and say that we cannot and will not succumb. I cannot understand how I, as an honest man, could retain my temporalities on other conditions than those on which they are offered me. A reverend gentleman in the house spoke of voluntarily abandoning the temporalities, and said that to do so would be to act at a disadvantage. Now, I do not go out of the Establishment voluntarily; I am forced to it by what is infinitely more terrible to me than the soldier's sword or the constable's baton—my own conscience. I am persecuted into it. You may talk of main-

taining the people's privileges; I cannot maintain them at the expense of honesty. Some may think that the attachment of the people to our cause would be much stronger if they saw our ministers thrust out by violence, but that is not the sort of attachment we desire. We wish the attachment of men conscientiously holding our views, for that is the only kind of attachment which will stand the test to which our people may be exposed. Any feeling towards a minister arising from indignation at personal violence offered to him would be of very short duration."

Day by day events went onward until the moment of trial arrived. And would a disruption in very deed take place at last, and five hundred clergymen be found so true to their promise, and so self-denying, as to lay down their comfortable state endowments at the demand of what so many considered a mere abstract principle? No, it is impossible: martyrdom is only for a rough cheerless period of society, and not for the sleek comfortable days of this middle term of the nineteenth century in which our happy lot has been cast! So said statesmen; so said the well-endowed dignitaries of the Church of England; so said the moderate party of the Church of Scotland, whose violence had precipitated matters to this dangerous point. But it was not among them alone that there was either scornful scepticism or sympathetic doubt; for among the most confirmed of the outgoers also there was a painful apprehension that, even at the last moment, there might be a wavering among their ranks, and a falling away of many. Upon this point even Dr. Gordon too had experienced moments of gloomy anticipation, in which he feared that the promised disruption would finally dwindle down into a trivial dissent, whose testimony would be unheard or unnoticed. But still, the fact that he did not flinch for an instant in his purpose, whether he might be accompanied by many or by few, only places his high conscientious disinterestedness in a stronger and fairer light. To him, also, the sacrifice was accompanied with peculiar aggravations. The clerical charge he held, besides being one of the highest in Scotland, enabled him, from its being a collegiate one, to devote a considerable portion of time to his favourite studies; and he held also the lucrative office of collector of the Widows' Fund, to which he had been appointed in 1836. But high office, leisure, and emolument, were to be foregone for the labour and precariousness of a missionary life, burdened in his case by the growing infirmities of age, and the maintenance of a very large family of young children, who looked wholly to him for support, and whose interests would be deeply compromised by the sacrifice. But he rendered it cheerfully, and went forth with the rest; and perhaps, as his eye glanced backward at the long array of his brethren on their march to the new place of meeting at Tanfield, and contrasted their numbers with his previous doubts and misgivings, the devout joy of the triumph swallowed up all remembrance of the sacrifice.

The remaining years of the life of Dr. Gordon were spent in domestic comfort, as well as public honour and usefulness. He threw himself into his new sphere of increased duties with all the ardour of his matured manhood, and the energy with which these were discharged showed little or no abatement of his former power. If any change indeed was perceptible, it was that his style of preaching be-tokened the purifying furnace of trial through which his mind had passed, for his sermons had an increase of apostolic simplicity and unction, which made his pulpit ministrations even more effective than

before. His studies also were more exclusively confined to his pulpit ministrations; and although he might have lightened these labours by accepting a colleague, he conscientiously persisted in encountering the same amount that fell to the lot of his younger brethren. His death, which occurred in Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, on the 21st of October, 1853, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his ministry, was occasioned by a stroke of paralysis.

Dr. Gordon was a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts; he was also one of her majesty's master printers for Scotland. Besides the volume of sermons, and the articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* which we have mentioned, he published nothing; but from the care with which his discourses were written, a series of them were deemed fit for the press, and were accordingly published under the title of *Christ as made known to the Ancient Church*, in four octavo volumes.

GORDON, THOMAS, an eminent party writer, and translator of Tacitus, is supposed to have been born in the parish of Kells, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, about the end of the seventeenth century. His father, the representative of an ancient family descended from the Gordons of Kenmuir, was proprietor of Gairloch in that parish. Thomas Gordon is said to have received a university education in his own country, and then to have gone to London as a literary adventurer: joining these circumstances with his avowed infidelity, it is probable that he was a renegade student of divinity or licentiate—almost always an unprincipled and odious character. In London he supported himself at first as a teacher of languages, and gradually became an author by profession. He is said to have been employed as a political writer by the Earl of Oxford, in the support of the Tory ministry of which that nobleman was the head; but this hardly corresponds with the other dates of his literary exertions, for Mr. Gordon appears to have written nothing of which the title has been commemorated till he formed an intimacy with Mr. Trenchard; and on the 20th of January, 1720, commenced, in conjunction with that individual, a weekly political sheet called the *Independent Whig*. If Gordon wrote in the reign of Queen Anne, what was he doing in the course of the six intervening years? Nor is it of small importance to his reputation that this point should be settled, as he became a distinguished patriot and a supporter of Sir Robert Walpole—the very reverse, in every respect, of what he is said to have been in the days of Queen Anne's Tory ministry. It is our own opinion that the latter allegation is not well founded; it does not appear in the original memoir of Gordon in the *Biographia Britannica*, 1766, an article evidently written by a person that must have known him personally, or at least his surviving family; that sketch represents him in the more probable character of a young man taken into employment by Mr. Trenchard as an amanuensis, and subsequently so much improved by the conversation and instructions of his employer, as to be fitted to enter into a literary partnership with him as an independent patriotic writer. Thus we see much cause to relieve the memory of this clever person from no small share of the odium which has been cast upon it by subsequent biographical writers.

Trenchard, the partner of Gordon, was a political writer of some standing, and no small influence. It was in consequence of a pamphlet from his pen that the parliament obliged King William to send home

his Dutch guards; a proceeding which is said to have moved that grave monarch to tears, and almost induced him to go back to Holland himself. Mr. Trenchard was the author of a work which appeared in 1709, under the title of the *Natural History of Superstition*, and held the office of commissioner of the forfeited estates in Ireland. His acquaintance with Gordon appears to have been commenced without the formality of an introduction. "From a perfect stranger to him," says the latter, "and without any other recommendation than a casual coffee-house acquaintance, and his own good opinion, he took me into his favour and care, and into as high a degree of intimacy as ever was shown by one man to another. This was the more remarkable," continues Gordon, "and did me the greater honour, as he was naturally as shy in making friendships as he was eminently constant to those which he had already made." The *Independent Whig*, which seems to have been their first joint production, was continued for a year, stopping in January, 1721. Before its conclusion, namely in November, 1720, the two writers had begun a series of letters signed "Cato," in the *London*, and afterwards in the *British Journal*, which was continued almost to the death of Mr. Trenchard, an event that happened in December, 1723. A new edition of the *Independent Whig*, including a renewed series published by Gordon after Mr. Trenchard's death, appeared in two volumes 12mo. A similar collection of *Cato's Letters* appeared in four volumes, and went into a fourth edition in 1737.

Of the *Independent Whig* Dr. Murray thus speaks in his *Literary History of Galloway*:—"It is a fortunate circumstance that this work is known only by name; for it is disfigured by sentiments which are deserving of great reprobation. It was more immediately directed against the hierarchy of the Church of England; but it was also meant, or at least has a direct tendency, to undermine the very foundation of a national religion, under any circumstances, and to bring the sacred profession, if not religion itself, into contempt. The sacerdotal office, according to this book, is not only not recommended in Scripture, but is unnecessary and dangerous; ministers of the gospel have ever been the promoters of corruption and ignorance, and distinguished by a degree of arrogance, immorality, and a thirst after secular power, that have rendered them destructive of the public and private welfare of a nation. 'One drop of priestcraft,' say they, 'is enough to contaminate the ocean.'

"The object of *Cato's Letters*," continues Dr. Murray, "is nearly the same with that of the *Independent Whig*—with this difference, that its theological and ecclesiastical discussions are much blended with political disquisitions. It was indeed directed particularly against the South Sea scheme; the knavery and absurdity of which our authors had the merit of exposing at a time when almost the whole nation was intoxicated with dreams of wealth and independence, which it artfully cherished, and by which so many were ruined and betrayed.

"Notwithstanding the insuperable objections we have stated to the most of the principles of these works, they are characterized, we must confess, by no mean portion of talents and learning. The authors seem always masters of the subjects of which they treat, and their discussions are clear, close, and vigorous.

"Like every person who in any way attempts to undermine the welfare and interests of society, Gordon and Trenchard laid claim to great purity of intention. According to their own statement, they formed the

only two wise, patriotic, and independent men of the age, in which they lived. 'As these letters,' says Gordon in his preface, 'were the work of no faction or cabal, nor calculated for any lucrative or ambitious ends, or to serve the purposes of any party whatsoever; but attacked falsehood and dishonesty in all shapes and parties, without temporizing with any, but doing justice to all, even to the weakest and most unfashionable, and maintaining the principles of liberty against the practices of most parties: so they were dropped without any sordid composition, and without any consideration, save that it was judged that the public, after its terrible convulsions, was again become calm and safe.'

After the death of Mr. Trenchard, his widow, after the manner of ladies in a more expressly commercial rank of life, became the second wife of her husband's journeyman and partner, Mr. Gordon—apparently induced to take this step by the usefulness of Gordon in managing her affairs. By this lady, who survived him, and was living in 1766, he had several children. His circumstances were now very easy and agreeable, and he appears to have contemplated tasks which required leisure, and promised to give him a permanent fame. A translation of Tacitus executed by him (the third printed in the English language), with discourses taken from foreign commentators and translators of that historian, appeared in 1728, two volumes folio; and the subscription being patronized by Sir Robert Walpole, it proved a very lucrative speculation. Of this work one writer speaks as follows:—"No classic was ever perhaps so miserably mangled. His (Gordon's) style is extremely vulgar, yet affected, and abounds with abrupt and inharmonious periods, totally destitute of any resemblance to the original; while the translator fancied he was giving a correct imitation." Another writer adverts to it in very different terms. "Though it is now," says Dr. Murray,¹ "in a great degree superseded by the elegant translation of Mr. Murphy, it is nevertheless a work of no inconsiderable degree of merit. Mr. Gordon probably understood his author better than any who have presented him to the world in an English dress; and the only objection that has been made to the work, even by Murphy himself, is, that he foolishly attempted to accommodate the English language to the elliptical and epigrammatic style of the Roman historian." Gordon afterwards published a translation of Sallust in the same style as his version of Tacitus.

During the long period of Walpole's administration the subject of this memoir acted as his literary supporter, enjoying in return either a regular pay or the office of first commissioner of wine licenses. After his death, which happened on the 28th of July, 1750, two collections of his fugitive writings appeared under the respective titles of *A Cordial for Low Spirits* and *The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken*—works which had better, both for his own fame and the welfare of society, been suppressed. Finally, a volume entitled *Sermons on Practical Subjects addressed to Different Characters*, appeared in 1788.

GORDON, WILLIAM, of Earlston, a zealous defender of the covenant, and this by inheritance as well as principle, being lineally descended from Mr. Alexander Gordon, who entertained some of the followers of John Wickliffe, the first of the English reformers—reading to them, in their secret meetings in the wood of Airds, a New Testament translated into English, of which he had got possession.

¹ Chalmers' *General Biographical Dictionary*, xvi. 107.

² *Literary History of Galloway*, second edition, 182.

As the subject of this notice, however, was—notwithstanding his zeal in the cause of the covenant, and his steady and warm friendship for those who adhered to it—himself a retired and peaceful man, little of any interest is left on record regarding him. And, excepting in one of the last acts of his life, he mingled little with the public transactions of the period in which he lived. So far, however, as his personal influence extended, he did not fail to exhibit, both fearlessly and openly, the religious sentiments which he entertained. He would give no lease of his lands to any one, whatever might be offered, but on condition of their keeping family worship; and he was in the habit of meeting his tenants at a place appointed every Sunday, and proceeding with them to church. He had also acquired a reputation for his skill in solving cases of conscience, of which some curious enough instances are to be found in Wodrow's *Analecta*, a MS. work (now printed) already more than once referred to in the present publication. His first public appearance, in connection with the faith to which he was so zealously attached, occurred in the year 1663, soon after the restoration of Charles II. An episcopal incumbent having been appointed by the bishop to the church of Dalry, to which Mr. Gordon had a right of patronage, he resisted the appointment, on the twofold ground of its being contrary to the religious tenets of the congregation to admit an Episcopal minister, and an invalidation of his own private right as patron. For this contumacy he was charged to appear before the council; but, not obeying the summons, he was soon after charged a second time, and accused of keeping conventicles and private meetings in his house, and ordered to forbear the same in time coming. Disobeying this also, as he had done the first, he was immediately after sentenced to banishment, and ordered to quit the kingdom within a month, and bound to live peaceably during that time, under a penalty of £10,000. Still disobeying, Gordon was now subjected to all the hardships and rigours of persecution. He was turned out of his house by a military force, and compelled to wander up and down the country like many others of his persecuted brethren. In the meantime the battle of Bothwell Bridge took place, and Gordon, unaware of the defeat of his friends, was hastening to join the ranks, when he was met, not far from the field of battle, by a party of English dragoons, by whom, on refusing to surrender, he was instantly killed. The troubles of the times preventing his friends from removing his body to the burial-place of his family, he was interred in the churchyard of Glassford, where a pillar was afterwards erected to his memory.

GOW, NATHANIEL, who, as a violinist and composer, well deserves a place in any work intended to perpetuate the names of Scotsmen who have done honour or service to their country, was the youngest son of the celebrated Neil Gow. His mother's name was Margaret Wiseman, and he was born at Inver, near Dunkeld, Perthshire, on the 28th May, 1766. Nathaniel and his three brothers, William, John, and Andrew, having all given early indications of musical talent, adopted music as a profession, and the violin, on which their father had already gained so much reputation, as the instrument to which their chief study was to be directed. All the brothers attained considerable eminence, and some of them acquired a fortune by the practice of this instrument; but viewing all the circumstances applicable to each, it will not be looked on as invidious or partial, when we say that Nathaniel must be considered the most eminent of his family or name, not only as a per-

former and composer, but as having more than any other advanced the cause and popularity of our national music during his time, and provided by his publications a permanent repository of Scottish music, the most complete of its kind hitherto given to the world.

Nathaniel was indebted to his father for his first instructions. He commenced on a small violin commonly called a *kit*, on which his father Neil had also made his first essay, and which is still preserved in the family. At an early age he was sent to Edinburgh, where he continued the study of the violin, first under Robert M'Intosh, or Red Rob, as he was called, until the latter, from his celebrity, was called up to London. He next took lessons from M'Glashan, better known by the appellation of King M'Glashan, which he acquired from his tall stately appearance and the showy style in which he dressed; and who besides was in high estimation as an excellent composer of Scottish airs, and an able and spirited leader of the fashionable bands. He studied the violoncello under Joseph Reneagle, a name of some note in the musical world, who, after a long residence in Edinburgh, was appointed to the professorship of music at Oxford. With Reneagle he ever after maintained the closest intimacy and friendship. The following laconic letter from the professor in 1821 illustrates this:—"Dear Gow, I write this to request the favour of you to give me all the particulars regarding the ensuing coronation, viz.—Does the crown of Scotland go? Do the trumpeters go? Do you go? Does Mrs. Gow go? If so, my wife and self will go; and if you do not go, I will not go, nor my wife go." Gow's first professional appearance, it is believed, was in the band conducted by King M'Glashan, in which he played the violoncello. After the death of M'Glashan he continued under his elder brother William Gow, who succeeded as leader, a situation for which he was well fitted by his bold and spirited style; but, having been cut off about the year 1791, at the early age of forty, Nathaniel took his place, and maintained it for nearly forty years with an éclat and success far beyond anything that ever preceded or followed him.

So early as 1782, when he could not have been more than sixteen years of age, Gow was appointed one of his majesty's trumpeters for Scotland, a situation which required only partial attendance and duty, being called on only to officiate at royal proclamations, and to accompany the judiciary judges on their circuits for a few weeks, thrice in each year. The salary is small, but it is made up by handsome allowances for travelling expenses, so that in all it may yield the holder about £70 per annum. This situation he held to the day of his death, although, during some of his later years he was forced to employ a substitute, who drew a considerable portion of the emoluments.

He had for many years previously, by assuming the lead of the fashionable bands, become known not only as an excellent violin player, but as a successful teacher, and as having arranged and prepared for publication the first three numbers of the collection of reels and strathspeys published by his father. So much, however, and so quickly did he advance in reputation after this, and so generally did he become acquainted with the great and fashionable world, that in 1796, without giving up or abating his lucrative employment as leader, he commenced business as a music-seller on an extensive scale, in company with Mr. Wm. Shepherd; and for fifteen or sixteen years commanded the most extensive business perhaps ever enjoyed by any house in the line in Scotland. In 1813, however, after his

partner's death, the business was wound up, and whatever profits he may have drawn during the subsistence of the partnership, he was obliged to pay up a considerable shortcoming at its close.

It was in 1799 that he continued the work commenced by his father and himself; and from that time till 1824, in addition to the three first collections, and two books of *Slow Airs, Dances, Waltzes, &c.*, he published a fourth, fifth, and sixth *Collection of Strathspeys and Reels*; three volumes of *Beauties*, being a republication of the best airs in the three first collections, with additions—four volumes of a *Repository of Scots Slow Airs, Strathspeys, and Dances*—two volumes of *Scots Vocal Melodies*, and a *Collection of Ancient Curious Scots Melodies*, besides a great many smaller publications, all arranged by himself for the harp, pianoforte, violin, and violoncello. During the life of his father he was assisted by him, and the first numbers were published as the works of Neil Gow and Son. Many collections had been published previously by ingenious individuals, the best of which perhaps was that of Oswald; but Gow's collections, beyond all dispute, are the most extensive and most complete ever submitted to the public; embracing not only almost all that is good in others, but the greater part of the compositions of Neil and Nathaniel Gow, and other members of that musical family.

After an interval of a few years Gow commenced music-seller once more, in company with his only son Neil, a young man of amiable and cultivated mind, who had received a finished education at Edinburgh and Paris for the profession of surgeon, but who, finding no favourable opening in that overstocked calling, and having a talent and love for music, abandoned it and joined his father. This young gentleman, who was the composer of the beautiful melody of *Bonny Prince Charlie*, and a great many others, was not long spared to his father and friends, having been cut off by a lingering disease in 1823. The business was afterwards continued until 1827; but, wanting a proper head—Gow himself being unable to look after it—it dwindled away; and poor Gow, after a long life of toil, during which he had gathered considerable wealth, found himself a bankrupt at a time when age and infirmity prevented him from doing anything to retrieve his fortunes.

It is difficult to describe the influence, success, and reputation of Nathaniel Gow during all the time he conducted the fashionable bands in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland; but certain it is, that in these respects he stands at the head of all that ever trode in the same department. Not only did he preside at the peers' balls, Caledonian Hunt balls, and at the parties of all the noble and fashionable of Edinburgh, but at most of the great meetings and parties that took place throughout Scotland; and in several instances he was summoned to England. No expense deterred individuals or public bodies from availing themselves of his services; and it appears from his memorandum-books, that parties frequently paid him from one hundred to one hundred and fifty guineas, for attending at Perth, Dumfries, Inverness, &c., with his band. One of the first objects in the formation of fashionable parties was to ascertain if Gow was disengaged, and they would be fixed, postponed, or altered, to suit his leisure and convenience. He visited London frequently, although he resisted many invitations to settle there permanently. In the year 1797, when in London, the Duke of Gordon, then Marquis of Huntly, got up a fashionable ball for him, which was so well attended, that after paying all expenses, £130 was handed over to Mr. Gow. He was in the habit, too, during every

visit to the capital, of being honoured by invitations to the private parties of his majesty George IV., when Prince of Wales and prince-regent; on which occasions he joined that prince, who was a respectable violoncello-player, in the performance of concerted pieces of the most esteemed composers. In 1822, when his majesty visited Scotland, Gow was summoned, with a select portion of the musical talent of Edinburgh, to Dalkeith Palace, and the king evinced his enduring recollection of the musician's visits to him in London, by quitting the banquet table to speak to him; ordering at the same time a goblet of generous wine to the musician, and expressing the delight he experienced not only on that, but many former occasions, in listening to his performances. Gow was overcome by his majesty's familiar address, and all he could do was to mutter in a choked manner, "God bless your majesty." At the peers' ball and the Caledonian Hunt ball his majesty took pleasure in expressing the satisfaction he derived from Gow's music; so that when the latter rendered his account for his band, he added, "My own trouble at pleasure, or nothing, as his majesty's approbation more than recompensed me."

Gow had an annual ball at Edinburgh during all the time he was leader of the bands; and, until a few years before his retirement, these were attended by all the fashion and wealth of the country, there being frequently above a thousand in the room, many of whom, who were his patrons, did not stint their contributions to the mere price of their tickets. He received, besides, many compliments beyond the mere charge for professional labour. At his ball in 1811 the Earl of Dalhousie, who was his staunch supporter on all occasions, presented him with a massive silver goblet, accompanied by the following note:—"An old friend of Gow's requests his acceptance of a cup, in which to drink the health of the thousands who would wish, but cannot attend him to-night." He was presented with a fine violoncello by Sir Peter Murray of Ochertyre, and a valuable Italian violin by Sir Alexander Don.

While his evenings were occupied at the parties of the great, his days were not spent in idleness. He had as his pupils the children of the first families in the country for the violin and pianoforte accompaniment; from whom he received the highest rate of fees known at the time; indeed, it appears from his books, that at one time he went once a week to the Duke of Buccleuch's at Dalkeith Palace, a distance of only six miles, and received two guineas each lesson, besides travelling expenses.

Although engaged, as already said, in the most extensively patronized musical establishment in Scotland, it is questionable if he ever at any time realized profit from it, while it is certain that towards the close he was a great loser; indeed, it can seldom be otherwise where the proprietor has other avocations, and leaves the management to his servants. But from his balls, teaching, and playing, the emoluments he derived were very great, and he was at one time worth upwards of £20,000; but this was ultimately swept away, and he was forced, while prostrated by a malady from which he never recovered, to appeal to his old patrons and the public for their support, at a ball for his behoof in March, 1827, which he did by the following circular: "When I formerly addressed my kind patrons and the public, I had no other claim than that which professional men generally have, whose exertions are devoted to the public amusement. By a patronage the most unvarying and flattering, I was placed in a situation of comfortable independence, and I looked forward without apprehension to passing the decline of my days in

the bosom of my family, with competence and with happiness. Unfortunately for me, circumstances have changed. By obligations for friends, and losses in trade, my anxious savings have been gradually wasted, till now, when almost bed-ridden, unable to leave my house or to follow my profession, I am forced to surrender the remnant of my means to pay my just and lawful creditors. In this situation some generous friends have stepped forward and persuaded me, that the recollection of my former efforts to please may not be so entirely effaced as to induce the public to think that my day of distress should pass without notice or without sympathy."

The appeal was not in vain—the ball was crowded, and handsome tokens of remembrance were sent by many of his old friends, so that nearly £300 was produced. The ball was continued annually for three years afterwards, and though not so great as the first, they still yielded sufficient to prove the deep sympathy of the public, and to afford him a consolation and support in his hour of trial and sickness. It should not be omitted that the noblemen and gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt, who had during all his career been his warmest patrons, voted £50 per annum to him during his life; and we will be forgiven for lengthening this detail a little by quoting one letter out of the many hundreds received, which was from his ever-generous friend Mr. Maule of Panmure: "Your letter has given me real uneasiness, but although Scotland forgot itself in the case of *Burns*, I hope the present generation will not allow a *Gow* to suffer for the want of those comforts in his old age, to which his exertions for so many years for their amusement and instruction so well entitle him. My plan is this, that an annuity of £200 should be got by subscription, and if the Duke of Athol, Lords Breadalbane, Kinnoul, and Gray (all Perthshire noblemen), would put their names at the top of the list, it would very soon be filled up; this in addition to an annual ball at Edinburgh, which ought to produce at least £200 more, would still be but a moderate recompense for the constant zeal, attention, and civility which you have shown in the service of the public of Scotland during a long period of years. I, for one, shall do my part, because I never can forget the many happy hours I have passed, enlivened by the addition of your incomparable music." The subscription did not take place, but Mr. Maule did *his part* indeed, for every year brought a kind letter and a substantial accompaniment.

In estimating the professional character of Nathaniel Gow, it will be more just to his memory to consider his merits in that department which he made his peculiar province, than as a general musician; for although he was well acquainted with the compositions of the great masters, and joined in their performance, and taught them to his pupils, yet his early aspirations, and his more mature delight and study, were directed to the national music of Scotland. As a performer he had all the fire and spirit of his celebrated father in the quick music, with more refined taste, delicacy, and clearness of intonation in the slow and plaintive melodies. To an equally fine ear, and deep feeling of the beauties and peculiarities of Scottish melody, he added the advantages of a more general cultivation of musical knowledge, with more varied and frequent opportunities of hearing the most classical compositions executed by the most able performers. These, while they did not tempt him to sacrifice any of the character or simplicity of his native music, enabled him to give a taste and finish to the execution of it, which placed him, by general and ungrudging consent, as

the master spirit of that branch or department which he had selected, and in which, for a long course of years, he walked in unapproachable triumph.

As a composer, his works remain to support his claims. He has published in his collections, and in sheets, upwards of two hundred original melodies and dancing tunes, and left nearly a hundred in manuscript; which, along with his more recent collections, became the property of Messrs. Robertson of Princes Street, Edinburgh. Of these we may only refer to a very few—his *Caller Herring*, which was so much admired that it was printed in London, and imitated by celebrated composers—*Sir George Clerk*, and *Lady Charlotte Durham*, as specimens of his slow compositions—and to *The Miller of Drone*, *Largo's Fairy Dance*, and *Mrs. Wemyss of Castlehill*, to which last air the song of *St. Patrick was a Gentleman* is sung, as specimens of his lively pieces. There are many of our finest melodies of which the composers are *unknown*; but we are persuaded that few will contradict us when we say, that from the number and talent of his compositions, no *known* Scottish composer, not even his celebrated father, can contest the palm with him as the largest and ablest contributor to the already great stock of our national music.

Nathaniel Gow was a man of great shrewdness and good understanding—generally of a lively companionable turn, with a good deal of humour—very courteous in his manners; though, especially latterly, when misfortune and disease had soured him, a little hasty in his temper. He was a dutiful and affectionate son, as his father's letters abundantly prove; a kind brother—having resigned his share of his father's succession to his sister, who wanted it more than he did at the time; and indulgent and faithful in his duties to his own family. In his person he was tall and "bairdly"—and he dressed well, which, added to a degree of courtliness of manner on occasions of ceremony, gave him altogether a respectable and stately appearance. His illness came to a crisis in the beginning of 1831, and finally terminated in his death, on the 17th of January of that year, at the age of sixty-five. He was buried in the Grayfriars' churchyard; but no stone points out to the stranger where the Scottish minstrel sleeps.

He was twice married. By his first wife, Janet Fraser, he had five daughters and one son; by his second wife, Mary Hog, to whom he was married in 1814, he had three sons and two daughters. A spirited likeness of Mr. Gow was painted by Mr. John Syme of Edinburgh.

GOW, NEIL, a celebrated violin player and composer of Scottish airs, was the son of John Gow and Catharine M'Ewan, and was born at Inver, near Dunkeld, Perthshire, on the 22d of March, 1727. He was intended by his parents for the trade of a plaid weaver, but discovering an early propensity for music he began the study of the violin himself, and soon abandoned the shuttle for the bow. Up to the age of thirteen he had no instructor; but about that time he availed himself of some lessons from John Cameron, a follower of the house of Grandtully, and soon placed himself at the head of all the performers in the country, although Perthshire then produced more able reel and strathspey players than any other county in Scotland. Before he reached manhood he had engaged in a public competition there, and carried off the prize, which was decided by an aged and blind but skilful minstrel, who, in awarding it said, that "he could distinguish the *stroke of Neil's bow* among a hundred players." This ascendancy he ever after maintained, not only in his native

place, but throughout Scotland, where it has been universally admitted that, as a reel and strathspey player, he had no superior, and indeed no rival in his own time.

Neil Gow was the first of his family, so far as is known, who rendered the name celebrated in our national music; but his children afterwards proved that, in their case at any rate, genius and talent were hereditary. Although Neil was born, and lived the whole of a long life, in a small village in the Highlands of Perthshire, with no ambition for the honours and advancement which, in general, are only to be obtained by a residence in great cities; and although he was in a manner a self-taught artist, and confined his labours chiefly to what may be considered a subordinate branch of the profession of music; yet he acquired a notoriety and renown beyond what was destined to many able and scientific professors, of whom hundreds have flourished and been forgotten since his time, while his name continues, especially in Scotland, familiar as a household word.

Many causes contributed to this. The chief ones, no doubt, were his unquestioned skill in executing the national music of Scotland, and the genius he displayed in the composition of a great number of beautiful melodies. But these were enhanced in no small degree by other accessory causes. There was a peculiar spirit, and Celtic character and enthusiasm, which he threw into his performances, and which distinguished his bow amid the largest band. His appearance, too, was prepossessing—his countenance open, honest, and pleasing—his figure compact and manly, which was shown to advantage in the tight tartan knee-breeches and hose which he always wore. There was also an openness and eccentricity in his manner, which, while it was homely, easy, and unaffected, was at the same time characterized by great self-possession and downrightness; and being accompanied by acute penetration into the character and peculiarities of others, strong good sense, and considerable quaintness and humour, and above all, by a perfect honesty and integrity of thought and action, placed him on a footing of familiarity and independence in the presence of the proudest of the land, which perhaps no one in his situation ever attained either before or since. Many who never heard him play, and who are even unacquainted with his compositions, fired by the accounts of those who lived in his time, talk to this day of Neil Gow as if they had tripped a thousand times to his spirit-stirring and mirth-inspiring strains.

Living in the immediate neighbourhood of Dunkeld House, he was early noticed and distinguished by the Duke of Athol and his family, which was soon followed by the patronage of the Duchess of Gordon and the principal nobility and gentry throughout Scotland. But while his permanent residence was at Inver, near Dunkeld, he was not only employed at all the balls and fashionable parties in the county, but was in almost constant requisition at the great parties which took place at Perth, Cupar, Dumfries, Edinburgh, and the principal towns in Scotland. So necessary was he on such occasions, and so much was his absence felt, that at one time, when indisposition prevented him attending the Cupar Hunt, the presses called on every lady and gentleman present to "dedicate a bumper to the better health of Neil Gow, a true Scottish character, whose absence from the meeting no one could sufficiently regret." We have already said that he lived on terms of great familiarity with his superiors, in whose presence he spoke his mind and cracked his jokes, unawed by either their rank or wealth—indeed, they generally delighted in drawing out his homely,

forcible, and humorous observations; and while he, in turn, allowed all good-humoured freedoms with himself, he at the same time had sufficient independence to repel any undue exhibition of aristocratic *hauteur*, and has brought the proud man to his cottage with the white flag of peace and repentance, before he would again consent to "wake the minstrel string" in his halls. With the Duke of Athol and his family a constant, kindly, and familiar intercourse was kept up; indeed, so much did the duke keep his rank in abeyance when Neil was concerned, that, when the latter was sitting for his portrait to Sir Henry Raeburn, his grace would accompany him to the sitting, and on leaving the artist, would proceed arm in arm with the musician through Edinburgh, as unreservedly as he would with one of the noble blood of Hamilton or Argyle. The duke and duchess walked one day with Neil to Stanley Hill, in the neighbourhood of Dunkeld, when his grace began pushing and struggling with him in a sportive humour, until the latter at last fairly tumbled down the "brae." The duchess, running to him, expressed her hope that he was not hurt, to which he answered, "Naething to speak o',—I was the mair idiot to wrestle wi' sic a fule!" at which they both laughed heartily. The duke, Lord Lynedoch, and Lord Melville, one day calling at Neil's house, were pressed to take some shrub. Lord Melville tasted it, and was putting down the glass, when his host said, "Ye maun tak' it out, my lord, it's very good, and came frae my son Nathaniel—I ken ye're treasurer o' the navy, but gin ye were treasurer o' the universe, ye maunna leave a drap." The duke at the same time smelling his glass before he drank it, Neil said, "Ye need na put it to your nose; ye have na better in your ain cellar, for Nathaniel sends me naething but the best." Being one day at Dunkeld House, Lady Charlotte Drummond sat down to the piano-forte, when Neil said to the duchess, "That lassie o' yours, my leddy, has a gude ear." A gentleman present said, "I thought, Neil, you had more manners than to call her grace's daughter a lassie." To which our musician replied, "What wud I ca' her? I never heard she was a laddie;" which, while it more astonished the gentleman, highly amused the noble parties themselves. On another occasion in Athol House, after supper was announced, a portion of the fashionable party lingered in the ball-room, unwilling to forsake the dance. Neil, who felt none of the fashionable indifference about supper and its accompaniments, soon lost patience, and addressing himself to the ladies, cried out, "Gang down to your supper, ye daft limmers, and dinna haud me reelin' here, as if hunger and drouth were unkent in the land—a body can get naething dune for you." These sayings are not repeated so much to support any claim to humour, as to illustrate the license which his reputation, popularity, and honest bluntness of character procured him among the highest of the land.

When at home, during the intervals of his professional labours, he was frequently visited by the gentlemen of the county, as well as by strangers, whose curiosity was excited by the notoriety of his character. They would remain for hours with him, in unconstrained conversation, and partaking of whisky and honey, commonly called Athol brose, or whatever else was going. Mr. Graham of Orchill used to sit up whole nights with Neil Gow, playing reels with him, and on one occasion Neil exclaimed, "Troth, Orchill, you play weel;—be thankfu'; if the French should overturn our country, you and I can win our bread, which is mair than mony o' the great folk can say." On one occasion, when the Duchess of Gordon called for him, she

complained of a giddiness and swimming in her head, on which he said, "Faith, I ken something o' that mysel', your grace; when I have been fou the night afore, ye wad think that a bibe o' bees were bizzing in my bonnet the next morning."

In travelling he was frequently spoken to by strangers, to whom description had made his dress and appearance familiar. At Hamilton, once, he was accosted by two gentlemen, who begged to know his name, which having told them, they immediately said, "Oh! you are the very man we have come from — to see." "Am I?" replied Neil; "by my saul, ye're the mair fules; I wadna gang half sae far to see you." On another occasion, when crossing in one of the passage-boats from Kirkcaldy to Leith, several gentlemen entered into conversation with him, and being strangers, instead of *Neil*, as was usual, they always addressed him as *Master Gow*. When about to land, the Dunkeld carrier, happening to be on the pier said, "Ou, Neil, is this you?" "Whisht, man," answered Neil, with a sly expression, "let me land or ye ca' me Neil; I hae got naething but *Maister a' the way o'er*."

There are few professions where persons are more exposed or tempted to habits of indulgence in liquor, than those whose calling it is to minister music to the midnight and morning revel. The fatigue of playing for hours in crowded and heated rooms—at those times, too, which are usually devoted to sleep—requires stimulants; and not a few have fallen victims to habits acquired in such situations. But, though exposed to these temptations as much as any man ever was, Neil Gow was essentially sober and temperate. He never indulged in unmixed spirits, and when at home, without company, seldom took any drink but water. At the same time he was of a social disposition, and delighted in the interchange of friendly and hospitable intercourse; and it befits not the truth of our chronicle to deny, that prudence, though often a conqueror, did not on every occasion gain the race with good fellowship, or in plain words, that Neil did not find, at the close of some friendly sederunts, "the maut aboon the meal." At least we would infer as much from an anecdote that has been told of him.—Returning pretty early one morning from Ruthven works, where he had been attending a yearly ball, he was met with his fiddle under his arm, near the bridge of Almond, by some of his friends, who lamented the *length of the road* he had to walk to Inver, when Neil exclaimed, "Deil may care for the *length o' the road*, it's only the *breadth o't* that's fashin' me now." It was perhaps with reference to the same occasion that a friend said to him, "I suspect, Neil, ye've been the waur o' drink." "The waur o' drink!" responded the musician; "na! na! I may have been fou, but I ne'er was the waur o't." His son Nathaniel frequently sent him presents of shrub and ale. In acknowledging one of them, he wrote, "I received the box and twenty bottles of ale, which is not good,—more *hop* than faith—too strong o' the water, &c. My compliments to Meg, and give her a guinea, and ask her which of the two she would accept of first."

He was a man most exemplary in all the private relations of life—a faithful husband, an affectionate parent, and a generous friend. In more cases than one he refused lands which were offered to him at a trifling purchase, and which would have been worth thousands to his successors, and chose the more disinterested part, of giving money to the unfortunate owners to enable them to purchase their lands back. He not only had religion in his heart, but was scrupulous in his external observances. He was constant in his attendance at divine worship, and

had family prayers evening and morning in his own house. In regard to his private character altogether, we may quote from a very elegant biographical sketch from the pen of Dr. Macknight, who knew him well, and which appeared in the *Scots Magazine* in 1809:—"His moral and religious principles were originally correct, rational, and heartfelt, and they were never corrupted. His duty in the domestic relations of life he uniformly fulfilled with exemplary fidelity, generosity, and kindness. In short, by the general integrity, prudence, and propriety of his conduct, he deserved, and he lived and died possessing, as large a portion of respect from his equals, and of good-will from his superiors, as has ever fallen to the lot of any man of his rank."

In a professional point of view Neil Gow is to be judged according to circumstances. He never had the advantage of great masters, and indeed was almost entirely self-taught. It would be idle to inquire what he might have been had he devoted himself to the science as a study. He did not, so far as is known, attempt the composition of difficult or concerted pieces; and it is believed did not do much even in the way of arrangement to his own melodies. He was one of nature's musicians, and confined himself to what genius can conceive and execute, without the intervention of much science—the composition of melodies: and, after all, melody is the true test of musical genius;—no composition, however philosophical, learned, and elaborate, can live, if it wants its divine inspiration; and the science of Handel, Haydn, and Mozart would not have rescued their names from oblivion, had the soul of melody not sparkled like a gem through all the cunning framework and arrangement of their noble compositions. He composed a great number of tunes, nearly a hundred of which are to be found in the collections published by his son Nathaniel at Edinburgh. The greater portion of them are of a lively character, and suited for dancing, such as reels, strathspeys, and quick-steps. It would not be interesting in a notice like this to enumerate the titles of so many compositions; but we may safely refer to the beautiful air of *Locherrick Side*, to which Burns wrote his pathetic ballad of *Oh! stay, sweet warbling Woodlark, stay*, and which is equally effective as a quick dancing tune—to the *Lament for Abercainey*, and his *Farewell to Whisky*—as specimens which entitled him to take his place among the best-known composers of Scottish music which our country has produced.

As a performer of Scottish music on the violin, we have already said that he was acknowledged to have been the ablest of his day; and we cannot do better than once more quote from the biographic sketch written by Dr. Macknight, himself a skilful violinist, and who frequently heard Neil play, to illustrate the peculiar character of his style:—"There is perhaps no species whatever of music executed on the violin, in which the characteristic expression depends more on the power of the *bow*, particularly in what is called the *upward* or returning *stroke*, than the Highland reel. Here accordingly was Gow's forte. His bow-hand, as a suitable instrument of his genius, was uncommonly powerful; and when the note produced by the *up-bow* was often feeble and indistinct in other hands, it was struck in his playing with a strength and certainty which never failed to surprise and delight the skilful hearer. As an example may be mentioned his manner of striking the tenor C in *Athol House*. To this extraordinary power of the bow, in the hand of great original genius, must be ascribed the singular felicity of expression which he gave to all his music, and the

native Highland *gout* of certain tunes, such as *Tulloch Gorum*, in which his taste and style of bowing could never be exactly reached by any other performer. We may add the effect of the *sudden shout*, with which he frequently accompanied his playing in the quick tunes, and which seemed instantly to *destrify* the dancers; inspiring them with new life and energy, and rousing the spirits of the most inanimate. Thus it has been well observed, 'the violin in his hands sounded like the harp of Ossian, or the lyre of Orpheus,' and gave reality to the poetic fictions which describe the astonishing effects of their performance."

Such was the estimation in which Neil Gow was held, that Sir Henry Raeburn, the most eminent portrait painter then in Scotland, was employed first to paint his portrait for the county-hall of Perth, and afterwards separate portraits for the Duke of Athol, Lord Gray, and the Honourable Mr. Maule of Panmure, besides his portrait in possession of his granddaughter Mrs. Luke, and many copies scattered through the country. His portrait has also been introduced into the *View of a Highland Wedding*, by Mr. Allan, along with an admirable likeness of his brother Donald, who was his steady and constant violoncello.

Neil Gow was twice married—first to Margaret Wiseman, by whom he had five sons and three daughters. Of these, three sons and two daughters died before himself, but not before two of his sons, William and Andrew, had acquired a reputation as violin-players worthy of the name they bore; the former having succeeded M'Glashan as leader of the fashionable bands at Edinburgh, and the latter having acquired some wealth in London in prosecuting his profession. He was kind and affectionate to all his children, and during the last illness of his son Andrew he brought him from London. On this subject he wrote, "If the spring were a little advanced and warmer, I would have Andrew come down by sea, and I will come to Edinburgh or Dundee to conduct him home. We will have milk which he can get warm from the cow, or fresh butter, or whey, or chickens. He shall not want for anything." Andrew's eyes were closed by his father under the roof where he was born. Neil Gow took as his second wife Margaret Urquhart, by whom he had no family; and who pre-deceased himself a few years. He retained his faculties to the last, and continued to play till within a year or two of his death. About two years before that event he seemed to feel the decay of his powers, and wrote to his son Nathaniel:—"I received your kind invitation to come over to you, but I think I will stay where I am. It will not be long, for I am very sore failed." He died at Inver, where he was born, on the 1st of March, 1807, in the eightieth year of his age, after acquiring a competence, which was divided among his children. He left behind him two sons and a daughter: John, who settled in London as leader of the fashionable Scottish bands, and died in 1827, after acquiring a large fortune; Nathaniel, who settled in Edinburgh, and of whom we have given a brief memoir; and Margaret, who survived her brothers. Neil Gow was buried in Little Dunkeld Church, where a marble tablet was raised to his memory by his sons John and Nathaniel.

GRAHAM, JAMES, the celebrated Marquis of Montrose, was born in the year 1612, and succeeded to his father, John Earl of Montrose, in 1626, being then only fourteen years of age. As he was the only son of the family, he was persuaded by his friends to marry soon after, which greatly retarded his educa-

tion. Preceptors were, however, brought into his house, and by assiduous study he became a tolerable proficient in the Latin and Greek languages. He afterwards travelled into foreign parts, where he spent some years in the attainment of modern languages, and practising the various exercises then in vogue. He returned to Scotland about the year 1634, with the reputation of being one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age. Being a man of large expectations, and meeting with a reception at court which he considered not equal to his merits, he, on the 15th of November, 1637, joined the Tables at Edinburgh, to the great dismay of the bishops, who, according to Guthrie, "thought it time to prepare for a storm, when he engaged." That the reader may be at no loss to understand our narrative, it may not be improper here to inform him that the Tables were committees for managing the cause of the people in the contest they were at this time engaged in with the court for their religion and liberties: they were in number four—one for the nobility, another for the gentry, a third for the boroughs, a fourth for the ministers; and there was a special one, consisting of delegates from each of the four. The Table of the nobility, we may also remark, consisted of the Lords Rothes, Lindsay, Loudon, and Montrose, the two latter of whom were unquestionably the ablest and probably the most efficient members. In point of zeal, indeed, at this period Montrose seems to have exceeded all his fellows. When Traquair published the king's proclamation approving of the Service Book, Montrose stood not only on the scaffold beside Mr. Archibald Johnston while he read the protestation in name of the Tables, but got up, that he might overlook the crowd, upon the end of a puncheon, which gave occasion to the prophetic jest of Rothes, recorded with solemn gravity by Gordon of Straloch—"James, you will never be at rest till you be lifted up there above your fellows in a rope; which was afterwards," he adds, "accomplished in earnest in that same place, and some even say that the same supporters of the scaffold were made use of at Montrose's execution." The Tables having prepared for renewing the national covenant, it was sworn by all ranks assembled at Edinburgh on the last of February, and 1st of March, 1638, and, in a short time, generally throughout the kingdom. In this celebrated transaction Montrose was a leading actor. In preparing, swearing, and imposing the covenant, especially in the last, no man seems to have been more zealous. In the fullest confidence of his faithfulness and zeal he had been nominated, along with Alexander Henderson and David Dickson, to proceed to Aberdeen, in order to persuade that refractory city, the only opposing one in the kingdom, to harmonize with the other parts of it; but they made very few converts, and were, upon the whole, treated in no friendly manner. The pulpits of Aberdeen they found universally shut against them, nor even in the open street did they meet with anything like a respectful audience. This triumph of the northern Episcopalians was carefully reported to Charles by the Marquis of Huntly; and the monarch was so much gratified by even this partial success of his favourite system, that, at the very moment when he was showing a disposition to give way to the Covenanters, he wrote letters of thanks to the magistrates and doctors, promising them at all times his favour and protection. Montrose soon after returned to Edinburgh, and through the whole of the eventful year 1638, to all appearance, acted most cordially in favour of the covenant.

In the beginning of the year 1639, when the Covenanters had finally set the king at defiance by abolish-

ing Episcopacy, and were preparing to defend their measures by force of arms, Montrose received another commission to visit the Aberdonians, and to provide against the probability of their stirring up an insurrection in the north when his majesty might be drawing the public attention wholly towards the south. While Montrose was preparing for this expedition, having learned that a meeting of the Covenanters in that quarter had been appointed at Turriff, and that Huntly, who had taken possession of Aberdeen, had written to his friends and followers to assemble for the purpose of preventing the meeting, he resolved to protect his friends, and insure their convocation in spite of Huntly. For this purpose he collected only a few of his friends upon whom he could depend, and by one of those rapid movements by which he was afterwards so much distinguished, led them across that wild mountainous range that divides Angus from Aberdeenshire; and, on the morning of February the 14th, took possession of Turriff ere one of the opposite party was aware of his having left Angus. Huntly's van, beginning to arrive in the forenoon, were astonished to find the place occupied in a hostile manner, and retired to the broad ford of Towie, about two miles to the south of Turriff, where Huntly and his train from Aberdeen shortly after joined them. Here it was debated whether they should advance and attack the place, or withdraw for the present; and being enjoined by his commission from the king to act as yet only on the defensive, Huntly himself dissolved the meeting, though it was upwards of 2000 strong. This formidable array only convinced Montrose that there was no time to lose in preparing to meet it; and hastening next day to his own country, he began to raise and to array troops, according to the commission he held from the Tables. Seconded by the energy and patriotism of the people, his activity was such, that in less than a month he was at the head of a well-appointed army of horse and foot, drawn from the immediate neighbourhood, at the head of which he marched directly north, and on the 29th of March approached the town of Aberdeen. The doctors who had given him so much trouble on his former mission did not think fit to wait his coming on this occasion, and the pulpits were at the service of any of his followers who chose to occupy them. It is admitted on all hands that Montrose on this first visit acted with great moderation. Leaving a garrison in Aberdeen under the Earl of Kinghorn, he set out on the 1st of April to meet the Marquis of Huntly, who had now dismissed his followers and retired to one of his castles. On the approach of Montrose, Huntly sent his friend Gordon of Straloch to meet him and to propose an armistice; and for this purpose a meeting took place between the parties at the village of Lowess, about midway between Aberdeen and the castle of Strathbogie. The stipulations under which this meeting took place were strongly characteristic of a semi-barbarous state of society. Each of the parties was to be accompanied by eleven followers, and those armed only with swords. Each party, too, before meeting, sent an advance-guard to search the other, in case any of the parties might have forgotten or overlooked this so far pacific arrangement. After considerable time spent in rather passionate conversation, it was agreed between them that Montrose should march his army from Inverury, where it was now encamped, to Aberdeen, leaving Huntly and his countrymen in the meantime unmolested. Guthrie affirms that Huntly subscribed a writ substantially the same with the covenant. Other writers contradict this, and say that he only signed a bond of maintenance, as it was called, obliging himself to

maintain the king's authority and the laws and religion at that time established, which indeed appears substantially the same with the covenant, though the phrase "established religion" was somewhat equivocal, and probably was the salvo, on this occasion, of the marquis's conscience. Montrose, on his return to Aberdeen, without any of the formalities of moral suasion, imposed the covenant, at the point of the sword, upon the inhabitants of the town and the surrounding country, who very generally accepted it, as there was no other way in which they could escape the outrages of the soldiery. As a contribution might have been troublesome to uplift, a handsome subsidy of 10,000 merks from the magistrates was accepted as an equivalent. This is the only instance with which we are acquainted in which the covenant was really forced upon conscientious recusants at the sword's point; and it is worthy of remark, that the agent in the compulsion was one of the most idolized of the opposite party. Having thus, as he supposed, completely quieted the country, Montrose gave it in charge to the Frasers and the Forbeses, and on the 13th of April marched for Edinburgh with his whole army, leaving the Aberdonians, though they had put on a show of conformity, more exasperated against the Covenanters than ever. Scarcely had the army left the city than, to testify their contempt and hatred of their late guests, the ladies began to dress up their dogs with collars of blue ribbons, calling them, in derision, Covenanters, a joke for which they were, in the sequel, amply repaid.

In the meantime the preparations of the king were rapidly going forward, and by the 1st of May the Marquis of Hamilton, his lieutenant, entered the Firth of Forth, with a fleet of twenty-eight sail, having on board 5000 foot-soldiers and a large quantity of arms. This circumstance had no real effect but to demonstrate the utter hopelessness of the king's cause to all those who witnessed it; yet, operating upon the highly excited feelings of the Gordons, they flew to arms, though they had no proper leader, the Marquis of Huntly being by this time a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. Their first movement was an attack, 18th May, upon a meeting of Covenanters at Turriff, which, being taken by surprise, was easily dispersed, few persons being either killed or wounded on either side. This was the first collision of the kind that took place between the parties, the prologue, as it were, to the sad drama that was to follow; and it has ever since been remembered by the ludicrous appellation of "The Trot of Turriff." Proceeding to Aberdeen, the Gordons, as the fruit of their victory, quartered themselves upon their friends the citizens of that loyal city, where they gave themselves up to the most lawless license. Here they were met by the historian Gordon of Straloch, who endeavoured to reason them into more becoming conduct, but in vain. Finding that they intended to attack the earl-marischal, who was now resident at Dunnottar Castle, Straloch hastened thither to mediate between them and the earl, and, if possible, to prevent the effusion of human blood. The Gordons followed rapidly on his heels; but having lain one night in the open fields, and finding the earl-marischal determined to oppose them, they at last hearkened to the advice of Straloch, and agreed to disband themselves without committing further outrages. Unhappily, however, they had been joined at Durris by 1000 Highlanders, under Lord Lewis Gordon, third son to the Marquis of Huntly, who, though a mere boy, had made his escape from his guardians, assumed the Highland dress, and appeared at the head of these outrageous loyalists for the interests of his father. This band of

1000 heroes it was impossible to send home till they had indulged their patriotic feelings among the goods and chattels of their supposed enemies, which they did to such an extent as to provoke the deepest resentment. The earl-marischal with his little army advanced against them, and on the 23d of May entered Aberdeen, thirty Highland barons making a precipitate retreat before him.

For the suppression of these insurrections Montrose had been again commissioned to the north with an army of 4000 men, with which he entered Aberdeen on the 25th of May, only two days after the earl-marischal. Having discovered by numerous intercepted letters the real feelings of the inhabitants, and that their former compliance with his demands had been mere hypocrisy, practised for the purpose of saving their goods, Montrose imposed upon them another fine of 10,000 merks, his men at the same time making free with whatever they thought fit to take, no protections being granted, save to a very few burghesses who were known to be genuine Covenanters. In revenge for the affront put upon their blue ribbon by the ladies, not one single dog upon which the soldiers could lay their hands was left alive within the wide circuit of Aberdeen. The Gordons, meanwhile, learning that the Frasers and the Forbeses were advancing to join Montrose, crossed the Spey with 1000 foot and upwards of 300 horse, and took post on a field near Elgin, where the Frasers and Forbeses lay with an army superior to theirs in number. A parley ensued, and it was settled that neither party should cross the Spey to injure the other. Both parties of course sought their native quarters; and the Gordons, sensible of their inability to cope with Montrose, determined individually to seek each his own safety. Having nothing else to do, and possessing abundance of artillery, Montrose resolved to reduce the principal strength belonging to the party, and for this end had just sat down before Gicht, the residence of Sir Robert Gordon, when he learned that the Earl of Aboyne, second son of the Marquis of Huntly, had arrived at Aberdeen with three ships, having obtained from the king at York a commission of lieutenancy over the whole north of Scotland. He of course hastened back to Aberdeen, where he arrived on the 5th of June. Aboyne had not yet landed, but for what reason does not appear. Montrose left Aberdeen next day, marching southward with all his forces, as did the earl-marischal at the same time. Aboyne of course landed, and raising his father's vassals and dependants, to the number of 4000 men, took possession of Aberdeen—at the cross of which he published the king's proclamation, bestowing all the lands of the Covenanters upon their opponents. He then proposed to attack Montrose and the earl-marischal, marching for this purpose along the sea-coast, ordering his ships with the cannon and ammunition to attend his progress. A west wind arising, drove the ships with his artillery and ammunition out to sea, so that he came in contact with Montrose and the earl-marischal advantageously posted on the Meagra Hill, a little to the south of Stonehaven, without the means of making any impression upon them. A few shots from the field-pieces of Montrose so completely disheartened the followers of Aboyne, that they fell back upon Aberdeen in a state of utter confusion, with the loss of half their number, leaving to the Covenanters a bloodless victory. Aboyne was rapidly followed by the victors; but with the gentlemen who yet adhered to him he took post at the Bridge of Dee, which he determined to defend, for the preservation of Aberdeen. Montrose attacked this position on the 18th of June, with his usual im-

petuosity, and it was maintained for a whole day with great bravery. Next morning Montrose made a movement as if he intended to cross the river farther up; and the attention of the defenders being thus distracted, Middleton made a desperate charge, and carried the bridge in defiance of all opposition. The routed and dispirited loyalists fled with the utmost trepidation towards the town, and were closely pursued by the victorious Covenanters. Aberdeen was now again in the hands of the men of whom it had more reason than ever to be afraid: it had already endured repeated spoliations at the hands of both parties, and was at last threatened with indiscriminate pillage. At their first entry into the town, June 19th, the troops behaved with great rudeness; every person suspected of being engaged in the last insurrection was thrown into prison, and the general cry of the army was to set the town on fire. There was some disagreement, however, among the chiefs respecting the execution of such a severe measure, and next day the question was set at rest by the news of the pacification of Berwick, which had been concluded on the 18th, the day that the parties had been so hotly engaged at the Bridge of Dee. Montrose was probably not a little sorry to be confined in the north quelling parties of Highland royalists, when there was a probability of actions of much greater importance taking place in another quarter, upon which the eyes of all men were fixed with a much more intense interest than they could possibly be upon the rock of Dunnottar, the bog of Gicht, or even the "brave town of Aberdeen." Now that a settlement had taken place, he hastened to the head-quarters, that he might have his proportion of what was to be dealt out on the occasion, whether it were public honours, public places, or private emoluments.

It now struck the mind of the king that if he could but gain over the nobility to his side, the opposition of the lower classes would be rendered of little efficacy; and that he might have an opportunity of employing his royal eloquence for that purpose, he invited fourteen of the most influential of the grandees that had taken part against him to wait upon his court at Berwick, under the pretence of consulting them on the measures he meant to adopt for promoting the peace and the prosperity of the country. Aware of his design, the states sent only three of their number, Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, to make an apology for the non-appearance of the remainder. The apology, however, was not accepted; and by the king's special command they wrote for the noblemen who had been named to follow them. This the noblemen probably were not backward to do; but a rumour being raised that he intended to seize upon them, and send the whole prisoners to London, the populace interfered, and, to prevent a tumult, the journey was delayed. Charles was highly offended with this conduct; and being strongly cautioned by his courtiers against trusting himself among the unruly Scots, he departed for England, brooding over his depressed cause and the means of regaining that influence of which he had been deprived by his subjects. Of those who did wait upon him he succeeded in seducing only one, the Earl of Montrose, who was disappointed in being placed under General Leslie, and who had of late become particularly jealous of Argyle. How much reason Charles had to be proud of such an acquisition we shall see in the sequel, though there can be no doubt that the circumstance emboldened him to proceed in his policy of only granting a set of mock reforms to the Scottish people, with the secret purpose of afterwards replacing the affairs of the

kingdom on the same footing as before. In the spirit of this design the Earl of Traquair, who was nominated his majesty's commissioner for holding the stipulated parliament and General Assembly, was directed to allow the abolition of Episcopacy, not as unlawful, but for settling the present disorders, and on no account to allow the smallest appearance of the bishops concurring (though several of them had already done so and did concur) in the deed. He was to consent to the covenant being subscribed as it originally was in 1580, "provided it be so conceived that our subjects do not thereby be required to abjure Episcopacy as a part of Popery, or against God's law." If the assembly required it to be abjured, as contrary to the constitution of the Church of Scotland, he was to yield rather than make a breach: and the proceedings of the assembly at Glasgow he was to ratify, not as deeds of that meeting, all mention of which he was to avoid, but as acts of this present assembly; and to make everything sure his own way when the assembly business was closed, immediately before prayers, he was enjoined to make protestation, in the fairest way possible, that in respect of his majesty "not coming to the assembly in person, and his instructions being hastily written, many things may have occurred upon which he had not his majesty's pleasure; therefore, in case anything had escaped him, or been condescended upon prejudicial to his majesty's service, his majesty may be heard for redress thereof in his own time and place." By these and other devices of a similar character Charles imagined that he could lawfully render the whole proceedings of the assembly null and void at any time he might think it proper to declare himself. Traquair seconded the views of his master with great dexterity, and the assembly suspecting no bad faith, everything was amicably adjusted.

In the parliament that sat down on the last day of August, 1639, the day after the rising of the General Assembly, matters did not go quite so smoothly. Episcopacy being abolished, and with it the civil power of churchmen, the fourteen bishops, who had formed the third estate of the kingdom in parliament, were wanting. To fill up this deficiency, the other two estates proposed, instead of the bishops, to elect fourteen persons from the lower barons; but this was protested against by the commissioner, and by and by their proceedings were interrupted by an order for their prorogation till the 2d day of June, 1640. Against this prorogation the house protested as an invasion of their rights; but they nevertheless gave instant obedience, after they had appointed commissioners to remonstrate with his majesty, and to supplicate him for a revival of his commands. Before these commissioners found their way into the presence of Charles, however, he had fully resolved upon renewing the war, and all the arguments they could urge were of course unavailing. Charles, on this occasion, certainly displayed a want of consideration which was very extraordinary; he had emptied his treasury by his last fruitless campaign, yet continued his preparations against Scotland, though he could not raise one penny but by illegal and desperate expedients, which alienated the hearts of his English subjects more and more from him every day. The Scots were, at the same time, perfectly aware of what was intended, and they made such preparations as were in their power to avert the danger. As the subject of this memoir, however, seems not to have taken any particular or prominent part in these preparations, we must pass them over, referring the reader to the lives of those individuals who at this time took the most active part in conducting public affairs. Suffice it to say that, to oppose the army of

Charles, which he had with great difficulty increased to 19,000 foot and 2000 horse, the Scots had an army of 23,000 foot, 3000 horse, and a considerable train of artillery. Of this army Alexander Leslie was again appointed commander-in-chief; Lord Almond, brother to the Earl of Livingston, lieutenant-general; W. Baillie, of the Lamington family, major-general; Colonel A. Hamilton, general of artillery; Colonel John Leslie, quartermaster-general; and A. Gibson, younger, of Durie, commissary-general. The nobles in general had the rank of colonel, with the assistance of veteran officers as lieutenant-colonels. Montrose, though his disaffection to the cause was now no secret, had still as formerly two regiments, one of horse and another of foot. All these appointments were made in the month of April, 1640, but excepting some smaller bodies for suppressing local risings in the north, the army did not begin to assemble till the middle of July, and it was not till the end of that month that it was marched to Chouseley Wood, about four miles to the west of Dunse, and within six of the border.

The Scots had from the beginning of these troubles determined to carry the war, should war become inevitable, into England. This was sound policy; but as they did not wish to make war upon the English people, who were suffering equally with themselves, and were making the most praiseworthy exertions to limit the royal prerogative, it required no ordinary degree of prudence to carry it into execution. The leaders of the covenant, however, possessed powers fully adequate for the occasion. Notwithstanding of their warlike preparations, which were upon a scale equal to the magnitude of the enterprise, they continued to preserve the most perfect decorum, both of language and manner; and they sent before the army two printed papers, the one entitled "Six Considerations, manifesting the Lawfulness of their Expedition into England," the other "The Intentions of the Army of the Kingdom of Scotland declared to their Brethren of England." In these papers, which for cogency of argument and elegance of composition may safely be compared with any similar productions of any age, they set forth in strong but temperate language the nature, the number, and the aggravations of their grievances. Their representations coming in the proper time, had the most powerful effect. If there was yet, at the time the parliament was convened, in a majority of the people some tenderness towards the power of the monarch and the dignity of the prelates, everything of the kind was now gone. The dissolution of a parliament, which for twelve years had been so impatiently expected, and so firmly depended on for at least a partial redress of grievances, and the innumerable oppressions that had been crowded into the short space between that dissolution and this appearance on the part of the Scots, together with the exorbitances of the convocation—that, contrary to all former precedent, had been allowed to sit, though the parliament was dissolved—had so wrought upon the minds of men, that the threatenings these remonstrances breathed against prelates were grateful to the English nation, and the sharp expressions against the form and discipline of the Established church gave no offence save to the few who composed the court faction. So completely did these declarations meet the general feeling, that the Scots were expected with impatience, and every accident that retarded their march was regarded as hurtful to the interests of the public. The northern counties, which lay immediately exposed to the invasion, absolutely refused to lend money to pay troops, or to furnish horses to mount the mus-

queteers; and the train-bands would not stir a foot without pay.

Anxious to make good their professions, the Scots were some time before they could advance, for want of money. The small supplies with which they had commenced operations being already nearly exhausted, two of the most popular of the nobility, along with Mr. Alexander Henderson and Secretary Johnston, were sent back to Edinburgh to see what could be done in the way of procuring gratuitous supplies. As it would have been displeasing to the English had the army been under the necessity of cutting down trees for erecting huts, as had been the practice in former times, when inroads were made upon their border, the commissioners were instructed to use their influence with their countrymen to provide as much cloth as would serve for tents during their encampments in that country. It was late on a Saturday night when the commissioners arrived in Edinburgh, but the exhortations of the ministers next day were so effectual, that on Monday the women of Edinburgh alone produced webs of coarse linen, vulgarly called *harn*, nearly sufficient for tents to the whole army; and the married men, with equal promptitude, advanced the sum of £120,000, with a promise of remitting as much more in a few days, which they did accordingly. Having obtained these supplies and a considerable train of black cattle and sheep to be used as provisions, the Scottish army moved from Chouseley Wood towards Coldstream, where they intended to enter England by a well-known ford over the Tweed. The river being swollen, they were obliged to camp on a spacious plain called Hirsell Haugh, till the flood should subside; and here they first proved the cloth furnished them for tents by the good women of Edinburgh. On the 20th, the river having sunk to its ordinary level, it was resolved that the army should march forward. This, however, was considered so momentous an affair, that not one of the leading men would volunteer to be the first to set hostile feet upon the English border; and it was left to the lot to decide who should have the honour or the demerit of doing so. The lot fell upon Montrose, who, aware of his own defection, and afraid of those suspicions with which he already saw himself regarded, eagerly laid hold of this opportunity to lay them asleep. Plunging at once into the stream he waded through to the other side without a single attendant, but immediately returned to encourage his men; and a line of horse being planted on the upper side of the ford to break the force of the stream, the foot passed easily and safely, only one man being drowned of the whole army. The commanders, like Montrose, with the exception of those who commanded the horse employed to break the force of the water, waded at the head of their respective regiments, and though it was four o'clock, P.M. before they began to pass, the whole were on the English side before midnight. They encamped for that night on a hill that had been occupied by a troop of English horse set to guard the ford, but which had fled before the superior force of the Scottish army; large fires were kindled in advance, which, says one of the actors in the scene, "rose like so many heralds proclaiming our crossing of the river, or rather like so many prodigious comets foretelling the fall of this ensuing storm upon our enemies in England;" contrary to the intentions of the Scots, "these fires so terrified the country people, that they all fled with bag and baggage towards the south parts of the country," according to the above author, "leaving their desolate houses to the mercy of the army." Charles left London to take command of his army, which

VOL. II.

had already rendezvoused at York, on the same day the Scottish army crossed the Tweed. This army, as we have stated above, was said to be 21,000 strong; but from the aversion of the people in general to the service, there is reason to suppose that in reality it fell far short of that number. The Earl of Northumberland was nominated to the command, but he felt, says an English historian, disgusted at being called forth to act the most conspicuous part in a business which no good man in the kingdom relished; and taking advantage of a slight indisposition, he declared himself unfit to perform the duties of his function. Strafford, of course, exercised the supreme command, though only with the title of lieutenant-general, not caring to assume that of general, because of the envy and odium that attended him. Lord Conway, who commanded under Strafford, had been stationed at Newcastle with a strong garrison to protect the town, which it was supposed he might easily do, as it was fortified, and well stored with provisions.

On the 21st the Scottish army marched in the direction of Newcastle, and encamped for the night on Millfield Race. On the 22d they proceeded to the river Glen, where they were joined by about 7000 of their brethren, who had entered England by Kelso. The whole marched the same night to Middleton Haugh. On Thursday the 27th they came in sight of Newcastle. During this whole march the Scots acted up to their previous professions; every Englishman that came into the camp they caressed and loaded with kindness, and now they despatched a drummer to Newcastle with two letters, one to the mayor, and another to the military governor of the city, demanding in the most civil manner liberty to pass peaceably through, that they might lay their petition at the feet of their sovereign. The messenger was, however, sent back with his letters unopened, because they were sealed; and before he reached the army in his return, the general had determined to pass the Tyne at Newburn, about five or six miles above Newcastle. The principal ford below the village of Newburn, as well as two others, Conway had commanded by trenches, but as the river was passable in many other places not far distant, he had resolved on a retreat. Strafford, however, who undervalued the Scots, was anxious for a battle, if it were only to see what was the mettle of the parties, and commanded him to abide at his post. In approaching Newburn, General Leslie and a few of the chief noblemen, riding a little in advance, narrowly escaped being cut off by a party of English horse that had crossed the Tyne for the purpose of reconnoitring. At sight of each other, both parties called a halt, and some more of the Scottish horse appearing, the English judged it prudent to retreat. The Scots during the night encamped on Hadden Law, a rising ground behind Newburn, having a plain descent all the way down to the water's edge. The English were encamped on the opposite side of the Tyne, on a perfect level, that extended behind them to the distance of more than half a mile. The Scottish position was deficient in water, but in return they had abundance of coal from the pits in the neighbourhood, with which they made great fires all around their camp, which tended not a little to magnify their appearance to the enemy. In the morning it was found that their camp overlooked completely that of the English, and they were able from the nature of the ground to plant their cannon so as to command completely the trenches cast up by the English at the fords. The morning was spent coolly in making preparations, both parties watering their horses at the river (the tide being up)

45

without molestation. As the river became fordable, however, they became more jealous, and about mid-day a Scottish officer watering his horse, and looking steadily on the entrenchments on the opposite side, was shot dead by an English sentinel. This was the signal for battle: the Scottish batteries immediately opened, and the trenches thrown up by the English at the fords were soon rendered untenable. A few horsemen volunteers under a Major Ballantyne, sent over the water to reconnoitre, with orders only to fire at a distance, and to retreat if necessary, found the whole of the breastworks abandoned. The general's guard, consisting of the College of Justice's troop, commanded by Sir Thomas Hope, with two regiments of foot, Crawford's and Loudon's, were then sent across; and a battery being opened at the same time from a hill to the eastward, directly upon the great body of the English horse on the plain below, a retreat was sounded, the cannon were withdrawn from the trenches, and the Scots passed in full force without farther opposition. The English foot sought refuge in a wood, and the horse, in covering their retreat, were attacked by a fresh body of Scots, defeated with some loss, and their commanders made prisoners. The scattered parties escaped under cover of night, to carry dismay and confusion into the main body. The loss was considerable, but the rout was complete. The English horse, who but the day before had left Newcastle with their swords drawn, threatening to kill each a dozen of Covenanters, made their way into the town in a state of the utmost disorder and dismay, crying, as they rode full speed through the streets, for a guide to Durham, and having strewed the roads behind them with their arms, which they had thrown away in their haste to escape. The Scottish army rested that night upon the ground which the English had occupied, one regiment being still on the north side of the Tyne with the baggage, which the return of the tide had prevented being brought across. Despatches for the governor and mayor of Newcastle, of the same respectful character as had been formerly sent, were prepared on the morning of Saturday; but the committee learning that the garrison had abandoned it during the night, and retired with Lord Conway to join the main army at York, it was thought proper to advance without ceremony. The army accordingly moved to Whiggam, within two miles of Newcastle, where they encamped for the night, and next morning, Sunday the 30th of August, the mayor sent an invitation to enter the town. The troops were accordingly marched into a field near the suburbs, after which the gates were thrown open, and the committee, with the principal leaders, entered the town in state, Sir Thomas Hope's troop marshalling the way, and the laird of Westquarter's company of foot keeping the post at the end of the bridge. The whole company were feasted at the house of the mayor, who was astonished to observe that they all drank his majesty's health. After dinner the company repaired to the great church of St. Nicholas, where a thanksgiving sermon was preached by Mr. Henderson. In the town they found next day between 4000 and 5000 stand of arms, 5000 pounds weight of cheese, some hundreds of bolls of pease and rye, a quantity of hard fish, with abundance of beer; which had been provided for the king's troops, but now was taken possession of by his enemies.

Nothing could be more encouraging than the prospects of the Covenanters at this time. The same day in which they gained the victory at Newburn, the castle of Dumbarton, then reckoned an impregnable fortress, surrendered to their friends in Scot-

land, as did shortly after that of Edinburgh; and the capture of Newcastle was speedily followed by the acquisition of Durham, Tynemouth, and Shields. The number and the splendour of these successes, with the delightful anticipations which they naturally called forth, could not fail to strike every pious mind among the Scots; and a day was most appropriately set apart by the army as a day of fasting and prayer, in acknowledgment of their sense of the divine goodness. Strafford, who, from bad health, had not yet come into action, was hastening to the combat when he met his discomfited army at Durham; and, from the ill-timed haughtiness which he displayed, was soon the only enemy his army was desirous to overcome. His soldiers even went the length of vindicating their conduct at Newburn; affirming that no man could wish success to the war against the Scots, without at the same time wishing the enslavement of England. The prudent magnanimity of the Scots, who, far from being elated with the victory, deplored the necessity of being obliged to shed the blood of their English brethren, not only supported, but heightened, the favourable opinion that had been from the beginning entertained of them. Their prisoners, too, they treated not only with civility, but with such soothing and affectionate kindness as insured their gratitude, and called forth the plaudits of the whole nation. Eager to profit by this state of things, in restoring order and concord between the king and his people, the Scottish committee, on the 2d of September, sent a letter to the Earl of Lanark, his majesty's secretary of state for Scotland, inclosing a petition which they requested him to lay before the king. To this petition, which was couched in the most delicate terms, the king returned an answer without loss of time, requiring them to state in more plain terms the claims they intended to make upon him; informing them, at the same time, that he had called a meeting of the peers of England, to meet at York on the 24th instant. This was an antiquated and scarcely legal assembly, which Charles had called by his own authority to supersede the necessity of again calling a parliament—the only means by which the disorders of the government could now be arrested, and which the Scottish committee in their petition had requested him to call immediately. To this communication the committee replied: "that the sum of their desires was, that his majesty would ratify the acts of the last Scottish parliament, garrison the castle of Edinburgh and the other fortresses only for the defence and security of his subjects, free their countrymen in England and Ireland from further persecution for subscribing the covenant, and press them no further with oaths and subscriptions not warranted by law—bring to just censure the incendiaries who had been the authors of these combustions—restore the ships and goods that had been seized and condemned by his majesty's orders—repair the wrongs and repay the losses that had been sustained—recall the declaration that had been issued against them as traitors—and, finally, remove, with the consent of the parliament of England, the garrisons from the borders, and all impediments to free trade, and to the peace, the religion, and liberties of the two kingdoms."

These demands were no doubt as unpalatable as ever to Charles, but the consequences of his rashness were now pressing him on all sides. His exchequer was empty, his revenue anticipated, his army undisciplined and disaffected, and himself surrounded by people who scarcely deigned to disguise their displeasure at all his measures. In such extreme embarrassment the king clung, like a drowning man,

to any expedient which presented itself, rather than again meet with the only friends who could effectually relieve him—his parliament. There was unfortunately, too, a secret party among the Covenanters, who, with all the pretensions to religion and to patriotism they had put forth, were only seeking their own aggrandisement, and were determined never to admit any pacification that did not leave them at the head of public affairs. Of these, among the Scots, Montrose was the most conspicuous. We have seen with what zeal he imposed the covenant upon the recusant Aberdonians. But since then he had had a taste of royal favour at Berwick, and, as it was likely to advance him above every other Scotsman, his whole study ever since that memorable circumstance had been how he might best advance the royal interest. For this purpose he had formed an association for restoring the king to an unlimited exercise of all his prerogatives, which was subscribed at Cumbernauld, on the sixth day of the preceding July, by himself, the Earl of Wigton, the Lords Fleming, Boyd, and Almond, who held the place of lieutenant-general in the Covenanters' army; and afterwards by the Earls Marischal, Marr, Athol, Kinghorn, Perth, Kelly, Home, and Seaforth; and by the Lords Stewart, Erskine, Drummond, Ker, and Napier. Though this association was unknown at the time, the predilections of Montrose were no secrets, and of course his credit among his friends was rather on the decline; but a circumstance now occurred which displayed his character in the full light of day, and nearly extinguished any little degree of respect that yet remained to him among the members of the liberal party. It had been laid down at the commencement of the campaign, that no person in the army should communicate with either the English court or army, but by letters submitted to the inspection and approved of by the committee, under the pain of treason. In obedience to this rule, when Sir James Mercer was despatched with the petition to the king, a number of letters from Scotsmen in the camp to their friends in the royal army were submitted to the committee, and delivered to him, to be carried to their proper destination. Among these letters was one from Montrose to Sir Richard Graham, which had been read and allowed by the committee; but when Sir James Mercer delivered Sir Richard the letter, who instantly opened it, an inclosed letter dropped out and fell to the ground, which Sir James, politely stooping to lift, found, to his astonishment, was addressed in the handwriting of Montrose to the king. Certain that no such letter had been shown to the committee, Sir James was at once convinced of what had been for some time suspected, that Montrose was betraying the cause in which he had been such a fiery zealot; and, on his arrival at Newcastle, instantly communicated the circumstance to General Leslie, who, at a meeting of the committee, of which it was Montrose's turn to sit as president, that same afternoon, moved that Sir James Mercer should be called in and examined concerning the letters he had carried to court. Sir James told an unvarnished tale that would not admit of being denied; and Montrose, with that constitutional hardihood which was natural to him, finding no other resource, stood boldly up and challenged any man to say that corresponding with the king was anything else than paying duty to their common master. Leslie told him that he had known princes lose their heads for less. He had however too many associates to his treason, to render it safe or rather prudent at the present moment to treat him as convicted, and he was only enjoined to keep his chamber. While

Montrose was thus traitorously spiriting up the king to stand up to all his usurpations, on the one side, Strafford was no less busy on the other, knowing that nothing could save him from the hands of public justice but the king; nor could the king do so, but by strengthening rather than abridging his prerogative. The voice of the nation, however, was distinctly raised, and there was nothing left for Charles but compliance, real or apparent.

From this period forward we know of no portion of history that has a more painful interest than that of Charles I. Our limits, however, do not allow us to enter into it farther than what may be necessary to make the thread of our narrative intelligible. The Scottish committee being sincerely desirous of an accommodation, the preliminaries of a treaty were, on their part, soon settled; and commissioners from both sides being appointed, a meeting took place, October 1st, at Ripon, half way between the quarters of the two armies; where it was agreed that all hostilities should cease on the 26th of the same month. Charles was now necessitated to call a parliament, and on his consenting to this, the peers agreed to give their personal security to the city of London for a sum of money sufficient to pay both armies—for Charles had now the Scottish army to subsist as well as his own—till such time as it was expected the national grievances would be fully settled by a parliament. The Scottish army was to be stationary at Newcastle, and was to be paid at the rate of £850 a day; but the commission for settling the terms of peace was transferred to London, in order to attend the parliament, which was summoned to meet on the 3d of November.

Unfortunately for the king, and latterly for the cause of liberty, the Scots, who had attracted so much notice, and conducted themselves with so much prudence, were now no longer principals but auxiliaries in the quarrel. The English parliament, occupied with the grievances which had been so long complained of, and profiting by the impression which the successful resistance of the Scots had made, were in no haste to forward the treaty; so that it was not finished till the month of August, 1641. The Scottish army all this time received their stipulated daily pay, and the parliament further gratified them with what they called a brotherly assistance, the sum of £300,000 as a compensation for the losses they had sustained in the war, of which £80,000 was paid down as a first instalment. The king, so long as he had the smallest hope of managing the English parliament, was in as little haste as anybody to wind up the negotiations, and, in the meantime, was exerting all his king-craft to corrupt the commissioners. Montrose, we have seen, he had already gained. Rothes, whose attachment to the covenant lay also in disgust and hatred of the opposite party, was likewise gained, by the promise of a rich marriage, and a lucrative situation near the king's person. A fever, however, cut him off, and saved him from disgracing himself in the manner he had intended. Aware that he was not able to subdue the English parliament, Charles, amidst all his intriguing, gave up everything to the Scots, and announced his intention of meeting with his parliament in Edinburgh by the month of August. This parliament had sat down on the 19th of November, 1640, and having re-appointed the committee, adjourned till the 14th of January, 1641; when it again met, re-appointed the committee, and adjourned till the 13th of April. The committee had no sooner sat down, than the Cumbernauld bond was brought before them. It had been all this while kept a secret, though the general conversation of those who

were engaged in it had excited strong suspicions of some such thing being in existence. The first notice of this bond seems to have dropped from Lord Boyd on his death-bed; but the full discovery was made by the Lord Almond to the Earl of Argyle, who reported it to the committee of parliament. The committee then cited before them Montrose, and so many of the bonders as happened to be at home at the time—who acknowledged the bond, and attempted to justify it, though by no means to the satisfaction of the committee, many of the members of which were eager to proceed capitally against the offenders. Motives the most mercenary and mean, however, distracted their deliberations, and impeded the course of even-handed justice; the bond was delivered up and burned; the parties declared in writing that no evil was intended; and the matter was hushed.

At a meeting of the committee, May 26th, probably as a set-off against the Cumbernauld bond, Mr. John Graham, minister at Auchterarder, was challenged for a speech uttered by him to the prejudice of the Earl of Argyle. He acknowledged the speech, and gave for his authority Mr. Robert Murray, minister of Methven, who, being present, gave for his author the Earl of Montrose. Montrose condescended on the speech, the time, and the place. The place was in Argyle's own tent, at the ford of Lyon; the time, when the Earl of Athol and eight other gentlemen were there made prisoners; the speech was to this effect—that they [the parliament] had consulted both lawyers and divines anent deposing the king, and were resolved that it might be done in three cases:—1st, Desertion—2d, Invasion—3d, Vendition; adding, that they thought to have done it at the last sitting of parliament, and would do it at the next. For this speech Montrose gave for witness John Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, one of the gentlemen who were present in the tent; and undertook to produce him, which he did four days afterwards. Stuart, before the committee, subscribed a paper bearing all that Montrose had said in his name, and was sent by the committee to the castle. In the castle he signed another paper, wherein he cleared Argyle, owned that he himself had forged the speech out of malice against his lordship; and that, by the advice of Montrose, Lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Andrew Stuart of Blackhall, he had sent a copy of the speech, under his hand, to the king by Captain Walter Stuart. Argyle, thus implicated in a charge of the most dangerous nature, was under the necessity of presenting Stuart before the justiciary, where, upon the clearest evidence, he was found guilty, condemned, and executed.

On the 11th of June, Montrose, Lord Napier, Sir George Stirling, and Sir Andrew Stuart of Blackhall were cited before the committee, and after examination committed close prisoners to the castle, where they remained till towards the close of the year. Parliament, according to adjournment, having met on the 15th of July, letters were read excusing his majesty's attendance till the 15th of August, when it was resolved to sit till the coming of his majesty, and to have everything in readiness against the day of his arrival. Montrose was in the meantime summoned to appear before parliament, on the 13th day of August. He requested that he might be allowed advocates for consultation, which was granted. So much, however, was he hated at the time, that no advocate of any note would come forward in his behalf, and from sheer necessity he was obliged to send for Mr. John (afterwards Sir John) Gilmour, then a man of no consideration, but in consequence of being Mon-

trose's counsel, afterwards held in high estimation, and employed in the succeeding reign for promoting the despotic measures of the court. On the 13th of August Montrose appeared before the parliament, and having replied to his charge, was continued to the 24th, and remanded to prison. At the same time summonses were issued against the Lord Napier and the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, to appear before the parliament on the 28th. On the 14th his majesty arrived in Edinburgh, having visited in his way the Scottish army at Newcastle, and dined with General Leslie. On the 17th he came to the parliament, and sat there every day afterwards till he had accomplished, as he supposed, the purposes of his journey. The king, perfectly aware, or rather perfectly determined to break with the parliament of England, had no object in view by this visit except to gain over the leaders of the Scots, that they might either join him against the parliament, or at least stand neuter till he had reduced England, when he knew he could mould Scotland as he thought fit. He, of course, granted everything they requested. The Earl of Montrose appeared again before the parliament on the 24th of August, and was continued *de novo*, as were also the Lord Napier and the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, on the 28th. In this state they all remained till, in return for the king's concessions, they were set at liberty in the beginning of the year 1642.

Though in prison, Montrose had done all that he possibly could to stir up an insurrection in favour of the king while he was in Scotland; and he had also exerted himself, though unsuccessfully, to procure the disgrace of the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Lanark, both of whom he seems bitterly to have envied, and to have hated almost as heartily as he did Argyle. It was probably owing to this that upon his liberation he retired to his own house, in the country, living privately till the spring of 1643; when the queen returning from Holland, he hastened to wait upon her at Burlington, and accompanied her to York. He embraced this opportunity again to press on the queen, as he had formerly done on the king, what he was pleased to denominate the dangerous policy of the Covenanters, and solicited a commission to raise an army and to suppress them by force of arms, as he was certain his majesty would never be able to bring them to his measures by any other means. The Marquis of Hamilton thwarted him, however, for the present, and he again returned home.

Having been unsuccessful in so many attempts to serve the king, and his services being now absolutely rejected, it might have been supposed that Montrose would either have returned to his old friends, or that he would have withdrawn himself as far as it was possible from public life. But he was animated by a spirit of deadly hatred against the party with whom he had acted, and he had within him a restless spirit of ambition, which nothing could satisfy but the supreme direction in all public managements: an ambition, the unprincipled exercise of which rendered him, from the very outset of his career, the "evil genius," first of the Covenanters, and latterly of the miserably misled monarch whom he laboured apparently to serve, and whom he affected to adore. By suggesting the plot against Argyle and Hamilton, known in history by the name of the "Incident," during the sitting of the parliament with Charles at its head in Edinburgh, he checked at once the tide of confidence between him and his parliament, which was rapidly returning to even more than a reasonable height, and created numberless suspicions and surmises through all the three kingdoms, that could never

again be laid while he was in life; and by betraying the secrets of the Covenanters he led the unwary monarch into such an extravagant notion of the proofs of treason which might be established against some members of the lower house, that, forgetting the dignity of his place, he came to the parliament house in person to demand five of its members, who, he said, had been guilty of treason; an unhappy failure, which laid the broad foundation of his total ruin. With ceaseless activity Montrose, at the same time, tampered with the leaders of the covenant, who, anxious to bring him back to their cause, held out the prospect of not only a pardon, but of their giving him the post of lieutenant-general. Under the pretence of soothing some difficulties of conscience, he sought a conference with the celebrated preacher Mr. Henderson, that he might pry into the secrets of his former friends, which he had no sooner obtained, than he hastened to lay the whole before his majesty in a new accusation, and as offering additional motives for his majesty issuing out against them commissions of fire and sword.

The king, having now disengaged himself from the controlling influence of the Marquis of Hamilton, entered into an arrangement, in terms of which the Earl of Antrim, who was at the time waiting upon his majesty, undertook to transport into Scotland a few thousands of his Irish retainers, at whose head, and with the assistance of a band of Highland royalists, Montrose was to attempt the subversion of the existing Scottish government. The time appointed for the execution of this scheme was the beginning of April, 1644. Arms and ammunition were in the meantime to be imported from the Continent, and a small auxiliary force procured from the King of Denmark.

As the time approached, Montrose, raised to the rank of marquis, left Oxford with the royal commission to be lieutenant-general for Scotland, under Prince Rupert, and accompanied by about 100 cavaliers, mostly his personal friends. To these he added a small body of militia in passing through the northern counties of England, and on the 13th of April entered Scotland on the western border; and pushing into Dumfries, he there erected his standard, and proposed to wait till he should hear of the arrival of his Irish auxiliaries. In two days, however, he was under the necessity of making a precipitate retreat to Carlisle. This so speedy catastrophe did not tend to exalt the character of Montrose among the English cavaliers, who had pretty generally been of opinion that a diversion in Scotland in the then state of the country was utterly impracticable. Montrose, however, had lost nothing of his self-confidence, and he applied to Prince Rupert for 1000 horse, with which he promised to cut his way through all that Scotland could oppose to him. This the prince promised he should have, though he probably never intended any such thing, for he regarded him in no other light than that of a very wrong-headed enthusiast. Even his more particular friends, appalled by the reports of the state of matters in the north, began to melt from his side, and he was universally advised to give up his commission, and reserve himself for a more favourable opportunity. The spirit of Scotland was at this time decidedly warlike. Leslie was in England with a large army of Scotsmen, who shortly after performed a prominent part at the decisive battle of Marston Moor. There was an army in the north, which had suppressed the insurrection of the Gordons, and sent Haddo and Logie to the block; and the Earl of Callendar, formerly Lord Almond, was ordered instantly to raise 5000 men for the suppression of Montrose.

The commission of the General Assembly of the church in the meantime proceeded against the latter nobleman with a sentence of excommunication, which was pronounced in the High Church of Edinburgh, on the 26th day of April, scarcely more than ten days after he had set hostile foot on Scottish ground. Not knowing well what to do, Montrose made an attack upon a small party of Covenanters in Morpeth, whom he drove out of the town, and secured the castle. He also captured a small fort at the mouth of the Tyne, and stored Newcastle plentifully with corn from Alnwick and other places around. He was requested by Prince Rupert to come up to the battle of Marston Moor, but on his way thither met the prince fleeing from that disastrous field.

He now determined to throw himself into the Highlands, where he still had high hopes of assistance and success. Making choice of two persons only for his companions, Sir William Rollock and Colonel Sibbald, he disguised himself and rode as Sibbald's groom, and in this manner, taking the most wild and unfrequented ways, they arrived, after riding four days, at Tulliballton, near the foot of the Grampians, the house of his friend Patrick Graham of Inchbrackie, where he halted for some days, passing his time through the night in an obscure cottage, and in the day among the neighbouring mountains. His two companions in the meantime were despatched to collect intelligence respecting the state of the country, and privately to warn his friends. The accounts procured by his emissaries were of the most distressing kind, the Covenanters being everywhere in great strength, and the cavaliers in a state of the most complete dejection. In a few days, however, a letter was brought by a Highlander to Inchbrackie, with a request that it might be conveyed to the Marquis of Montrose, wherever he might be. This was a letter from Alexander M'Coll, alias M'Donald, a distinguished warrior, who had been intrusted with the charge of his retainers by the Marquis of Antrim, with a request that he, Montrose, would come and take the command of the small but veteran band. This small division had about a month before landed in the Sound of Mull, had besieged, taken, and garrisoned three castles on the island of that name, and afterwards sailing for the mainland had disembarked in Knoydart, where they attempted to raise some of the clans. Argyle, in the meantime, coming round to that quarter with some ships of war, had taken and destroyed their vessels, so that they had no means of escape; and, with a strong party of the enemy hanging on their rear, were proceeding into the interior in the hope of being assisted by some of the loyal clans. Montrose wrote an immediate answer as if from Carlisle, and appointed a day not very distant when he would meet them at Blair of Athol, which he selected as the most proper place of meeting, from the enmity which he knew the men of Athol had to Argyle. On the appointed day, attended by Inchbrackie, both dressed in the costume of ordinary Highlanders and on foot, he travelled from Tulliballton to the place of meeting, and to his great joy found 1200 Irishmen quartered on the spot. They had already been joined by small bodies of Highlanders, and the men of Athol seemed ready to rise almost to a man. When Montrose presented himself to them, though he exhibited his majesty's commission to act as lieutenant-general, the Irish, from the meanness of his appearance, could scarcely believe that he was the man he gave himself out to be. But the Highlanders, who received him with the warmest demonstrations of respect and affection, put the matter beyond doubt, and he was

hailed with the highest enthusiasm. He was joined the same day by the whole of the Athol Highlanders, including the Stuarts, the Robertsons, and other smaller clans, to the number of 800, so that his army was above 2000 men. Aware that Argyle was in pursuit of the Irish, he led his army the next day across the hills towards Strathearn, where he expected reinforcements. Passing the castle of Wiem, the seat of the clan Menzies, he commenced his career by burning and ravaging all the neighbouring lands, in revenge for the harsh treatment of one of his messengers by the family, to strike a salutary terror into all who might be disposed to offer him violence, and to gratify his followers, whose principal object he well knew was plunder. Passing through Glen Almond next day, an advanced party of his troops were surprised with the appearance of a large body of men drawn up on the hill of Buckenty. These were men of Menteith raised by order of the committee of estates at Edinburgh, marching to the general rendezvous at Perth, under the command of Lord Kilpont, eldest son of the Earl of Menteith. Being mostly Highlanders and officered by gentlemen of the family of Montrose, or of the kindred clan Drummond, they were easily persuaded to place themselves under the royal standard, which increased his force to 3000 men.

Resolving to attack Perth, where some raw levies were assembled under the command of Lord Elcho, Montrose continued his march all night, intending to take the place by surprise. Lord Elcho, however, had been warned of his approach, and had drawn his men to the outside of the town, intending to hazard a battle for its defence. In crossing the Tippermuir, a wild field about five miles from Perth, Montrose came in sight of the enemy, upwards of 6000 in number, drawn up in one long line, with horse at either end. Lord Elcho himself led the right wing, Sir James Scott of Rossie, the only man in the army who had ever seen service, the left; and the Earl of Tullibardine the main body. Montrose drew out his little army also in one long line, three men deep. The Irish, who were veteran troops, he placed in the centre; the Highlanders he placed on the wings to oppose the horse, being armed with swords, Lochaber axes, and long clubs. He himself led the right wing, that he might be opposed to Sir James Scott, who was an officer of good reputation, having served in the wars abroad—from the Lords Elcho and Tullibardine he apprehended little danger. The Covenanters' horse fled at the first onset, being overpowered, according to Wishart, by a shower of stones, but more probably induced by the treachery of Lord Drummond and his friend Gask. The flight of the horse threw the ill-disciplined foot into irremediable confusion, and they followed in such breathless haste, that many expired through fatigue and fear, without even the mark of a wound. Few were slain in the engagement, but there were upwards of 300 killed in the pursuit. Montrose had not a single man killed, and only two wounded. The whole of the artillery and baggage of the vanquished fell into the hands of the victors; and Lord Drummond, whose treachery had chiefly occasioned the rout, joined Montrose as soon as the affair was over. Montrose entered Perth the same night, where he levied a subsidy of 9000 merks, and stipulated for free quarters to his army for four days. They remained only three, but in these three they supplied themselves with whatever they wanted, whether it were clothes, arms, food, money, or ammunition. The stoutest young men were also impressed into the ranks, and all the horses seized without exception.

On the 4th of September Montrose crossed the Tay, and proceeded through Angus for Aberdeenshire. The first night of his march he halted at Collace, where Lord Kilpont was murdered by Stuart of Ardvorlich, who struck down a sentinel with the same weapon with which he had stabbed his lordship, and made his escape. Proceeding to Dundee Montrose summoned the town; but it was occupied by a number of the Fife troops, and refused to surrender. The approach of the Earl of Argyle with a body of troops prevented Montrose from venturing upon a siege. Proceeding towards Aberdeen, the Aberdonians, alarmed at his approach, sent off the public money and their most valuable effects to Dunnottar, and having a force of upwards of 2000 men, they threw up some fortifications at the Bridge of Dee, for the defence of the city. Montrose however remembered the Bridge of Dee, and, avoiding it, crossed the water by a ford at the mills of Drum, which rendered all their preparations vain. A summons was sent into the town to surrender, and the Covenanters' army being on the march, the messengers who brought the summons were hospitably entertained and dismissed. By some accident the drummer on his return was killed; on which Montrose ordered preparations for an immediate attack, and issued the inhuman orders to give no quarter. Lord Burleigh and Lewis Gordon, a son of Huntly's, led the right and left wings of the Covenanters, which consisted of horse and the levies of Aberdeenshire, a majority of whom were indifferent in the cause. The centre was composed of the Fife soldiers, and those who had joined them from principle. Montrose, still deficient in cavalry, had mixed his musketeers with his horse, and waited for the Covenanters. Lord Lewis Gordon, who had forced a number of the Gordons to engage in opposition to the inclination and orders of his father, rushed precipitately forward with the left wing, which, by a steady fire of musketry, was suddenly checked, and before it could be rallied totally routed. The right wing experienced a similar fate, but the centre stood firm and maintained its post against the whole force of the enemy for two hours. It too at length gave way, and, fleeing into the town, was hotly pursued by the victors, who killed without exception every man they met; and for four days the town was given up to indiscriminate plunder. Montrose, lodging with his old acquaintance Skipper Anderson, allowed his Irishmen to take their full freedom of riot and debauchery. "Seeing a man well cled," says Spalding, "they would turr him to save his clothes unspoiled, and syne kill him. Some women they pressed to deflower, and some they took perforce to serve them in the camp. The wife durst not cry nor weep at her husband's slaughter before her eyes, nor the daughter for the father, which if they did, and were heard, they were presently slain also." The approach of Argyle put an end to these horrors. Expecting to be joined by the Marquis of Huntly's retainers, Montrose hastened to Inverury, but the breach of faith in carrying the marquis forcibly to Edinburgh after a safe-conduct being granted was not forgotten; and Argyle too being at hand, his ranks were but little augmented in this quarter. When he approached the Spey he found the boats removed to the northern side, and the whole force of Moray assembled to dispute his passage. Without a moment's hesitation he dashed into the wilds of Badenoch, where, with diminished numbers, for the Highlanders had gone home to store their plunder, he could defy the approach of any enemy. Here he was confined for some days by sickness from over-fatigue, but a few days restored him to

wanted vigour, when he descended again into Athol to recruit, M'Donald having gone on the same errand into the Highlands. From Athol Montrose passed into Angus, where he wasted the estates of Lord Cowper, and plundered the place of Drum, in which were deposited all the valuables belonging to the town of Montrose and the surrounding country; there also he obtained a supply of arms, and some pieces of artillery. Argyle with a greatly superior force was following his footsteps; but, destitute of military talents, he could neither bring him to an engagement, nor interrupt his progress. Having supplied his wants in Angus, and recruited his army, Montrose suddenly repassed the Grampians, and, spreading ruin around him, made another attempt to raise the Gordons. Disappointed still, he turned to the castle of Fyvie, where he was surprised by Argyle and Lothian, and, but for the most miserable mismanagement, must have been taken. After sustaining two assaults from very superior numbers, he eluded them by stratagem, and ere they were aware was again lost in the wilds of Badenoch. Argyle, sensible perhaps of his inferiority, returned to Edinburgh and threw up his commission.

Montrose, now left to act as he thought proper, having raised, in his retreat through Badenoch, portions of the clans M'Donald and Cameron, and been joined by the Stuarts of Appin, whom his friend Alister M'Coll had raised for him, he, with the consent and by the advice of his associates, prepared to lay waste the territory of his hated rival Argyle. For this purpose he separated his army into two divisions: the one consisting of the levies from Lochaber and Knoydart, under John Muidartach, the captain of the Clanronalds, entered by the head of Argyle; the other under his own direction, by the banks of Loch Tay and Glen Dochart. The country on both tracts belonging either to Argyle or his relatives was destroyed without mercy. In this work of destruction Montrose was assisted by the clans of M'Gregor and M'Nab; who, whatever might be said of their loyalty, were, the former of them especially, as dexterous at foraging and fire-raising as the most accomplished troop in his service. For upwards of six weeks was this devastation prolonged. Every person capable of bearing a weapon was murdered, every house was razed, castles excepted, which they were not able for the want of artillery to master. Trusting to the poverty and difficulty of the passes into his country, Argyle seems never to have anticipated such a visit till the marauders were within a few miles of his castle of Inverary, when he instantly took boat and sailed for the Lowlands, leaving all behind to the uncontrolled sway of these insatiate spoilers, who "left not a four-footed beast in his hale lands," nor, as they imagined, a man able to bear arms. Having rendered the country a desert, they bent their way towards Inverness, by Lochaber, to meet the Earl of Seaforth, who, with the strength of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, occupied that important station.

Argyle in the meantime having met with General Baillie at Dumbarton, and concerted a plan with him, hastened back to the Highlands, and collecting his fugitive vassals and dependants, followed at a distance the steps of his enemy, intending to be ready to attack him in the rear when Baillie, as had been agreed between them, should advance to take him in front. Montrose was marching through Abertarf, in the great glen of Albin, when he was surprised with intelligence that Argyle was at Inverlochry with an army of at least double the number of that which he himself commanded; and aware that Baillie and Hurry were both before him, was

at no loss to conjecture his intentions. Without a moment's hesitation, however, he determined to turn back, and taking his antagonist by surprise, cut him off at one blow, after which he should be able to deal with the enemy that was in his front as circumstances should direct. For this purpose he placed a guard upon the level road down the great glen of Albin, which he had just traversed, that no tidings of his movements might be carried back, and, moving up the narrow glen formed by the Tarf, crossed the hills of Lairee Thurard. Descending thence into the lonely vale at the head of the Spey, and traversing Glen Roy, he crossed another range of mountains, came in upon the water of Spean, and, skirting the lofty Ben Nevis, was at Inverlochry, within half a mile of Argyle, before the least hint of his purpose had transpired; having killed every person they met with, of whom they had the smallest suspicion of carrying tidings of their approach, and the route they had chosen being so unusual a one. Though they rested through the night in the clear moonlight in sight of their camp, the Campbells supposed them to be only an assemblage of the country people come forth to protect their property; and they do not seem to have thought upon Montrose, till, with the rising sun and his usual flourish of trumpets, he debouched from the glen of the Nevis, with the rapidity of a mountain torrent. Argyle, who was lame of an arm at the time, had gone on board one of his vessels on the lake during the night, but a considerable portion of his troops that lay on the farther side of that lake he had not thought it necessary to bring over to their fellows. His cousin, however, Campbell of Auchinbreck, a man of considerable military experience, who had been sent for from Ireland for the purpose of leading this array of the Campbells, marshalled them in the best order circumstances would permit; but they fled at once before the wild yell of their antagonists; and, without even attempting to defend themselves, were driven into the lake, or cut down along its shores. On the part of Montrose, only three privates were killed and about 200 wounded, among whom was Sir Thomas Ogilvy, who died a few days after. On the part of Argyle, upwards of 1500 were slain, among whom were a great number of the chief men of the Campbells. This victory, which was certainly most complete, was gained upon Sunday the 2d of February, 1645; and if, as there are abundant grounds for believing, the letter of Montrose concerning it to the king was the means of causing him to break off the treaty of Uxbridge, when he had determined to accept of the conditions offered him, it was more unfortunate than any defeat could possibly have been.

Instead of following his rival Argyle to Edinburgh, and demonstrating, as he somewhat quaintly boasted in his letter to the king, that the country was really conquered, and in danger of being called by his name, Montrose resumed his march to the north-east, and, after approaching Inverness, which he durst not attempt, made another foray through Morayland; where, under pretence of calling forth all manner of men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to serve the king, he burned and plundered the country, firing the cobbles of the fishermen, and cutting their nets in pieces. Elgin was saved from burning by the payment of 4000 merks, and its fair of Fasten's Eve, one of the greatest in the north of Scotland, was that year not held. The greater part of the inhabitants fled, with their wives, their children, and their best goods, to the castle of Spynie, which only afforded an excuse for plundering the town of what was left. The laird of Grant's people, who

had newly joined Montrose, no doubt for the express purpose, were particularly active in the plundering of Elgin, "breaking down beds, boards, insight, and plenshing, and leaving nothing that was tursable [portable] uncarried away." Leaving the Grants thus honourably employed for the king in Elgin, Montrose with the main body of his army proceeded on the 4th of March to the bog of Gight, sending before him across the Spey the Farquharsons of Braemar to plunder the town of Cullen, which they did without mercy. Grant having deserted his standard and thus become an assistant in robbery, as might naturally have been expected in this sort of warfare, the garrison of Inverness sent out a party to his house at Elchies, which they completely despoiled, carrying off plate, jewels, wearing apparel, and other articles; after which they plundered the lands of Coxtoun, because the laird had followed Montrose along with the Lord Gordon. This compelled all the gentlemen of that quarter to go back for the protection of their own estates, Montrose taking their parole to continue faithful to the king, or at least never to join the Covenanters. This the most part of them kept as religiously as he had done the oath of the covenant. At the bog of Gight he lost his eldest son, a youth of sixteen, who had accompanied him through all this desultory campaign; and dying here, was buried in the church of Bellie.

Having received a reinforcement of 500 foot and 160 horse, which was all that Lord Gordon was able to raise among his father's vassals, Montrose moved from the bog of Gight, intending to swoop down upon the Lowlands through Banffshire and Angus. In passing the house of Cullen he plundered it of every article of plate and furniture, and would have set it on fire, but that the countess (the Earl of Findlater being in Edinburgh) redeemed it for fifteen days by paying 5000 merks in hand and promising 15,000 more. From Cullen he proceeded to Boyne, which he plundered of every article, spoiling even the minister's books, and setting every "biggin" on fire. The laird himself kept safe in the craig of Boyne; but his whole lands were destroyed. In Banff he left neither goods nor arms, and every man whom his followers met in the streets they stripped to the skin. In the neighbourhood of Turriff he destroyed sixty ploughs belonging to the Viscount Frendraught, with all the movable property of the three parishes of Inverkeithny, Forgue, and Drumlade. He was met by a deputation from Aberdeen, who "declared the hail people, man and woman, through plain fear of the Irishes, was fleeing away if his honour did not give them assurance of safety and protection. He forbade them to be feared, for this foot army, wherein the Irishes were, should not come near Aberdeen by eight miles." And "this," Spalding exultingly exclaims, "along with some other friendly promises, truly and nobly he kept!" Though he had promised to keep the Irishes at due distance, he sent one of his most trusty chieftains, Nathaniel Gordon, along with Donald Farquharson and about eighty well-horsed gentlemen, into Aberdeen, to seize some stores belonging to the estates, and to look out for Baillie, whom he expected by that route. These having partly executed their commission, sat down to enjoy themselves, and were surprised by General Hurry, who, with 160 horse and foot, secured the gates and avenues of the town, and, falling upon the unsuspecting cavaliers, killed many of them as they sat at their wine, and seized all their horses. Among those that were slain was Donald Farquharson, "one of the noblest captains," according to Spalding, "amongst all the Highlanders of Scotland." Hurry retired at his leisure, unmo-

lest, carrying with him a number of prisoners, who, as traitors to the covenant, were sent to Edinburgh. Among these prisoners was the second son of Montrose, now Lord Graham, a young boy attending the schools, who along with his pedagogue was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. The corpse of Donald Farquharson "was found next day in the streets stripped naked, for they tirmed from off his body a rich suit which he had put on only the samen day. Major-general M'Donald was sent in on the Saturday afternoon with 1000 Irishes, horse and foot, to bury Donald, which they did on Sabbath in the laird of Drum's Isle." During these two days, though the Aberdonians were in great terror, M'Donald seems to have kept his "Irishes" in tolerably good order, "not doing wrong, or suffering much wrong to be done, except to one or two Covenanters that were plundered;" but on Monday, when he had left Aberdeen to meet Montrose at Duriss, "a number of the Irish rogues lay lurking behind him, abusing and fearing the town's people, taking their cloaks, plaids, and purses from them on the streets. No merchant's booth durst be opened; the stable doors were broken up in the night, and the horses taken out; but the major, hearing this, returns that samen Monday back, and drove all thir rascals with sore skins out of the town before him; and so both Aberdeens were clear both of him and them, by God's providence, who looked both for fire and plundering—yet he took up his cloth and other commodities, amounting to the sum of £10,000 and above, to be cloathing to him and his soldiers, and caused the town to become obliged to pay the merchants, by raising of a taxation for that affect, whilk they were glad to do to be quit of their company." On the same Sunday, the 17th of March, Montrose burned the parish of Duriss, "the hail laigh biggins and corns, and spoiled the hail ground of nolt, sheep, and other guid's." The lands of Craigievar, lying in the parish of Fintry, and the minister's house of Fintry, were served in the same manner the same day. He proceeded on the 20th to Dunnottar, where he summoned the earl-marischal to "come out of the castle and join him in the king's service." On receipt of the earl's answer "that he would not fight against his country," he sent a party who plundered and burned the whole lands of Dunnottar. They set fire at the same time to the town of Stonehaven and to all the fishing-boats that lay in the harbour. The lands of Fetteresso, including an extensive and finely ornamented deer-park, the village of Cowie, and the minister's manse of Dunnottar, shared the same fate.

After so many burnings and such reckless plundering, it must by this time have become necessary for Montrose to shift his quarters. Rapine, indeed, was almost the sole object of his followers; and when they had either too much or too little of it, they were sure to leave him. The north having been repeatedly gone over, he seems at last to have meditated a descent upon the south. A pitched battle with Baillie and Hurry, who were stationed at Brechin with a considerable army, he seems also to have thought a necessary preliminary to his further progress. For this purpose he came to Fettercairn, only eight miles from their camp, where he purposed to rest till they should by some movement indicate their strength and their intentions. Baillie and Hurry were both good officers, and they had a force more than sufficient to cope with Montrose; but they were hampered in all their movements by a parliamentary committee sent along with them, without whose advice or suffrage they were not allowed to act. In consequence of this their conduct was not at all times of a very soldier-

like character, nor their motions so prompt as they ought to have been; Montrose, however, was but a short time in his new quarters when Hurry, who was general of the horse, came out with 600 of his troopers to inspect his situation, and, if possible, ascertain his real strength. Montrose, apprised of his approach, drew out all the horse he had, about 200, whom he placed on an eminence in front of his camp, with a strong body of musketeers concealed in a hollow behind them. Hurry made a dash at the horse, but met with such a warm reception from the concealed musketeers as made him quickly retreat. Hurry, however, who was a brave soldier, placed himself in the rear of his retreating squadron, and brought them safely back to the camp with very little damage. This encounter kept both parties quiet for some days, and induced Montrose to attempt getting into the Lowlands without fighting Baillie, as he had originally proposed. For this end he sent back the Gordons, that they might be ready to defend their own country, in case Baillie should attempt to wreak his vengeance upon them, after he had thus gotten the slip. He then skirted along the Grampians with the remainder of his army towards Dunkeld. Baillie made no attempt directly to stop him, but preserved such a position as prevented him making his intended descent. After being for two days thus opposed to each other on the opposite banks of the Isla, Montrose sent a trumpeter, challenging Baillie to fight, either coming over the water to the north, or allowing him to come over to the south; it being understood that no molestation was to be given to either till fairly clear of the water, or till he declared himself ready to fight. Baillie made a reply, which it had been well for his own reputation and for his country, that he had at all times continued to act upon. He would look, he said, to his own business, and did not require other men to teach him to fight. Both armies then resumed their march, and respectively arrived at Dunkeld and Perth nearly at the same time.

Finding that he could not pass Baillie without a battle, and being informed by his scouts that he had left Perth and gone to the pass of Stirling, Montrose, as an interim employment, that would help to pass the time, and encourage his followers by the abundance of spoil it would afford, determined on a visit to Dundee—a place that was strenuous for the covenant, and which had haughtily refused to admit him after the battle of Tippermuir. Sending off his baggage and the less efficient of his men to Brechin, on the 3d day of April he led 150 horse with 600 picked musketeers against that city; and continuing his march all night, arrived before it by ten o'clock on the forenoon of the 4th. Montrose immediately gave the place up to military execution; and, perhaps, for a kind of salvo to his credit, retired to the top of Dundee Law, leaving the command to Lord Gordon and Alister M'Coll. The attack was made at three different places simultaneously, and all of them in a few minutes were successful. The town was set on fire in various places. The most revolting scenes of outrage and rapine followed. The abundance of spoil, however, of the most alluring description, happily diverted the robbers from indulging in butchery; and, ere they were aware, Baillie and Hurry were both at their heels. Had Montrose been in the town, the whole would have been surprised and cut off in the midst of their revel; but from his post on the hill he was apprised of the approach of the enemy just in time to recall his men; the greater part of them being so drunk that it was with difficulty they could be brought forth at the one extremity of the town as Baillie and Hurry entered at the other. Placing the weakest and most inebri-

ated in the front, while he himself with the horse and the best of the musketeers brought up the rear, Montrose marched directly to Arbroath; and from want of unity of plan and of spirit in the two commanders opposed to him, brought off the whole with but a trifling loss. He reached Arbroath, seventeen miles east of Dundee, long before day. Here, however, he could not rest without exposing himself and his army to certain destruction; and anxious to regain the mountains, where alone he judged himself safe from his pursuers, he wheeled about in a north-westerly direction, right athwart the county of Forfar, and, before morning, crossed the South Esk at Cariston Castle, where he was only three miles from the Grampians. The march which in the two nights and a day this army had performed, could not be much short of seventy miles, and they must now have been in great want of rest. Baillie, who had taken post for the night at Forfar, intending in the morning to fall down upon Montrose at Arbroath, where he calculated upon his halting, no sooner learned the manner in which he had eluded him, than, determined to overtake him, he marched from Forfar with such haste that his horse were in sight of Montrose ere that general was apprised that he was pursued. His men were in such a profound sleep, that it was not without difficulty they were awakened; but they were no sooner roused than they fled into the recesses of Glenesk, and Baillie abandoned the pursuit. The part of Montrose's troops that had been with the baggage sent to Brechin had also by this time taken refuge among the Grampians, and in the course of next day joined their companions.

The parliamentary committee seem now to have regarded Montrose as a sort of predatory outlaw, whom it was vain to pursue among the mountains, and if they could confine him to these mountains, which he had already laid in many places waste, they seem for a time to have been willing to be satisfied. Baillie was accordingly stationed at Perth to defend the passes into the southern shires, and Hurry was to defend, if possible, the northern counties from that spoliation to which they had been often more than once subjected. Montrose's followers, in the meantime, going home to deposit their plunder as usual, his numerical force was for a time considerably reduced. He, however, came as far south as Crieff, for the purpose of meeting with his nephew, the master of Napier, Viscount Aboyne, Stirling of Keir, and Hay of Dalgetty, who, with a few horse, had left their friends in England for the purpose of joining with him. Here Baillie attacked him, and chased him into the fastnesses at the head of Strathearn; whence, next day, April the 19th, he proceeded through Balquhiddy to Menteith, where he had the good fortune to meet with his friends at the ford of Cardross. Here he had certainly been cut off from the Highlands, but that M'Coll had broken down upon the lordship of Cupar-Angus, killed the minister of Cupar, and was laying waste the whole lands of Lord Balmerinoch, which attracted the attention of Baillie. Montrose, in the meantime, learning that Hurry was too many for his friends in the north, marched through Strath Tay and Athol, raising the Highlanders everywhere as he went along; and, before Hurry was aware that he had crossed the Grampians, suddenly appeared behind his position at Strathbogie. Though thus taken by surprise, Hurry made his retreat good to Inverness; and being reinforced by the troops lying there, marched back the next day to Nairn, with the design of attacking Montrose, who, he learned, was posted at the village of Auldearn. Montrose would now have avoided a battle; but that he knew Baillie would soon be up,

when he would have both Hurry and Baillie to contend with. It was on the 9th of May, 1645, that the two armies came in sight of each other. Montrose, who was deficient in numbers, made an admirable disposition of his troops. One division, consisting of the Gordons and the horse, he placed on the left, to the south of the village; the other, comprehending the Irish and the Highlanders, he arranged on the right, amidst the gardens and inclosures, to the north. The former he commanded in person with Lord Gordon under him; the latter was given to M'Coll. Hurry, unacquainted with the ground, led on his best troops to the attack of the right as the main body, which was inclosed in impenetrable lines, and where he was exposed to the fire of cannon which he had no means of silencing. M'Coll, however, who was no general, provoked by the taunts of his assailants, came out of his fastnesses, and overcome by superiority of numbers and discipline, was speedily put to the rout. Montrose, who was watching an opportunity, no sooner perceived Hurry's men disordered by their success, than with his unbroken strength he attacked them in flank. This unexpected attack, however, was received with great steadiness by Lothian's, Loudon's, and Buchanan's regiments, who fell where they fought; and the day might perhaps have been retained, or at least left doubtful, had not Colonel Drummond, one of Hurry's own officers, by a treacherous manoeuvre, wheeled his horse into the midst of the foot, and trampled them down while they were at the hottest of the engagement with the enemy. In this battle, as in all of Montrose's, the carnage was horrid; between 2000 and 3000 were killed, few or none being made prisoners. Sixteen colours, with all the baggage and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors. Hurry, though an unprincipled mercenary, had abstained from wasting by fire and sword the possessions of the anti-covenanters, and consequently had provoked no retaliations; but Montrose, more ferocious than ever, ravaged the whole district anew, committing to the flames the gleanings he had in his former rapacious and merciless visitations been compelled to leave, through incapacity to destroy. Nairn and Elgin were plundered, and the chief houses set on fire; Cullen was totally laid in ashes, and "sic lands as were left unburned up before were now burned up." Hurry, in the meantime, was allowed the quiet possession of Inverness.

On the very day that Hurry was defeated at Auldearn, Baillie had come to Cairn-a-mount on his way to join him. He had just ravaged Athol, and the Highlanders were on their way for its rescue, when he was ordered to the north; and by the Cairn-a-mount came to Cromar, where he learned the fate of his colleague at Auldearn. On the 19th of May he broke up his camp at Cromar, having peremptory orders to hazard a battle. He himself had experience sufficient to instruct him in the danger of leading a few raw and dispirited troops against an army of so much experience and so much confidence as that of Montrose; but having no alternative, he marched to Cocharachie, whence he could discern Montrose's army, in number, as he supposed, nearly equal to his own, encamped among some inclosures in the neighbourhood of that town. The same night he was joined by Hurry, with 100 horse, the remnants of the army that had fought at Auldearn, with whom he had fought his way through Montrose's very lines. Next morning he expected to have had an encounter, but to his surprise Montrose was fled. He was followed at some distance by Baillie, but he took up an impregnable position in Badenoch, where he awaited the return of M'Coll and his reinforcements, having

it in his power to draw from the interior of that wild district abundant supplies. Baillie, on the contrary, could not find subsistence, and withdrew to Inverness to recruit his commissariat; which, having accomplished, he came south and encamped at Newton in the Garioch.

Montrose, in the meantime, penetrated as far as Newtyle in Angus, anticipating an easy victory over the Earl of Crawford, who lay at the distance of only a few miles, with a new army, composed of draughts from the old, for the protection of the Lowlands. When on the point of surprising this force, he was called to march to the assistance of the Gordons, whose lands Baillie was cruelly ravaging. On the last day of June he came up with Baillie, advantageously posted near the kirk of Keith, and, declining to attack him, sent a message that he would fight him on plain ground. Baillie still wished to choose his own time and his own way of fighting; and Montrose recrossed the Don, as if he designed to fall back upon the Lowlands. This had the desired effect, and Baillie was compelled by his overseeing committee to pursue. On the 2d of July the two armies again met. Montrose had taken post on a small hill behind the village of Alford, with a marsh in his rear. He had with him the greater part of the Gordons, the whole of the Irish, the M'Donalds of Glengarry and Clanronald, the M'Phersons from Badenoch, and some small septs from Athol, the whole amounting to 3000 men. Baillie, on the other hand, had only 1300 foot, many of them raw men, with a few troops of Lord Balcarras' and Halket's horse regiment. Montrose, having double the number of infantry to Baillie, drew up his army in lines six file deep, with two bodies of reserve. Baillie formed also in line, but only three file deep, and he had no reserve. Balcarras, who commanded the horse, which were divided into three squadrons, charged gallantly with two; but the third, when ordered to attack in flank, drew up behind their comrades, where they stood till the others were broken by the Gordons. The foot, commanded by Baillie in person, fought desperately, refusing to yield even after the horse had fled; nor was it till Montrose had brought up his reserve that the little band was overpowered and finally discomfited. The victory was complete; but Montrose had to lament the death of Lord Gordon, whose funeral he celebrated shortly after the engagement with great military pomp at Aberdeen. No sooner had he accomplished this than he sent a party into Buchan, which had hitherto, from its insular situation, escaped the calamitous visitations that had fallen upon most places in the north, to bring away all the horses, for the purpose of furnishing out a body of cavalry. It was also proposed to send 2000 men into Strathnaver, to bring the Marquis of Huntly safely home through the hostile clans that lay in his way. Hearing of the army that was assembling against him at Perth, however, he laid aside that project, and hastened south to the little town of Fordun in Kincardineshire, where he waited for M'Coll, who very soon arrived with 700 M'Leans, and the whole of the Clanronalds, amounting to 500 men, at the head of whom was John Muidartach, who is celebrated in the Highlands to this day for his singular exploits. Graham of Inchbrackie brought the Athol Highlanders in full force, with the M'Gregors, the M'Nabs, the Stuarts of Appin, the Farquharsons of Braemar, with many other clans of smaller number and inferior note. With this force, which mustered between 5000 and 6000 men, about the end of July, Montrose came down upon Perth, where he understood the parliament was then assembled, hoping to be able to dis-

perse their army before it came to any head, or even to cut off the whole members of the government. After he had made frequent flourishes as if he meant to attack them, the army at Perth, being considerably strengthened, moved forward to offer him battle, when he once more betook himself to the hills to wait for reinforcements. Having received all the reinforcements he was likely to get, and much more than he could expect to keep for any length of time without action and plunder, he marched back again, offering the army of Perth battle, which they did not accept. Not daring to attack their position, he passed to Kinross, hoping to draw them into a situation where they could be attacked with advantage, or to escape them altogether and make his way into England. Baillie followed him by Lindores, Rossie, and Burleigh, and was joined upon his march by the three Fife regiments.

From Kinross Montrose suddenly took his route for Stirling bridge; and in passing down the vale of the Devon burned Castle Campbell, the beautiful seat of the Earl of Argyle; he burned also all the houses in the parishes of Dollar and Muckhart; and while he and his chief officers were feasted sumptuously by the Earl of Marr, his Irish auxiliaries plundered the town of Alloa. Stirling being at this time visited by the plague, Montrose did not approach it, but, going further up the river, crossed the Forth at the ford of Frew. Baillie's army marched close upon his track down the Devon, passed the Forth by the bridge of Stirling, and on the 14th of August was led forward to Denny, where it crossed the Carron, and from thence to a place called Hollan-bush, about four miles to the east of Kilsyth, where it encamped for the night. In the whole warfare that had been waged with Montrose, the game had been played into his hand, and on this occasion it was more so than ever. He had taken up his ground with mature deliberation, and he had prepared his men by refreshments and by every possible means for the encounter. The Covenanters, on the other hand, after a toilsome march across the country, took up a position which the general was not allowed to retain. Contrary to his own judgment he was ordered to occupy a hill which the enemy, if they had chosen so to do, could have occupied before him. The orders of the committee, however, were obeyed, the change of ground was made; and while it was making a company of cuirassiers drew from Montrose a remark, "that the cowardly rascals durst not face them till they were cowed in iron. To show our contempt of them, let us fight them in our shirts." With that he threw off his coat and waistcoat, tucked up the sleeves of his shirt like a butcher going to kill cattle, at the same time drawing his sword with ferocious resolution. The proposal was received with applause, the cavalry threw off their upper garments, and tucked up their sleeves; the foot stripped themselves naked, even to the feet, and in this state were ready to rush upon their opponents before they could take up the places assigned them. The consequence was, the battle was a mere massacre—a race of fourteen miles, in which space 6000 men were cut down and slain.

The victory of Kilsyth gave to Montrose almost the entire power of Scotland; there was not the shadow of an army to oppose him; nor was there in the kingdom any authority that could direct one if there had. What he had formerly boasted in his letter to Charles would now most certainly have been realized had he possessed either moral or political influence. He possessed neither. His power lay entirely in the sword, and it was a consequence of the savage warfare which he had waged, that he was most odious to his countrymen in general, few of

whom loved him, and still fewer dared to trust him. Notwithstanding the submissions he received from all quarters, there was nothing that with propriety he could have done but to have taken refuge for another quarter of a year in the wilds of Badenoch. He was gratified, however, with submissions from many quarters during the days he remained at Glasgow and Bothwell, at both of which places he fancied himself in the exercise of regal authority. He had now his commission as lieutenant-governor of Scotland and general of all his majesty's forces there. He was empowered to raise and command forces in Scotland, to march, if expedient, into England, and act against such Scottish subjects as were in rebellion there; also to exercise unlimited power over the kingdom of Scotland, to pardon or condemn state-prisoners as he pleased, and to confer the honour of knighthood on whom he would. By another commission he was empowered to call a parliament at Glasgow on the 28th of October next, where he, as royal commissioner, might consult with the king's friends regarding the further prosecution of the war, and the settlement of the kingdom. He proceeded to knight his associate M'Donald, and he summoned the parliament which was never to meet. His mountaineers requested liberty, which, if he had refused, they would have taken, to depart with their plunder. The Gordons retired with their chief in disgust, and Alister, now Sir Alister M'Coll, as there was no longer an army in Scotland, seized the opportunity to renew his spoliations and revenge his private feuds in Argyleshire.

To save his army from total annihilation, Montrose turned his views to the south. Hume, Roxburgh, and Traquair had spoken favourably of the royal cause, and he expected to have been joined by them with their followers, and a body of horse which the king had despatched to his assistance under Lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale. This party, however, was totally routed in coming through York-shire. A party which these two leaders attempted to raise in Lancashire was finally dispersed on Carlisle sands a short time before Montrose set out to effect a junction with them; and while he waited near the borders for the promised aid of the three neighbouring earls, David Leslie surprised him at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, giving him as complete an overthrow as he had ever given to the feeblest of his opponents, on the 13th of September, 1645. One thousand royalists were left dead on the field; and one hundred of the Irish, taken prisoners, according to an ordinance of the parliaments of both kingdoms, were afterwards shot. Montrose made his escape from the field with a few followers, and reached Athol in safety, where he was able still to raise about 400 men. Huntly had now left his concealment; but he could not be prevailed on to join Montrose. Disappointed in his attempts to gain Huntly, Montrose returned by Braemar into Athol, and thence to Lennox, where he quartered for some time on the lands of the Buchanans, and hovered about Glasgow, till the execution of his three friends, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvy, younger of Inverquhar, gave him warning to withdraw to a safer neighbourhood. He accordingly once more withdrew to Athol. In the month of December he laid siege to Inverness, before which he lay for several weeks, till Middleton came upon him with a small force, when he fled into Ross-shire. The spring of 1646 he spent in marching and counter-marching, constantly endeavouring to excite a simultaneous rising among the Highland septs, but constantly unsuccessful. On the last day of May he was informed of the king's surrender to the Scottish

army, and at the same time received his majesty's order to disband his forces and withdraw from the kingdom. Through the influence of the Duke of Hamilton, whose personal enemy he had been, he procured an indemnity for his followers, with liberty for himself to remain one month at his own house for settling his affairs, and afterwards to retire to the Continent. He embarked in a small vessel for Norway on the 3d of September, 1646, taking his chaplain Dr. Wishart along with him, for whose servant he passed during the voyage, being afraid of his enemies capturing him on the passage.

From Norway he proceeded to Paris, where he endeavoured to cultivate the acquaintance of Henrietta Maria, the queen, and to instigate various expeditions to Britain in favour of his now captive sovereign. It was not, however, thought expedient by either Charles or his consort to employ him again in behalf of the royal cause, on account of the invincible hatred with which he was regarded by all classes of his countrymen. In consequence of this he went into Germany, and offered his services to the emperor, who honoured him with the rank of *marischal*, and gave him a commission to raise a regiment. He was busied in levying this corps when he received the news of the king's death, which deeply affected him. He was cheered, however, by a message soon after to repair to the son of the late king, afterwards Charles II., at the Hague, for the purpose of receiving a commission for a new invasion of his native country. With a view to this expedition he undertook a tour through several of the northern states of Europe under the character of ambassador for the King of Great Britain, and so ardently did he advocate the cause of depressed loyalty, that he received a considerable sum of money from the King of Denmark, 1500 stand of arms from the Queen of Sweden, five large vessels from the Duke of Holstein, and from the state of Holstein and Hamburg between 600 and 700 men. Having selected the remote islands of Orkney as the safest point of rendezvous, he despatched a part of his troops thither so early as September, 1649; but of 1200 whom he embarked, only 200 landed in Orkney, the rest perishing by shipwreck.

It was about this time that, in an overflowing fit of loyalty, he is alleged to have superintended the disgraceful assassination of Dorislaus, the envoy of the English parliament at the Hague; on which account young Charles was under the necessity of leaving Holland. When Montrose arrived in the Orkneys in the month of March, 1650, with the small remainder of his forces, he found that, from a difference between the Earls of Morton and Kinnoul, to the latter of whom he had himself granted a commission to be commander, but the former of whom claimed the right to command in virtue of his being lord of the islands, there had been no progress made in the business. He brought along with him only 500 foreigners, officered by Scotsmen, which, with the 200 formerly sent, gave him only 700 men. To these, by the aid of several loyal gentlemen, he was able to add about 800 Orcadians, who, from their unwarlike habits, and their disinclination to the service, added little to his effective strength. After a residence in Orkney of three weeks he embarked the whole of his forces, 1500 in number, at the Holm Sound, the most part of them in fishing-boats, and landed in safety near John O'Groat's House. Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross had been exempted in the late disturbances from those ravages that had overtaken every place south of Inverness, and Montrose calculated on a regiment from each of them. For this purpose he had brought a great banner

along with him, on which was painted the corpse of Charles I., the head being separated from the trunk, with the motto that was used for the murdered Darnley, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord." It had no effect, however, upon the simple natives of these regions, except to excite their aversion, and they everywhere fled before him.

In order to secure a retreat to the Orkneys, the castle of Dunbeath was taken possession of, and strongly garrisoned by Montrose. Five hundred men were also sent forward to occupy the hill of Ord, which they accomplished just as the Earl of Sutherland was advancing to take possession of it. Sutherland retired rapidly before him, leaving his houses of Dunnechin, Shelbo, Skibo, and Dornoch under strong garrisons for the protection of his lands. Montrose, mortified to find in Sutherland the same aversion to him as in Caithness, and confident of his strength and of the distance of his enemies, sent a message to the Earl of Sutherland, threatening to subject his estates to military execution if he continued to neglect his duty and the royal cause. Colonel Strachan had, however, by this time reached Tain, where he met with his lordship and his friends the Rosses and Munroes, to the amount of 500 or 600 men. Here it was determined that Sutherland should get behind Montrose, so as to prevent his retreat to the north, while Strachan with four troops of horse, assisted by the Rosses and Munroes, should march up in his front. When within two miles of him they concealed themselves in a field of broom, and sent out scouts to observe the motions and calculate the strength he had brought along with him. Finding that Montrose had just sent out a party of forty horse, it was resolved that the whole should keep hid in the broom, one troop of horse excepted, which might lead him to think he had no more to contend with. This had the desired effect. Montrose took no pains to strengthen his position, but placing his horse a little in advance, waited their approach on a piece of low ground close by the mouth of the river Kyle. Strachan then marshalled his little party for the attack, dividing the whole into four parts, the first of which he commanded in person; and it was his intention that, while he himself rode up with his party, so as to confirm the enemy in the notion that there were no more to oppose, the remaining parties should come up in quick succession, and at once overwhelm him with the announcement that he was surprised by a large army. The plan was completely successful. Montrose no sooner saw the strength of the Presbyterians, than, alarmed for the safety of his foot, he ordered them to retire to a craggy hill behind his position. Strachan, however, made such haste that, though it was very bad riding ground, he overtook the retiring invaders before they could reach their place of refuge. The mercenaries alone showed any disposition to resist—the rest threw down their arms without so much as firing a shot. Montrose fought with desperate valour, but to no avail. He could only save himself by flight. The carnage, considering the number of the combatants, was dreadful. Several hundreds were slain, and upwards of 400 taken prisoners. On the part of the victors only two men were wounded and one drowned. The principal standard of the enemy, and all Montrose's papers, fell into the hands of the victors.

Montrose, who fled from the field upon his friend the young Viscount Frendraught's horse, his own being killed in the battle, rode for some space with a friend or two who made their escape along with him; but the ground becoming bad, he abandoned in succession his horse, his friends, and his cloak, star, and sword, and exchanging clothes with a

Highland rustic, toiled along the valley on foot. Ignorant of the locality of the country, he knew not so much as where he was going, except that he believed he was leaving his enemies behind him, in which he was fatally mistaken. His pursuers had found in succession his horse, his cloak, and his sword, by which they conjectured that he had fled into Assynt; and accordingly the proprietor, Neil Macleod, was enjoined to apprehend any stranger he might find upon his ground. Parties were immediately sent out, and by one of them he was apprehended, along with an officer of the name of Sinclair. The laird of Assynt had served under Montrose, but was now alike regardless of the promises and the threatenings of his old commander. The fugitive was unrelentingly delivered up to General Leslie, and by Strachan and Halket conducted, in the same mean habit in which he was taken, towards Edinburgh. At the house of the laird of Grange, near Dundee, he had a change of raiment, and by the assistance of an old lady had very nearly effected his escape. He had been excommunicated by the church and forfeited by the parliament so far back as 1644, and now sentence was pronounced against him before he was brought to Edinburgh. His reception in the capital was that of a condemned traitor, and many barbarous indignities were heaped upon him; in braving which he became, what he could never otherwise have been, in some degree an object of popular sympathy. He was executed on Tuesday, the 21st of May, 1650, in a dress the most splendid that he could command, and with the history of his achievements tied round his neck; defending with his latest breath his exertions in behalf of distressed royalty, and declaring that his conscience was completely at rest. His limbs were afterwards exposed with useless barbarity at the gates of the principal towns in Scotland.

Montrose appeared to Cardinal Du Retz as a hero fit for the pages of Plutarch, being inspired by all the ideas and sentiments which animated the classic personages whom that writer has commemorated. He certainly is entitled to the praise of great military genius, of uncompromising ardour of purpose, and of a boldness both in the conception and execution of great designs, such as are rarely found in any class of men. It is not to be denied, however, that ambition was nearly his highest principle of action, and that the attainment of his objects was too often sought at the expense of humanity. As might be expected, his memory was too much cherished by his own party, and unreasonably detested by the other; but historical truth now dictates that he had both his glorious and his dark features, all of which were alike the characteristics of a great and pregnant mind, soaring beyond the sphere assigned to it, but hardly knowing how to pursue greatness in consistency with virtue.

GRAHAME, REV. JAMES, the author of *The Sabbath* and other poems, was born in Glasgow on the 22d of April, 1765. He was the son of Mr. Thomas Grahame, writer in that city, a gentleman at the head of the legal profession there, and who held a high place in the esteem of his fellow-citizens for strict integrity and many amiable qualities. His mother was a woman of very uncommon understanding; and it may be well supposed that the young bard owed much of that amiable disposition which distinguished him in after-life to the mild and benevolent tuition of his parents. From them also he imbibed those ultra-liberal opinions on politics, which, on the first breaking out of the French revolution of 1789, found so many supporters in this

country, and which Mr. Grahame no doubt adopted under a sincere impression that the diffusion of such opinions was likely to benefit the human race. He was educated at the grammar-school and university of Glasgow. At this time his father possessed a beautiful villa on the romantic banks of the Cart, near Glasgow, to which the family removed during the summer months; and it is pleasing to remark the delight with which James Grahame, in after-years, looked back upon the youthful days spent there. In the *Birds of Scotland* we have the following pleasing remembrances, which show that these days were still green in his memory:

"I love thee, pretty bird! for 'twas thy nest
Which first, unhelped by older eyes, I found;
The very spot I think I now behold!
Forth from my low-roofed home I wandered blythe
Down to thy side, sweet Cart, where cross the stream
A range of stones, below a shallow ford,
Stood in the place of the now-spanning arch;
Up from that ford a little bank there was,
With alder copse and willow overgrown,
Now worn away by mining winter floods;
There at a bramble root, sunk in the grass,
The hidden prize, of withered field-straws formed,
Well lined with many a coil of hair and moss,
And in it laid five red-veined spheres, I found."

James Grahame eminently distinguished himself both at school and college; and we have an early notice of his poetical genius having displayed itself in some Latin verses, which, considering his age, were thought remarkable for their elegance. At this period he was noted among his companions for the activity of his habits, and the frolicsome gaiety of his disposition; his character, however, seems to have undergone a change, and his constitution to have received a shock, in consequence of a blow inflicted in wantonness on the back of his head, which ever afterwards entailed upon him occasional attacks of headache and stupor; and there seems to be little doubt that this blow was ultimately the cause of his death. After passing through a regular academical course of education at the university of Glasgow, during which he attended a series of lectures delivered by the celebrated Professor Millar, whose opinions on politics were by no means calculated to alter those which his pupil had derived from his father, he was removed to Edinburgh in the year 1784, where he commenced the study of law under the tuition of his cousin, Mr. Laurence Hill, writer to the signet. This was a destination wholly foreign to his character and inclination; his own wishes would have led him to the clerical profession, which was more congenial to his tastes than the busy turmoil of legal avocations; but young Grahame passively acquiesced in the arrangement which his father had made, more from considerations connected with his own means of advancing him in the legal profession, than from regard to the peculiarities of his son's disposition and character.

After having finished his apprenticeship he was admitted a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet in the year 1791. His prospects of success in business were very considerable, in consequence of the influence possessed by his father and his other relations; but the death of his father towards the close of the year 1791 seems to have freed him from the restraint which bound him to his profession, and he resumed his original desire of entering the church. For a time, however, the persuasion of his friends induced him to relinquish his intention of taking holy orders; and at length, in the year 1795, in the hope that the avocations of the bar would prove more congenial to his taste, and allow him, during the vacations, greater leisure to indulge his literary propensities, than the more irksome details of the

other branch of the profession, he became a member of the Faculty of Advocates.

James Grahame, while yet at the university, printed and circulated among his friends a collection of poetical pieces. Of this work no trace is now left except in the memory of the members of his own family, and it is only curious as it seems to have contained a rough draught of those sketches which he afterwards published under the title of the *Rural Calendar*. It was in the year 1797 that these pieces appeared in their amended form. Being on a visit to a friend in Kelso when the *Kelso Mail* was commenced, he contributed them anonymously to that newspaper; he afterwards published them, greatly enlarged and improved, in the 12mo edition of his works, in 1807. In the year 1801 he published a dramatic poem, entitled *Mary Queen of Scotland*; but his talents were by no means dramatic; and although this production was a great favourite of his own, it is only deserving of attention as containing some beautiful descriptive passages.

In the year 1802 Mr. Grahame was married to Miss Grahame, eldest daughter of Richard Grahame, Esq., Annan, a woman of masculine understanding and very elegant accomplishments. She at first endeavoured to discourage her husband's poetical propensities, from the idea that they interfered with his professional duties; but on the discovery that he was the author of *The Sabbath*, she no longer attempted, or wished, to oppose the original bias of his mind. *The Sabbath* was published not only anonymously, but the poet even concealed its existence from his dearest relations. The mode which he took to communicate it to his wife presents a very pleasing picture of his diffident and amiable disposition. In relating this anecdote we shall use the words of one who was very intimate with the poet and his family. "On its publication he brought the book home with him, and left it on the parlour table. Returning soon after he found Mrs. Grahame engaged in its perusal; but without venturing to ask her opinion, he continued to walk up and down the room in breathless anxiety, till she burst out in the warmest eulogium on the performance; adding, 'Ah James, if you could but produce a poem like this.' The acknowledgment of the authorship, and the pleasure of making the disclosure under such circumstances, may be easily imagined." *The Sabbath* was subjected to a severe ordeal of criticism in the *Edinburgh Review*; but the critic afterwards made ample atonement to the wounded feelings of the poet and his friends, in reviewing his subsequent work, the *British Georgics*—an example which one cannot but wish that Lord Byron had imitated, by expressing some contrition for the wanton and cruel attack made in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* on the gentle and amiable poet of *The Sabbath*.

About the year 1806 Mr. Grahame published a well-written pamphlet on the subject of the introduction of jury trial in civil causes in Scotland, entitled *Thoughts on Trial by Jury*. This was a favourite project of his party in politics about the beginning of the present century; and during the Whig administration of 1806-7 a bill was brought into parliament by the ministry for the purpose of extending that mode of trial to Scotland. That bill fell on the change of administration; but some years afterwards a bill having the same object was carried through parliament by the succeeding administration; and in 1816 jury trial in civil causes was introduced under certain modifications, and has since been made a permanent part of the civil judicial procedure in this country.

But for the bad health to which he was occasion-

ally subject, Mr. Grahame might have enjoyed much happiness, surrounded as he was by his family, to whom he was devotedly attached, and mixing during the winter months on familiar terms with the intellectual and polished society which Edinburgh at all times affords, and which, at the time alluded to, was peculiarly brilliant; while, to vary the scene, he usually spent the summer either at Kirkhill, on the banks of the Esk, or at some other rural retirement. It was at Kirkhill, surrounded with some of the loveliest scenery in Scotland, that he composed *The Birds of Scotland*. But in spite of the happiness which such a state of literary ease was calculated to afford, Mr. Grahame still looked with longing to the condition of a country clergyman—a vocation which his imagination had invested with many charms. The authority already referred to mentions a circumstance strongly indicative of the constant current of his thoughts:—"The writer will never forget the eager longing with which he surveyed the humble church of Borthwick on a fine summer evening, when the sun's last rays had gilded the landscape, and rendered every object in nature more sweet and impressive. He cast a look of delighted complacency around the peaceful scene, and said, with an accent of regret, 'I wish such a place as that had fallen to my lot.' And when it was remarked that continued retirement might become wearisome, 'Oh! no,' he replied, 'it would be delightful to live a life of usefulness among a simple people, unmolested with petty cares and ceremonies.' At length, yielding to his long cherished wish, he entered holy orders as a clergyman of the Church of England. After having spent the summer months of 1808 at a pleasant villa in the neighbourhood of Annan, where he composed the *British Georgics*, he proceeded to England in the spring following; and after encountering some difficulty, was ordained by Dr. Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich, on Trinity Sunday, being the 28th of May, 1809. That good prelate was so much delighted with Mr. Grahame, that he was anxious to persuade him to remain in his diocese; but Mr. Grahame was prevented from acceding to this request by the prevalence of fever and ague in the district. He resided for some weeks after his ordination at the city of Chester; and there he obtained the curacy of Shefton in Gloucestershire, which he held from July until the month of March in the following year, when he was called to Scotland by family affairs. The accomplishment of his long cherished and ardent desire to enter the clerical profession does not seem to have afforded him that full measure of happiness which he anticipated. This was partly to be attributed to broken health; and perhaps, also, to a natural restlessness of disposition, but more particularly to the change having been too long deferred. Indications of this fact may be traced in the following beautiful lines in the *British Georgics*, which show how deeply he loved and how fondly he regretted leaving his native land:—

"How pleasant came thy rushing, silver Tweed,
Upon mine ear, when, after roaming long
In southern plains, I've reached thy lovely banks!
How bright, renowned Sark, thy little stream,
Like ray of column'd light chasing a shower,
Would cross my homeward path! how sweet the sounds
When I, to hear the Doric tongue's reply,
Would ask thy well-known name.

And must I leave,
Dear land, thy bonny braes, thy dales,
Each haunted by its wizard-stream, o'erhung
With all the varied charms of bush and tree;
Thy towering hills, the lineament sublime,
Unchanged, of Nature's face, which wont to fill
The eye of Wallace, as he musing plann'd
The grand emprise of setting Scotland free?
And must I leave the friends of youthful years,

And mould my heart anew to take the stamp
Of foreign friendships in a foreign land?
Yes, I may love the music of strange tongues,
And mould my heart anew to take the stamp
Of foreign friendships in a foreign land;
But to my parched mouth's roof leave this tongue,
My fancy fade into the yellow leaf,
And this oft-pausing heart forget to throb,
If, Scotland, thee and thine I e'er forget."

On his return to Scotland he was an unsuccessful candidate for St. George's Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh. This disappointment was severely felt by his friends, who, fondly attached to him, and admiring him much as a preacher, were exceedingly anxious to have him settled amongst them; but he bore the frustration of his hopes without a murmur. In August, 1810, he was appointed interim curate to the chapelry of St. Margaret, Durham, where his eloquence as a preacher quickly collected a crowded congregation; and after having officiated there for a few months, he obtained the curacy of Sedgfield, in the same diocese. Having been affected with oppressive asthma and violent headaches, he was induced to try the effect of a change to his native air; and after spending a few days in Edinburgh with his only surviving sister, Mrs. Archibald Grahame, he, along with his wife, who had joined him in Edinburgh, proceeded to Glasgow, where he expired two days after his arrival. He died at Whitehill, the residence of his eldest brother, Mr. Robert Grahame of Whitehill, on the 14th of September, 1811, in the forty-seventh year of his age, leaving two sons and a daughter.

The most characteristic feature in the mind of James Grahame was a keen and refined sensibility, which, while it in some measure incapacitated him for encountering the hardships and enduring the asperities of life, and gave the appearance of vacillation to his conduct, at the same time rendered him sensitively alive to the intellectual pleasures of the world, and shed an amiable purity over his character and manners. It is deeply to be regretted that the wishes of his father should have thrown an impediment in the way of his embracing at the outset of life that profession which was so congenial to the benign gentleness of his disposition. Possessed of a pleasing and intellectual fund of conversation, there was about him an infantine simplicity of character, which rendered him alternately the companion of Francis Horner, and of Jeffrey, Cockburn, Brougham, and his other distinguished contemporaries, and the delight of his own children, in whose most playful gambols he would often join. His personal appearance was particularly striking; his dark complexion harmonizing well with his finely-formed and expressive features, over which there hung a deep shade of languor and pensiveness; his figure was tall, and while discharging the duties of his sacred office his air and manner were truly apostolic.

GRAHAM, JOHN, Viscount of Dundee, was the elder son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse, an estate with an old castle attached near Dundee. The family of Claverhouse was a branch of that of Montrose, and the mother of the subject of this memoir was Lady Jean Carnegie, third daughter of John, first Earl of Northesk. Young Graham was educated between 1660 and 1670, at St. Andrew's university, where he distinguished himself by a proficiency in mathematics, by an enthusiastic passion for Highland poetry, and the zeal inherited from his family in behalf of the then established order of things in church and state. His abilities recommended him to the attention of Archbishop Sharp, whose death he afterwards revenged by so many severities. He

commenced his military career as a volunteer in the French service, and when the British war with Holland was concluded, became a cornet in the guards of the Prince of Orange, whose life he saved at the battle of Seneff, in the year 1674; a service for which he was rewarded by receiving a captain's commission in the same corps. One of the Scottish regiments in the service of the States shortly after becoming vacant, Graham, from the favour of the prince, and his interest with the court of England, was induced to offer himself as a candidate for it. It was, however, carried against him, in consequence of which he determined to abandon the Dutch service, and in 1677 he returned to Scotland, bringing with him particular recommendations from the Prince of Orange to King Charles, who appointed him captain to the first of three troops of horse which he was raising at that time for enforcing compliance with the established religion. Of all who were employed in this odious service Captain Graham was the most indefatigable and unrelenting. His dragoons were styled by the less serious part of the people, *the ruling elders of the church*; and recusancy was the great crime they had it in charge to repress. Conventicles, as they were called, the peaceable assemblies of the people in the open fields, to hear from their own ministers the word of God, were the objects against which Clavers, as his name was usually contracted, had it in charge to wage an exterminating warfare; and to discover and bring to punishment such as frequented them, he spared not to practise the most detestable cruelties. But though the subject of this memoir was the most forward and violent, he was not the sole persecutor of the field-preachers and their adherents. In every quarter of the country, particularly in the shire of Fife, and in the southern and western counties—there was a Sharp, an Earls-hall, a Johnston, a Bannatyne, a Grierson, an Oglethorpe, or a Main, with each a host of inferior tyrants, who acted under him as spies and informers—in consequence of whose procedure no man was for a moment safe in his life or his property, either in house or in field, at home or abroad. Arms, of course, were necessarily resorted to by the sufferers, and a party of them falling in by accident with the primate Sharp, in the beginning of May, 1679, put him to death, which excited the fears, and of course the rage, of the whole of the dominant party to the highest pitch of extravagance; and in pursuit of the actors in that affair, and to put down all conventicles by the way, Claverhouse and his dragoons, with a party of foot, were immediately sent to the west.

Meanwhile a party in arms had assembled in Evandale, to the number of eighty persons, with Robert Hamilton of Preston at their head, and came to Rutherglen on the 29th of May, the anniversary of the restoration. There they extinguished the bonfires that were blazing in honour of the day—and having burned the act of supremacy, the declaration, &c., and published at the market-cross of that burgh a short testimony against all these acts, since known by the name of the Rutherglen Declaration, they returned to Evandale. Sermon having been announced by some of their preachers on the approaching Sunday, June the 1st, in the neighbourhood of Loudon Hill, Claverhouse, who it appears was either in Glasgow or its neighbourhood at the time, and had information both of what they had done and of what they intended to do, followed almost upon their heels, and on Saturday the 31st of May surprised and made prisoners, in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, Mr. John King and seventeen persons on their way to join the meeting at Loudon Hill. Tying his prisoners together, two and two, and driving them before

him like cattle, to be witnesses to the murder of their brethren, he hasted on Sunday morning early, by the way of Strathaven, to surprise them before they should have time to be fully assembled. The service, however, was begun by Mr. Thomas Douglas, who had been an actor in the publication of the Rutherglen Declaration on the preceding Thursday, before he could come up; and having notice of his approach, about 50 horsemen and from 150 to 200 foot left the meeting, and met their persecutors at Drumclog, where, being united in heart and mind, and properly conducted, they in a few minutes routed the royal troops. Claverhouse himself narrowly escaped, with the loss of his colours, between thirty and forty of his men, and all his prisoners. Of the country people there were not above three killed and but few wounded. Claverhouse fled hurriedly to Glasgow, where he had left Lord Ross with a number of troops; and, had the Covenanters pursued him, they might have been masters of the city the same day. They waited, however, till next day before they attacked Glasgow; and the streets having been barricaded, they were repulsed with considerable loss by the troops, who were thus enabled to fight under cover. As the countrymen took up ground at no great distance, and as their numbers were rapidly augmenting, Claverhouse and Lord Ross did not think it prudent to attempt keeping possession of Glasgow, but on the 3d of June retreated towards Stirling, carrying along with them in carts a number of the wounded countrymen that had fallen into their hands, and on Larbert Muir, in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, were joined by a body of the king's forces under the Earl of Linlithgow. Still they did not think themselves a match for the Covenanters, and wrote to the council that it was the general sense of the officers that his majesty should be written to for assistance from England without loss of time.

The Duke of Monmouth was in consequence appointed to the command of the army; the whole of the militia were called out, and two regiments of dragoons, under Ogleshorpe and Main, then in summer quarters in the north of England, ordered to join them. On the 17th Monmouth arrived at Edinburgh. He joined the army, which had been increased to upwards of 10,000 men, on the 19th, and on Sunday the 22d confronted the poor insurgents in their original encampment upon Hamilton Muir, who, instead of making preparations to receive an enemy, were quarrelling about the manner in which their grievances should be stated, or whether they were to supplicate or to fight; yet a part of the countrymen, with some pieces of cannon stationed to defend the passage of Bothwell Bridge, behaved with the coolness of veteran troops. After having maintained the unequal conflict for upwards of an hour, this little band of heroes were obliged to retreat for the want of ammunition. Monmouth's whole force crossed by the bridge, and it was no longer a battle but a disorderly rout, every individual shifting for himself in the way he thought best. Claverhouse requested that he might be allowed to sack and burn Glasgow, Hamilton, Strathaven, and the adjacent country, for the countenance they had given to the rebels, as he termed them, but in reality for the sake of spoil, and to gratify a spirit of revenge for the affront he sustained at Drumclog. This, however, the duke had too much humanity to permit. But he had abundant room for satiating his revenge afterwards, being sent into the west with the most absolute powers; which he exercised in such a manner as has made his very name an execration to this day.

In 1682 Claverhouse was appointed sheriff of

Wigton, in which office his brother, David Graham, was joined with him the year following. To particularize the murders and the robberies committed by the brothers in the exercise of their civil and military callings would require a volume. Ensnaring oaths and healths Claverhouse himself had ever at his finger ends; and if any refused these, they were instantly dragged to prison, provided there was a prospect of making anything out of them in the way of money; otherwise they had the advantage of being killed on the spot, though sometimes not without being victims of the most refined cruelty. This was particularly the case with regard to John Brown, styled the Christian Carrier, whom Claverhouse laid hold of in a summer morning in 1685, going to his work in the fields. Intending to kill this innocent and worthy person, the persecutor brought him back to his own house, and subjected him to a long examination before his wife and family. Being solidly and seriously answered, he tauntingly inquired at his prisoner if he was a preacher; and in the same spirit, when answered in the negative, remarked, "If he had never preached meikle, he had prayed in his time;" informing him at the same time that he was instantly to die. The poor unoffending victim addressed himself to the duty of prayer, along with his family, with all the fervour of a devout mind in the immediate prospect of eternity, and thrice by Claverhouse was interrupted by the remark, that he had got time to pray, but was beginning to preach. With one simple reply, that he knew neither the nature of praying nor preaching, the good man went on and concluded his address without the smallest confusion. He was then commanded to take farewell of his wife and children, which he did with the most resigned composure, kissing them individually, and wishing all purchased and promised blessings, along with his own, to be multiplied upon them. A volley from six of the troopers then scattered his head in fragments upon the ground; when Claverhouse, mounting his horse, as if to insult the sorrows of the woman whom he had thus wickedly made a widow, asked her what she thought of her husband now. "I thought ever much of him," was the reply, "and now as much as ever." "It were justice," said he, "to lay thee beside him." "If ye were permitted," said the much injured woman, "I doubt not but your cruelty would carry you that length; but how will you make answer for this morning's work?" "To man I can be answerable," said the audacious tyrant, "and for God, I will take him in mine own hand;" and putting spurs to his horse, galloped off, leaving the widow with her bereaved babes and the corpse of her murdered husband without a friend or neighbour that was not at some miles distance. The poor woman, borrowing strength from her despair, meantime set down her infant on the ground, gathered and tied up the scattered brains of her husband, straightened his body, wrapping it up in her plaid, and, with her infants around her, sat down and wept over him. Claverhouse had in the year previous to this been constituted captain of the royal regiment of horse, was sworn a privy-councillor, and had a gift from the king of the estate of Dudhope, and along with it the office of constable of Dundee, then in the hands of Lauderdale, upon paying a sum of money to the chancellor.

On the accession of James VII. he was left out of the privy-council, on pretence that, having married into the family of Dundonald, it was not fit that he should be intrusted with the king's secrets. He was very soon, however, restored to his place in the council, had the rank of brigadier-general bestowed on him in 1686, and sometime afterwards

that of major-general. On the 12th of November, 1688, being then with the king in London, he was created a peer, by the title of Viscount of Dundee and Lord Graham of Claverhouse. This was a week after William Prince of Orange had landed to reverse the order of things under which his lordship had reaped so much honour and preferment. When his majesty withdrew to Rochester, Lord Dundee strongly dissuaded him from leaving the kingdom, promising to collect 10,000 of his disbanded soldiers to march through England, driving the Prince of Orange before him. Happily for the country, and perhaps for Dundee himself, his advice was not taken, and still meditating mischief, he came to Edinburgh, bringing a troop of sixty horse along with him, which had deserted from his regiment in England. The westland men, however, who had come into the city of Edinburgh to protect the convention till regularly authorized troops should be raised, had their eye upon him, as one who ought to be called to account for the many slaughters he had committed; and suspecting that he intended, by the help of his dragoons, to add that of the Lords Crawford and Cardross to the number, they mounted guard upon the lodgings of these two noblemen. This seemed to give great uneasiness to the Lord Dundee, who in the convention which he attended only for a few days, was always putting the question, what was meant by bringing in the rabble; which not being answered to his lordship's mind, he thought it prudent to retire from the city. General Mackay with fifteen troops of horse, by orders from the convention, pursued him through the shires of Perth, Angus, Aberdeen, Buchan, Banff, Moray, and Nairn. On the 1st of May, 1689, Dundee, with 150 horse, joined Macdonald of Keppoch, who with 900 men had invested Inverness, partly because they had proclaimed the Prince of Orange king, and partly for assisting the M'Intoshes, with whom he was at odds. The town, however, compromised the matter by a gift to Keppoch of 2000 dollars, Dundee acting the part of a mediator between them. He offered himself in the same character to M'Intosh; but the chieftain refused to submit to his dictation, for which they drove away his cattle, and divided them,—part to the use of the army, and part to Keppoch's tenants. After having subsisted upon this booty along with Keppoch for upwards of six weeks, he, with his 150 horse, came unexpectedly upon the town of Perth, where he made some prisoners, seized upon a number of horses, and appropriated 9000 marks of the king's cess and excise. From Perth he marched upon Dundee, but the citizens shut their gates against him; and, unable to force an entrance, he turned aside to his own house at Dudhope. After occupying this mansion two nights he returned to Keppoch, whence, after a residence of six weeks, he marched into Badenoch to meet General Mackay and the laird of Grant, who had an army of nearly 2000 foot and upwards of 200 horse. Mackay and Grant, though superior in numbers, retreated before him till they had passed Strathbogie. Dundee pursued with great ardour till he came to Edinglassy, where he learned that Mackay had received considerable reinforcements: after resting a few days he returned to Keppoch. Here, besides recruits from Ireland, he was joined by Macdonald of the Isles with 500 men, by Macdonald of Glengary, the captain of Clanronald, Sir John Maclean, Cameron of Lochiel, and others, each with a body of retainers eager to be led against the Sassenach, for the sake of their expatriated sovereign. Thus reinforced with an army of 2500 men, he advanced upon Blair in Athol. General Mackay, being at Perth, hastened to meet him

VOL. II.

with an army of 3000 foot and two troops of horse. Marching through the pass of Killiecrankie, he found Dundee with his army posted on an eminence, ready to attack him as he emerged from that dangerous defile. Having little choice of position Mackay drew up his men in line, three deep, as they could clear the defile, having a narrow plain before them, and behind them the craggy eminences they had just passed, and the deep and rapid water of Garry. Dundee's army was formed in dense masses, according to their clans, on an opposite eminence; whence about an hour before sunset they descended, in their shirts and doublets, with the violence of their own mountain torrents; and, though they received three fires, which killed a great number of them, before they reached Mackay's lines, their attack was such as in the course of a few minutes threw nearly his whole force into irretrievable confusion. One or two of his regiments happily stood unbroken; and while he hastened with these to secure an orderly retreat, Dundee rode up at full speed to lead on the Macdonalds, to complete the victory: but as he was pointing them on to the attack, a random shot struck him below the armpit, and he fell from his horse mortally wounded. He was carried into a neighbouring cottage, where he died the same night, July 27, 1689. In his grave were buried the fruits of his victory, and for a time the best hopes of his party, who, while they eulogized his character in the language of unmeasured panegyric, could not help seeing that the cause of legitimacy in Scotland perished with him. It is hardly necessary to remark, that this anticipation was fully justified by the event.

Lord Dundee was married to the Honourable Jean Cochrane, third and youngest daughter of Lord William Cochrane, brother to the Earl of Dundonald, by whom he had issue one son, who died in infancy. Of his character, after the brief detail which we have given of his actions, it is scarcely necessary to speak more particularly. That he was free from many of the debasing vices which disgraced the greater part of his associates we have seen no reason to doubt; but if he was less sensual he was more haughty, more perseveringly active and more uniformly and unrelentingly cruel in the exercise of those illegal powers which he was called upon by a most unprincipled court to exercise, than all his coadjutors put together.

GRAHAM, ROBERT. This excellent botanist, who did so much in reviving the study of botany and making it a popular science, was the third son of Dr. Robert Graham, afterwards Moir of Leckie, and was born at Stirling on the 3d of December, 1786. Being educated for his father's profession, he commenced his public life as a physician, and practised for some time in Glasgow. Before the year 1818 there was no separate chair of botany in the university of that city, the want being partially supplied by the professor of anatomy, who read a course of lectures on the subject during the summer season. In the year above-mentioned the government established a separate professorship for botany, and Dr. Graham was promoted to the office. In this, however, he did not long remain, for the chair of botany in the university of Edinburgh having become vacant, Dr. Graham entered the competition for the charge, and was the successful candidate. He was also appointed physician to the infirmary, and conservator to the botanical garden of Edinburgh. Upon this latter office he bestowed such care and attention, that to his exertions the garden is chiefly indebted for its present distinguished excellence.

Although on his appointment to the professorship

in Glasgow in 1818, Dr. Graham's knowledge of botany was little above the average of his brethren, while the general apathy to the science gave him little encouragement to mature his knowledge of it, the case was different when he was translated to the capital of Scotland. There a scientific and intellectual spirit was in the full flush of vigorous manhood, and while he felt that mere ordinary excellence was of no account, the life-stir around him inspired him with its enthusiasm. He devoted himself to the science in earnest, and—what was more—communicated his ardour to his pupils; and under the electric touch the study of botany acquired fresh popularity not only among the lovers of scientific research, but the fair and fashionable world, the members of which thronged to his lectures in the garden, and dissected the beautiful floral specimens by which his lessons were illustrated. A favourite mode of teaching his students also promoted their progress; it consisted of excursions with them during the summer months to distant parts of the country, where nature opened before them the botanical volume illuminated with its richest illustrations. In this manner he perambulated with his class some of the most important districts of Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland; and while he examined and explained their various floral productions, he was induced from the knowledge he thus acquired to prepare materials for a *Flora of Great Britain*, which, however, he did not live to publish. His published works consist chiefly of accounts of new and rare plants which flowered in the botanic gardens of Edinburgh, and notices of his excursions and other papers: these he published in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Magazine*, *Curtis's Botanical Magazine*, and *Hooker's Companion to the Botanical Magazine*.

The muscular frame and vigorous constitution of Professor Graham seemed to insure a healthy old age and prolonged life of usefulness, which, however, were not realized. His health broke down several years before his death, and he died on the 7th of August, 1845, of an encephaloid tumour, which occupied the back part of the thorax, and pressed upon the great vessels of the heart. An enthusiast in his department of science, an able and suggestive teacher, frank in his manners and kind-hearted in disposition, his death was lamented not only by his pupils, but a large circle of friends, to whom his many amiable qualities had endeared him.

GRAHAM, THOMAS, Lord Lynedoch. This venerable warrior was descended from a common ancestor with the Dukes of Montrose. He was the third son of Thomas Graham of Balgowan in Perthshire, by Lady Christian Hope, fourth daughter of Charles, first Earl of Hopetoun, and was born A.D. 1750. He had thus reached his ninety-fourth year when he died, a period of life which few who have undergone the hardships and privations of trying campaigns are privileged to attain.

Nothing in the early course of Thomas Graham indicated that he would become not only a soldier, but a skillful and successful one. By the death of his two elder brothers he became the heir and representative of the family; and by his marriage with Mary Cathcart, daughter of the ninth Lord Cathcart, his affections were so completely occupied and his home endeared, that he had reached his forty-second year, with the character of an amiable country gentleman, whose highest object was the welfare of his tenants and the happiness of all around him. But all at once this tranquil life was brought to a close by the death of Mrs. Graham in 1792, after she had been married eighteen years; and her husband, who

loved her with a surpassing affection, was inconsolable at her death. The bereavement was also still farther embittered by the circumstance of their marriage having been without offspring, so that no child was left behind to cheer the solitude of his dwelling and restore to him the look and accents of the departed. He felt as if he had sustained a loss for which nothing could compensate; but instead of having recourse to the miserable remedy of the suicide, he resolved at the age of forty-three to devote himself to a military life, where he might find, not a soldier's glory, for which at this time he cared not, but a soldier's early grave, the refuge best fitted for a weary and broken heart. Who would have thought that a feeling so tender and domestic was to produce the victor of Barossa? It is to this commencement of his military life that Sir Walter Scott so touchingly alludes, while describing the chief heroes of the Peninsular war, in his *Vision of Don Roderick*:—

“Nor be his praise o'erpast who strove to hide
Beneath the warrior's vest affection's wound,
Whose wish, Heaven for his country's weal denied;
Danger and fate he sought, but glory found.
From clime to clime, where'er war's trumpets sound,
The wanderer went; yet, Caledonia! still
Thine was his thought in march and tented ground;
He dreamed 'mid alpine cliffs of Athole's hill,
And heard in Ebro's roar his Lynedoch's lovely rill.”

This choice of a military life was made after the consolations of travel had been tried and found ineffectual. The bereaved man had wandered through France; but neither its beautiful scenery, nor gay society, nor even the wild events of its revolution, could abstract his mind from its own sorrows. He then became a pilgrim on the shores of the Mediterranean, and passed over to Gibraltar; and it was in the society of the officers there that his choice appears to have been first adopted. He offered himself as a volunteer to Lord Hood, then about to sail to the south of France, and by the latter he was received with welcome. At the commencement of the revolutionary war in 1793 Graham landed with the British troops at Toulon, and officiated there as extra aide-de-camp to Lord Mulgrave, the general in command. In the numerous encounters with the enemy that distinguished this memorable siege, the new volunteer threw himself among the foremost; and on one occasion, when a British soldier fell at the head of the attacking column, Mr. Graham snatched up the musket of the dead man, and took his place. When Toulon was evacuated by the British and Spanish troops, Graham, now a pledged soldier, returned to Scotland, and raised the first battalion of the 90th regiment, in which he was appointed lieutenant-colonel. With this corps he passed the summer of 1795, and was afterward transferred to Gibraltar, where he received the rank of full colonel in the army. The dulness of garrison duty, however, within a sphere so limited as the rock of Gibraltar, was only fitted to aggravate the disease for which Graham was seeking relief, and therefore he sought and easily obtained permission to join the Austrian army, at that time employed against the French on the Rhine. Here he bore a part in the disastrous campaign of the summer of 1796, and was afterwards shut up with the troops of the brave old Wurmser in Mantua, which was invested by the Man of Destiny, at that time known by the simple title of General Bonaparte. The siege was so tedious, that here Colonel Graham fell into the same malady that had compelled him to abandon Gibraltar; and he resolved to leave the garrison in which he served as a volunteer, for more stirring occupation. For this purpose he silently stole out of Mantua on the night of the 24th of December, 1796,

amidst a torrent of rain, and accompanied by only one attendant. It was a truly perilous exit; for all the water communications with the lake formed by the Mincio, on which Mantua is situated, were in possession of the French, so that the lake itself was to be crossed in a boat, which stranded repeatedly upon the little islands, and was every moment in danger of swamping. After groping through the midnight darkness and storm, the landing-place was at last reached; and here a new series of dangers commenced. The country round was trodden into mire and studded with swamps, among which the travellers floundered at hap-hazard; and when morning dawned Colonel Graham, who wore his British uniform, was in danger of being arrested or shot by the enemy's pickets. He concealed himself during the day, and travelled only at night, until he reached a river, for the crossing of which he hired a boat, intending to risk a landing, where he would probably have been shot by the French sentinels, had they not been previously driven from their posts by a heavy rain. He thus crossed the river in safety, and finally reached the army of the Archduke Charles, where he continued till the pacification of 1797 by the treaty of Campo Formio, in which France dictated to Austria the terms of a conqueror and master. This termination of the war in Germany released Graham from his temporary volunteer service; and accordingly he returned to his old quarters in Gibraltar.

The rapid current of events quickly called Colonel Graham once more into the field. His first employment was in the reduction of Minorca, under the command of Sir Charles Stuart, who bore honourable testimony to the valuable services of his brave assistant. After this island had been won, Graham repaired to Sicily, and was of such use in retarding the falling fortunes of the King and Queen of Naples, that they testified their sense of his merits by repeated acknowledgments. He was afterwards employed in an event of the highest importance to the naval supremacy of our country: this was the reduction of Malta, which had been basely surrendered to Napoleon by the Maltese knights on the 10th of June, 1793, while he was on his way to the conquest of Egypt, and which he had garrisoned as a key to the future conquest of India. The strength of fort and rampart was such, that had the gates been merely kept shut, even Napoleon himself, at the head of his victorious legions, could never have entered, so that he only became master of the place because there were traitors within to open them. An assault upon this mighty ocean fortress was hopeless, garrisoned as it was by such troops; and nothing could be done except by a blockade from the land, while our ships of war intercepted every aid that could arrive to it by sea. In consequence of this decision, Graham, now holding the local rank of brigadier-general, invested the approaches to Malta with a small army, sufficient for skirmish and observation. This slow process was successful, for, after a blockade of two years, Malta surrendered to the British in September, 1800. It is true, indeed, that this session was made to Major-general Pigot, who had previously arrived with reinforcements, and by whom the account of the surrender was sent home; but the despatch bore full testimony to the able and successful arrangements of Graham during the protracted siege. No sooner had the latter arrived in England at the termination than he found the whole land ringing with the Egyptian campaign, and the successful struggles by which the military glory of Britain, so long held in abeyance, had been recalled to its standards. But what chiefly concerned Graham personally was the gallant deeds

of his own regiment, the 90th, which, in conjunction with the 92d, had formed the advanced guard of the British army on their landing at Aboukir. Eager to join his brave fellows, and partake of their glory and danger, he bade a hurried adieu to England; but on arriving in Egypt he found his presence unnecessary, as the whole French army had capitulated. He therefore left the country for a tour through Turkey, during which he stayed for some time at Constantinople, and afterwards, in consequence of the peace of 1801, he visited France and its capital. The next movement of Graham was to Ireland with his regiment, where he continued from 1803 to 1805, at the end of which his place of military service was transferred to the West Indies. Here he remained three years, but without that active employment which still continued to be the breath of his nostrils. At last a prospect of occupation occurred in 1808, in consequence of Sir John Moore being appointed to the command of the armament sent to the coast of Sweden; and having obtained permission to accompany Sir John as aide-de-camp, Graham joined the expedition. It ended, as is well known, in nothing, owing to the Quixotic freak of the Swedish king, who, instead of acting on the defensive, and fighting for life itself in his own territories, thought of nothing less than rushing full tilt against the whole power of Napoleon; and on the refusal of Moore to co-operate with him, by taking the Russian empire as his share of the universal *malice*, he attempted to throw the British general into prison, so that the latter was obliged to hasten home with his reinforcements without the opportunity of striking a single stroke. In this way Graham, after all his hopes, had only obtained a short trip to the Baltic, which was anything but a pleasant one. On the return of Sir John to England he was forthwith commissioned upon his eventful expedition to Spain, and to that land of stirring adventure and change Colonel Graham accompanied him, still acting as his aide-de-camp. He therefore participated in all the disastrous incidents of that most unfortunate campaign without the opportunity of obtaining a commander's full share in the glory with which its termination was crowned. But all that could be won by an aide-de-camp he merited and secured. He was affectionately remembered by Moore in his dying moments at Corunna, and one of the last questions of the expiring hero was, "Are Colonel Graham and all my aides-de-camp well?" The services indeed which the colonel rendered to the army during its retreat were such that Sheridan thus described them in his place in parliament: "In the hour of peril Graham was their best adviser; in the hour of disaster Graham was their surest consolation." After a long and laborious run before the French columns in hot pursuit, Graham embarked with the army at Corunna, after it had dealt such a parting blow at the pursuers as sent them reeling backwards. But he was soon to return to Spain under better auspices, and there achieve a victory that should be wholly his own.

This change, so gratifying to the heart of Colonel Graham, did not occur until nearly three years afterwards. During the interval, however, he was again to be connected with those unlucky expeditions of which, it might be thought, he had already obtained somewhat more than his proper quota. This was the Walcheren expedition, in which he held the command of a division, having been previously raised to the rank of major-general. It was a useless and hopeless campaign against malaria and pestilence; so that, during the siege of Flushing he was attacked by the prevalent fever that so fearfully thinned the British ranks, and obliged to return home. On his

recovery he was sent, with the brevet rank of lieutenant-general, to Spain, to take the command of the British and Portuguese troops in Cadiz. The situation of this important city was extremely precarious. Being one of the few remaining bulwarks of Spanish independence, its possession was keenly contested by the French; and a large army under Soult had so closely invested it that its capture was daily anticipated. One of those rapid transitions, however, with which that war so largely abounded, averted the downfall of the city. This was the invasion of Estremadura, conducted by Soult in person at the head of 20,000 of the besieging force, leaving Victor, with the rest of the French army, to continue the siege. Soult's brief campaign was one of the most brilliant episodes of the Spanish war; he captured Olivenza, routed Mendizabal at Badajoz, and obtained that powerful fortress by surrender, after which successes he prepared to return in all haste, and resume the siege of Cadiz. But during his brief absence Graham had been as alert and ready for action as himself; and, judging the opportunity best fitted for the purpose, he resolved to raise the siege by an attack upon Victor. With the British and Portuguese under his command, he embarked on the 21st of February, 1811, and landed at Tarifa on the day following. They then pushed forward on their route for Algeiras; but as they had no better road than a mule-path, the artillery had to be transported by sea; and, owing to contrary winds, which delayed its arrival, the attack, which was intended to be made on the 28th, was delayed for a week longer. And even this was the least of Graham's difficulties in advancing to action. On the 29th he was joined by La Pena with 10,000 Spaniards, who forthwith took the command, as if for the sole purpose of showing his incapacity to hold it. Graham too soon discovered the impracticability of such a colleague, who sometimes unreasonably hung back, and at other times drove on as if the French were already defeated and in full flight. So inexplicable, indeed, were his movements, that the British officers suspected that treachery had been ingrafted upon his natural stupidity and obstinacy. At length the combined but ill-assorted army reached the memorable heights of Barossa, and Victor sallied from his lines to give them battle. Even at that critical moment La Pena must needs blunder by requiring Graham to alter his excellent position from the heights to the wood of Bermeja, towards the sea-coast; and when the latter, in compliance, commenced the movement, La Pena immediately followed, thus leaving the ridge of Barossa, the key of the army's position, undefended. Victor, who saw this change with astonishment, instantly moved his force of 9000 French veterans and fourteen guns to take possession of the heights. They advanced to the onset, and, meeting with some of the Spanish troops who had not yet left the hill, they attacked and routed them in an instant. The fugitives directed their headlong flight to the British division, already in motion among the difficulties of the wood, and reported that the heights were won, and the enemy at their heels. Justly might Graham at this moment have left his worse than useless allies to their fate, and thought only of a retreat. But this neither suited his daring spirit nor warm-hearted generosity. With his own forces, upon which he could fully rely, he resolved to give battle to the enemy, notwithstanding the advantages of their new position, and the suddenness of the emergency. His artillery, consisting of ten guns, was instantly wheeled round and opened upon the enemy, already descending from the hill, while his infantry, hastily formed into

two columns, was led to the charge. Under these untoward circumstances was commenced the battle of Barossa.

It is not our purpose to enter into the minute particulars of this conflict, forming, as it did, only an episode of the war. The double onset of the British lines was made with the utmost bravery, and met by the French with equal courage, so that for some time the hot and heady charges that were given and received on either side kept the battle in suspense over the whole field. At length a gallant charge of one of these lines, composed of the 87th and 28th regiments, broke the division of General Laval, that was opposed to it, and drove it back so successfully that they were unable to rally, while the capture of two guns and an eagle attested the success of the victors. The other British column, under General Dilkes, was equally brave and equally fortunate. This division, composed of the guards and two regiments, mounted the brow of the hill, and was met half-way by the columns of General Ruffin. A desperate struggle ensued, that ended in the French being driven up to the height, and afterwards down the slope on the opposite side, with great slaughter. It was in vain that they rallied with their wonted promptitude, and united their two discomfited divisions into a single compact body for the purpose of abiding a new conflict: as fast as they formed, the well-served British artillery tore their ranks, the 200 German horse in the British service followed the cannonade with a decisive charge, and at last the enemy yielded, with the loss of six guns and more than 2000 killed and wounded. And now Cadiz might have been saved had La Pena been true to his country. But this miserable imbecile, or traitor, or both, with his army of fully 13,000 Spaniards, looked on and did nothing, while Graham, with his small force of 4000 infantry and 200 cavalry, bore the whole brunt of the battle, and achieved a glorious victory. Even when the French were put to flight, had La Pena let loose upon them his 800 dragoons and powerful horse-artillery, he might have completed the defeat of the enemy without their chance of rallying. But as it was, Victor fell back upon his old position undisturbed, and the return of Soult, which occurred soon afterwards, made the battle of Barossa useless, except as a stirring incentive to the British during the rest of the campaign. Thus had the Spaniards served Moore, and Wellington himself, as well as Graham: let their generous allies fight as bravely as they pleased, they still in every case refused to co-operate, or even did their best to make the services of their defenders useless. Was it Spanish pride, that could endure no glory but its own; or Spanish bigotry, that would not suffer a heretic general to be victorious! In the meantime, General Graham, unable to follow up his success, or even to maintain his ground single-handed, was obliged to return to the Isle of St. Leon. But this retrograde movement, which he made after victory, as well as his advance before it, were equally commended by Wellington, who was too well able, from his own experience in Spain, to judge of the necessity of such seemingly inconsistent changes. The affair of Barossa was also justly appreciated by parliament, so that the thanks of both houses were voted to the general and his gallant companions in arms. In the reply of the veteran on this occasion, after stating his high estimation of the honour conferred on him, he added, "I have formerly often heard you, sir, eloquently and impressively deliver the thanks of the house to officers present, and never without an anxious wish that I might one day receive this most enviable mark of my country's regard. This honest ambition

is now fully gratified, and I am more than ever bound to try to merit the good opinion of the house."

Having been relieved from his military duties at Cadiz in the summer of 1811, General Graham joined the army under the Duke of Wellington, where he was appointed second in command. But a complaint in his eyes by the use of a telescope in the glaring atmosphere of Spain, and frequent writing by candle-light, obliged him to quit the army while it was employed in the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. He returned to England, where he obtained a cure, after which he rejoined the British forces in the Peninsula, and commanded the left wing at the battle of Vittoria. His able services during this conflict were honourably mentioned in the despatch of Wellington on the occasion. After this he continued to share in the subsequent movements of the campaign, and commanded at the siege of St. Sebastian, where he obtained possession both of the town and castle—the former by capitulation, and the latter by storm. He also commanded the left wing of the British army when it crossed the Bidassoa into the territory of France, upon which he succeeded in obtaining a footing after a desperate resistance. In the following year (1814) he was appointed commander of the British forces in Holland, where he made an unsuccessful siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. It was no wonder that he should have failed against a fortress so strong, and so bravely and skilfully defended. Sir Thomas Graham had already shown that he was a brave, prompt, and effective soldier, fitted for all the emergencies of an open field, and able to win a decisive victory, even under untoward circumstances. But he had not learned war as a science; and to conduct such a siege would have required a thorough acquaintance with the whole mathematics of military service. It was only by such men as Bonaparte or Wellington that Mantua could have been reduced to a surrender, or Badajoz taken by storm. His failure at Bergen-op-Zoom, however, neither detracted from the estimation in which he was held, nor the public honours that awaited him; and in May, 1814, after having received the thanks of parliament, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Lynedoch of Balgowan in Perthshire, with a pension of £2000. He had previously, during his course of service, been created a Knight Grand Cross of the order of the Bath, and afterwards a Knight Grand Cross of the order of St. Michael and St. George. He was also a Knight of the Tower and Sword in Portugal. But the return of peace also brought with it an honour of an exclusively peaceful character; this was the lord-rectorship of the university of Glasgow, which was conferred in full senate by the votes of the enthusiastic students upon the chivalrous victor of Barossa.

The course of Lord Lynedoch's life was now one of unobtrusive tranquillity. He had sought nothing more than forgetfulness amidst the din of war, and found in it rank and fame. In 1821 he received the full rank of general; in 1826 he was removed to the colonelcy of the 14th foot; and in 1829 he was appointed governor of Dumbarton Castle—an office with a salary of only £170 attached to it; but still it has always been accounted of high honour in our country. "Sir William Wallace," said the valet of the Duke of Argyll, "was governor of it in the old wars of the English, and his grace is governor just now. It is always intrusted to the best man in Scotland."

The latter part of the life of Lord Lynedoch, as the infirmities of old age grew upon him, was spent chiefly in Italy; but the visit of her majesty Queen Victoria to his native country so roused the ardour

of the loyal old hero, that he hastened from Switzerland to pay his respects to her in person, in the ancient capital of her Scottish ancestors. This was the last public event of his life. He died at his residence in Stratton Street, London, on the 18th of December, 1843, in the ninety-fourth year of his age. As he was childless, his titles became extinct with his death, and his estates were inherited by his nephew.

GRAINGER, JAMES, a physician and poet of some eminence, was born in Dunse, about the year 1723. After receiving such education as his native town afforded, he came to Edinburgh, and was bound apprentice to a Mr. Lauder, a surgeon. While in the employment of this gentleman he studied the various branches of medicine; and having qualified himself for practice, joined the army, and served as surgeon to Lieutenant Pulteney's regiment of foot, during the rebellion in Scotland of 1745. On the conclusion of the war Grainger went in the same capacity to Germany, but again returned to England at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. He now sold his commission, and entered upon practice in London, but without much success. In 1753 he published a treatise in Latin on some diseases peculiar to the army, entitled *Historia Febris Intermitteutis Armatorum*, 1746, 1747, 1748. In the medical knowledge, however, which this work contained, and which evinced much learning and skill, together with acuteness of observation, he was, unfortunately for his interest, anticipated by Sir John Pringle in his celebrated work on the diseases of the army.

During Dr. Grainger's residence in London he became intimately acquainted with many of the men of genius then resident there; amongst these were Shenstone, Dr. Percy, Glover, Dr. Johnson, and Sir Joshua Reynolds; by all of whom he was much esteemed for his amiable manners, and respected for his talents.

The poetical genius of Dr. Grainger was first made known by his publishing an *Ode on Solitude*, which met with a favourable reception, and was, although now perhaps but little known, much praised by the reviewers of the day. His want of professional success now compelled him to look to his literary talents for that support which his medical practice denied him, and he endeavoured to eke out a scanty livelihood by writing for booksellers; and in this way he was employed by Mr. Miller in compiling the second volume of *Maitland's History of Scotland* from the materials left by the latter at his death.

In 1758 he published a translation of the *Elegies of Tibullus*. This work was severely handled in the critical reviews, where it was allowed none of the merit which in reality it possesses.

Dr. Grainger now got involved in a controversy with Smollett, with whom he had formerly been on terms of friendship. The cause of their difference is not now known, but if it bore any proportion to the severity with which Smollett on all occasions treated his quondam friend it must have been a serious one. He abused Dr. Grainger in every possible shape, availed himself of every opportunity of reviling and humiliating him, and pursued his system of hostility with the most unrelenting bitterness.

Soon after the publication of the *Elegies*, Dr. Grainger went out as a physician to the island of St. Christopher's, where an advantageous settlement had been offered him. On the voyage out he formed an acquaintance, in his professional capacity, with the wife and daughter of Matthew Burt, Esq., the governor of St. Christopher's; the latter of whom

he married soon after his arrival on the island. Having thus formed a connection with some of the principal families, he there commenced his career with every prospect of success. To his medical avocations he now added those of a planter, and by their united profits soon realized an independency.

On the conclusion of the war Dr. Grainger returned for a short time to England. While there, he published (1764) the result of his West India experience, in a poem entitled *The Sugar-cane*. This work was also much praised at the time, and certainly does possess many passages of great beauty; but without arraigning the author's talents, since his subject precluded anything like sentiment or dignity, it cannot be considered in any other light than as an ill-judged attempt to elevate things in themselves mean and wholly unadapted for poetry.

In the same year (1764) he also published "*An Essay on the more Common West India Diseases, and the Remedies which that Country itself Produces*;" to which are added, some Hints on the Management of Negroes." Besides these works, Dr. Grainger was the author of an exceedingly pleasing ballad, entitled *Bryan and Perene*. After a short residence in England he returned to St. Christopher's, where he died on the 24th December, 1767, of one of those epidemic fevers so common in the West Indies.

GRANT, BRIGADIER-GENERAL COLQUHOUN. Of the many remarkable officers whom the Peninsular war called into notice, not the least distinguished was the subject of this memoir. Although eminent also for dauntless courage and high military talents, it was not by deeds in the battle-field that his best distinctions were won: it was rather by services upon which the arrangements of a campaign generally depend, and by which its success is insured. As such important services are seldom noticed or properly appreciated among the stirring records of war, this will apologize for our dwelling exclusively, in the following life of General Grant, upon his capacity as chief of the intelligence department of the army that was commanded by Wellington in Spain and Portugal.

The stirring spirit of this young hero was so impatient in boyhood for military enterprise and adventure, that his mother could no longer retain him at school; and Grant, before he had completed his fifteenth year, entered the army. Through the kindness of his friend General James Grant he obtained an ensigncy in the 11th regiment of foot, and through the same kind friend he obtained leave of absence to complete his education at an academy near London, until he joined his regiment as lieutenant. He served as an officer in the West Indies, and in active service against the enemy; he was also on the staff of Sir George Prevost, by whom he was very highly esteemed. Having thus fairly commenced his military career, and given proof of his courage and talents, a field for their development was amply afforded in the Peninsular war, with a commander who could appreciate his worth; and under Wellington he successively attained the grades of captain, major, and colonel, with the office of chief of the intelligence department of the army. The qualifications of Colonel Grant for such a critical and important charge were so great that nature seemed expressly to have formed him for holding it. In him, the historian of the Peninsular war declares, "the utmost daring was so mixed with subtlety of genius, and both so tempered by discretion, that it was hard to say which quality predominated." He had also admirably qualified himself for the peculiar service in which he was engaged, and the country in which he was to act. He had not only a singular talent for

the acquisition of languages, but the several dialects of a language, and was thus able to adapt his conversation to the natives of every province in Spain. He was also intimately acquainted with their customs, songs, and music, and with all their habits and prejudices; he was an enthusiastic admirer of the Spanish character; he was conversant with the writings of the best authors of the nation; and he even danced the national dances of the people to perfection. When to all this it is added that he was of amiable disposition and strict morality, we need not wonder that he became such a favourite everywhere with the peasantry and priesthood of Spain. So great was their enthusiasm for "Granto Bueno," as they called him, that every one was eager to protect him, and to bring him intelligence of the enemy without fee or reward. Such was Colonel Grant, who was known and esteemed along the whole of the Spanish frontier. But strangely enough it happened that there was another British officer of the same name and rank as himself, and employed in the same service, which might have led to confusion but for a distinction of the Spaniards, with whom he was highly unpopular, so that while Colquhoun Grant obtained among them the endearing name of *Granto Bueno*, the other was characterized as *Granto Malo*.

The services which Colquhoun Grant had performed in the Peninsular war previous to the capture of Badajoz, and the effects they had produced upon the progress of the British army in Spain, it would not be easy to exaggerate. He shunned no danger in procuring intelligence of the enemy's movements, and when surrounded by their posts he was always secure, through the devoted love of the Spaniards, and his own matchless courage, dexterity, and coolness. "In collecting accurate information of the French army," his brother-in-law Sir James M'Grigor informs us, "he was occasionally in the rear of the French army, where he obtained exact intelligence, not only of their number and equipment, but of the description of their troops, the manner in which their cavalry was mounted, the number and equipment of their guns, the state of their supplies, &c. He was acquainted not only with the character of each superior officer, but of that of each commandant of battalion. The hairbreadth escapes which he had were numerous; sleeping frequently in the fields under any shelter, or, as it frequently happened, without any, and in all kinds of weather, which he had done for two or three years. But, as he said, he always felt secure when in Spain, where one padre or peasant passed him on to another, all emulous to serve, and in admiration of the character of, the 'Granto Bueno.'" Although thus placed in a situation where disguise and dissimulation are so often needed, and where the moral feelings are so apt to become blunted, the strangest circumstance of all is, that Colonel Grant still continued to preserve his integrity uncorrupted and his honour unsullied. He scorned the sneaking subterfuges of the spy, and discharged the duties of his office as an open enemy against enemies. We are told by General Sir William Napier, the historian, that "Colquhoun Grant, though he repeatedly penetrated the enemy's line, and even passed days in their cantonments, *was always in uniform*, trusting entirely to his personal resources, and with reason, for his sagacity, courage, and quickness were truly remarkable, scarcely to be matched."

After the storming of Badajoz by the British in 1812, and the advance of Marmont on Beiro, the situation of Wellington was full of difficulty. Ciudad Rodrigo, from the improvidence of the Spanish army, was in danger of being taken by a *coup de main*, and Almeida also, on account of its weakness, was ex-

posed to the same fate. Resolving in this case to attack the enemy and drive them out of Beiro, Wellington had sent Grant from Badajoz to obtain exact information of the condition and purposes of Marmont. It was a task of danger, and on that account all the more tempting to the astute scout-master, who set off to the encampment of Marmont attended only by Leon, a faithful Spanish peasant who had served him in many similar enterprises. Even in his uniform Grant abode three days in the French camps, during which time he obtained exact information of Marmont's object, and his preparations for action, all of which he transmitted from day to day by Spanish agents to Wellington. On the third night his diligence was disagreeably interrupted by the following French order, which was brought to him by some Spanish peasants:—"The notorious Grant is within the circle of cantonments; the soldiers are to strive for his capture, and guards will be placed in a circle round the army." This notice was enough; he glided from the French encampment, and before daylight entered the village of Huerta, close to a ford on the Tormes where there was a French battalion, while on the other bank of the river cavalry videttes were patrolling backward and forward for the space of three hundred yards, but meeting always at the ford. The peasants brought him with his horse behind the gable of a house which concealed him from the infantry, and was near the ford; and standing on a heap of loose stones, they spread their large cloaks to hide him from the videttes, until the latter were separated by the full extent of their beat. Now was the time! and dashing through the ford between them, he received their cross-fire without injury, and safely reached a wood, where he was joined by his attendant Leon. But still safety was not his main object. The French officers had talked of storming Rodrigo, and scaling-ladders had been prepared for the purpose—and he must learn whether Marmont would make this attempt, or march for the Tagus. He also wished to discover the real amount of the French forces. Concealing himself on a wooded hill near Tamames, where the road branched off to the passes and to Rodrigo, he watched the march of the French army, noted every battalion and gun as it passed by, and finding that the march was towards Rodrigo, he entered Tamames, and found that they had left most of their scaling-ladders there. It was evident that there was no real design to attempt the storming of Rodrigo, and this intelligence transmitted to Wellington relieved the painful uncertainty of the latter, and left him free for the operations he had contemplated.

Still, something more was to be ascertained, and to learn this Grant exposed himself to fresh danger. It was necessary to discover whether the further march of Marmont was to be by Guarda upon Coimbra, or by Sabugal upon Castello Branco; and to be satisfied in this matter the colonel preceded the marshal in crossing the Coa, and took his station upon the lower ridge of a pass through which the French must march if their route was for Castello Branco. But the utmost of human wisdom will sometimes be at fault. In selecting his station as the fittest for inspection, Grant had calculated on being concealed by the dwarf oaks; but from the higher ridge the enemy discovered him with their glasses, and Leon raised the alarm, "The French! the French!" A hot pursuit commenced. In vain the fugitive repeatedly doubled above, below, and round about; he was met by horse and foot at every turning, and at last was caught, while the faithful Leon, who had sunk exhausted, was killed before his eyes, in spite of his master's entreaties that he should be

spared. Grant was brought to Marmont, whose head-quarters were at Salamanca, and who was delighted with the capture of so important an enemy; but at first he treated the colonel harshly, and said, pointing to his uniform of a British officer, "It is fortunate for you, sir, that you wear that bit of red over your shoulders; if you had not, I would have hung you on a gallows twenty feet high." From the identity of name he confounded his prisoner with *Malo Grant*, or thought they were only one and the same person. Grant replied, "Marshal, you know I am your prisoner; and recollect, I have given you my parole, but hitherto I have not been treated as an officer on parole." Still mistaking the colonel's identity, Marmont gruffly ordered the French officer to lead the captive to a quarter appointed for him, which was strictly guarded. Not only was a French sentinel stationed at his door, but a French officer placed in his room. But though thus ignominiously treated as a spy, the French officers, who admired his wonderful adventures and escapes, made his captivity a light one; and the principal inhabitants of Salamanca, who hated the French, and admired Grant for the trouble he occasioned them, were his frequent visitors. One of these was Dr. Curtis, head of the Irish college of Salamanca; and Marmont, thinking, from this close intimacy, that he must be the depository of many of Grant's secrets, sent for him, and threatened him if he refused to reveal them. The following dialogue ensued between the soldier and the priest. "You often visit the English colonel?" "I do." "How is that possible without having some purpose, some business therein?" "The holy Catholic religion, which you, marshal, and I profess, enjoins us to succour the distressed, to visit the sick and the prisoner, and to administer comfort and consolation to them." This was too comprehensive a charity in the eyes of the marshal, who rejoined, "He is not of your religion; he is a heretic, a Protestant." The priest answered, "We are both Christians, we follow the precepts of our Saviour; and he is my countryman." "That is false," cried Marmont, "he is a Scot and you an Irishman, and you shall immediately go to prison unless you reveal to me secrets which I am informed the English colonel has confided to you, and which it is material to the interests of the emperor that I should be put in possession of." Although he did not throw Dr. Curtis into prison as he threatened, he expelled him from his college, and took possession of his furniture and a valuable library.

While Grant was thus a prisoner at Salamanca, he was still indefatigable in his particular duties; and being allowed, when the weather was favourable, to walk out, he conveyed in little twisted pieces of paper, by the alert Spanish peasants who were known to him, such important information concerning the state and designs of the French army as greatly to facilitate the movements of Wellington. These zealous emissaries were often in his way; they were organized for this dangerous occupation by the Spanish priests, and their services were bountifully rewarded by the British commander. At last Marmont resolved to send his prisoner to Bayonne, and pretending extraordinary kindness to Grant, obtained from him a special parole that he would not avail himself of a rescue by the Partidas while on his way through Spain to France. Such a demand, and an escort of 300 men and six guns by which he was accompanied, showed the dread which the prisoner had inspired, and the apprehensions that were entertained of attempts for his recapture. But with the escort Marmont also sent a letter to the governor of Bayonne, in which, still confounding the two Grants, he char-

acterized the prisoner as a most dangerous spy, whom he would have executed on the spot but for something like a uniform which he wore; and desiring the governor to put him in irons at Bayonne, and thus forward him to Paris. In the meantime the captivity of Colonel Grant had been a subject of vexation to Wellington, who frequently alluded to it in his conversations with Sir James M'Grigor. He regretted that Grant had given his parole, as he had offered 2000 dollars to any guerilla chief who should liberate him; and he lamented the cessation of that valuable intelligence with which the colonel had been wont to furnish him as a heavy calamity. "Sir, the loss of a brigade," he said, "could scarcely have been more felt by me; I am quite in the dark about the movements of the enemy, and as to the reinforcements which they expected." Only the day after, when M'Grigor visited him again, Wellington exclaimed, "Grant is a very extraordinary fellow! a very remarkable character! What think you of him at this moment, when a prisoner, sending me information?" He showed the doctor two twisted bits of paper which a Spanish peasant had brought him that morning, and added, "The information coming from Grant I know it is correct, and is most valuable." His lordship had written to Marshal Marmont requesting the exchange of Colonel Grant, for whom he had offered any of his prisoners of the rank of colonel, and read the marshal's courteous answer, assuring him the request would be complied with. But on the doctor expressing great joy at this, Wellington, with a sarcastic smile, assured him there was not one word of truth in the answer, and for proof showed him an intercepted despatch from Marmont to the minister of war at Paris, describing Colonel Grant as the most dangerous of spies, and suggesting that he should be put under the strictest surveillance of the police as soon as he was conveyed to the French capital.

Accompanied by an escort strong enough to prevent a rescue, Grant was conveyed to Bayonne, conversing on the way with the French officers, of whom he soon became an especial favourite, and amusing them with accounts of his various exploits and escapes, of which they could never hear enough. It is suspected, indeed, that they would not have been sorry though he should make one escape more, and were remiss enough in their watch to give him an opportunity of attempting it. But Grant's experience taught him that the proper place would be Bayonne itself. He also had discovered the treacherous orders which Marmont had sent to the governor of that city, so that he considered his parole cancelled, and at the utmost it was only in force until he reached the French territory. At Bayonne, therefore, and while all were busy in procuring billets, Colonel Grant walked off to the place whence the diligence started, took his seat to Paris as an American, and even joined the party of General Souham, at that time on his way from Spain to the French capital; and while he was thus beyond suspicion as the travelling companion of a distinguished French commander, and journeying comfortably to Paris, his presence was missed at Bayonne, and parties of horse and foot were exploring the town and scouring the country in a fruitless search for the fugitive. But of all places, who could have thought that he would have deliberately gone to Paris to escape the risks of pursuit or detection? It was like the case of Ferguson, surnamed the Plotter, who, when the officers of government were in chase of him, walked into Newgate prison under pretext of searching for a friend among the inmates, and there remained safe and unsuspected until the heat of the hue and cry had abated.

On arriving in Paris Colonel Grant repaired to the house of Mr. M'Pherson, an eminent jeweller and worthy Highlander, of whose great kindness to his countrymen he had often heard, and who had made a narrow escape during the French revolution from the tender mercies of Robespierre. Here he remained untroubled, went about to all public places, especially to military reviews, and associated freely with all classes of society; and being thus in the very centre of military and political intelligence, he transmitted to the head-quarters of our army in Spain such important tidings as could not have been elsewhere or otherwise obtained. The importance which Wellington attached to these communications was thus expressed to Sir James M'Grigor, on a day when his lordship was making up the mail for England: "Your brother-in-law is certainly one of the most extraordinary men I ever met with; even now, when he is in Paris, he contrives to send me information of the greatest moment to our government. I am now sending information of his to ministers of the utmost value about the French armies in every quarter, information which will surprise them, and which they cannot by possibility get in any other way, and, what is more, which I am quite sure is perfectly correct."

Having thus collected such knowledge at the fountain-head, and made it so available for use, Colonel Grant discovered that Paris would soon become too hot for him. Aware of this, he changed his appearance, remained quiet, discontinued going to reviews and public places, and obtained a fresh passport in the name of an American gentleman who had died a few hours before in Paris. But finding that the police were awake and in quest of him, he left Paris, and made for the coast, where he learned that a British man-of-war was stationed. By a promise of ten napoleons he induced a French boatman to convey him to the place where the ship was stationed; but the boatman, either from fear or malice, stopped short when he had nearly reached the spot, rowed back to the port he had left, and coolly demanded the whole fare. To have yielded would have exhausted all the money he had, and perhaps have consigned him to a French prison on suspicion; but Grant was too bold and wary either to be entrapped or bullied. He paid the fellow only one napoleon, rebuking him at the same time for his misconduct; and when the other threatened a reference to the police, the colonel threatened to denounce him as aiding the escape of a prisoner of war, of which the high boat-fare demanded would be a sufficient proof. Confounded by this logic, the boatman slunk away. After fresh dangers of detection Colonel Grant hired the services of another fisherman; but while their boat was passing the mouth of the harbour, suspicion was roused, and a shot from the battery compelled them to bring-to until a party of soldiers had come out and boarded them. In this emergency the old fisherman, when he lowered his sail, enveloped Grant within it, and coiled it to the mast, so that the colonel escaped the exploration of the searchers, although they probed every suspected corner and object in the boat with the points of their swords. Believing that all was right, they graciously accepted a present of some fish; and to protect the fisherman from the English, they described precisely the exact spot where the vessel lay—the very information which the fisherman most needed. He and the colonel rowed by night according to the direction, and early in the morning Grant stood in safety upon the deck of a British seventy-four. As soon as he arrived in England, in order to vindicate beyond contradiction the propriety of his escape, he obtained permission to select a

French officer for exchange; but in going to prison for that purpose he was surprised to find the fisherman and his son, whom the British had captured, notwithstanding a written protection which he had given to them. Grant, whose generosity and benevolence were equal to his remarkable talents, instantly procured their liberation, and sent them to France with a sum of money. He then returned to his duties in the Peninsula; so that after a short interval of four months from his capture he was again watching the proceedings of the army of Marmont.

From these instances an estimate may be formed of the value of Grant's services in the Peninsular war, the risk at which they were performed, and his wonderful dexterity and presence of mind in extricating himself from every difficulty. That campaign was an Iliad, in which, let whosoever might be the Ajax and the Diomed, he was the Ulysses. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, the Duke of Wellington immediately called Grant from the military college at Farnham to Belgium, to take charge of the intelligence department; and with that sagacity which ever distinguished Grant in the choice of his agents, he selected a man and his wife admirably fitted for the office to go to Paris as spies. There they obtained access by some means or other to the bureau de la guerre, whence they obtained sure and valuable intelligence, which Grant transmitted to the duke. One of these communications, dated 15th June, among other inferior matters, contained the following important tidings: "*Les routes sont encombrées de troupes et de matériel, les officiers de toutes grades parlent haut que la grande bataille sera livrée avant trois jours.*" Here was intelligence which, if received in time, would have prevented the surprise of the allies, and enabled Wellington to transfer the great conflict from Waterloo to the banks of the Sambre, where the victory might have been won with less hazard and loss. But this important missive, which the duke should have received on the 16th, did not reach him till the 18th of June, at eleven o'clock, just when the battle of Waterloo was commencing. This delay, however, was not the fault of Colonel Grant, but of an intermediate authority, who should have transmitted the note from Grant to headquarters, but who on his own authority delayed it, believing either that the intelligence was false, or of little importance. How strange that an event so important to the world at large should have depended on such a contingency!

When the allied armies occupied Paris, the services of Grant were again in requisition. In the partition of the spoils of war the allies showed great dexterity in appropriating to themselves the lion's share—a circumstance which excited the discontent of the British army—who complained of the Duke of Wellington's remissness about their interests. Their complaints, however, were premature, as Colonel Grant was secretly on the watch, and he and his agents were taking note of every article that was being removed from the British allotment. He thus enabled the duke to receive restitution in money for all that was abstracted, and the British soldiers were saved from any loss.

When the European war had ended, Grant went to India, and served as brigadier-general in the first Burmese war, in command of a movable column upon Arracan. But there he was stricken by fever, the effects of which were aggravated by a mortified spirit, for his services had not been recognized according to their deserts. He returned to Europe, and died at Aix-la-Chapelle, where a monument is erected in the Protestant burying-ground to his memory. "He was by no means," says Sir James

M'Grigor, "the least distinguished for military talents of the many distinguished men who served with the Peninsular army. Equal to most officers of that army in military capacity, he far surpassed every one I ever met for the milder virtues of the Christian soldier, and for all that was amiable, kind, and benevolent in disposition." The same testimony to his personal virtues is borne by his friend Lieutenant-general Sir William Napier, the historian of the Peninsular war, who has been careful to record some of the most distinguished of his achievements. We extract also from the appendix to M'Grigor's Autobiography the following brief notice of a brother of the subject of this memoir, which shows that heroic and military worth did not exclusively belong to a single member of the family:—

"In this place it will perhaps be considered an interesting and graceful act by his countrymen to couple with the name of Colonel Colquhoun Grant that of his brother, Colonel Alexander Grant, who so much distinguished himself in those Indian wars—particularly that of the Mahratta—which were the foundation of the fame of the Duke of Wellington. Passing over many of the numerous actions and assaults in which he gained the applause of his superior officers and the confidence of his soldiers, it may be remarked that the military tact and individual exploits of Brigade-major Grant were specially conspicuous; and at the battle of Assaye they have been widely admitted to have contributed in no small degree to the decision of that memorable day. It was at his suggestion that the decisive charge of cavalry was made which saved the gallant 74th regiment from being annihilated; and his subsequent ubiquity in the field, together with his personal exertions wherever the enemy appeared to be collecting, obtained for him the admiration of all who witnessed them. In the heat of the action, and in competition with the gallant Captain Seale of the 19th dragoons, he was the first to come up with the German officer Pholman—a favourite leader in Scindia's army—and cut him off his horse. On his return to England he received from his sovereign the dignity of C.B., but died prematurely, his constitution, though naturally vigorous, being broken down by his numerous campaigns."

GRANT, SIR FRANCIS, of Cullen, a judge and political writer, was the son of Archibald Grant of Bellinton,¹ in the north of Scotland, a cadet of the family of Grant of Grant, the various branches of which, at that period, joined the same political party which was supported by the subject of this memoir. He was born about the year 1660, and received the elementary part of his education at one of the universities of Aberdeen. He was destined for the profession of the law; and as at that period there were no regular institutions for the attainment of legal knowledge in Scotland, and the eminent schools of law on the Continent furnished admirable instruction in the civil law of Rome, on which the principles of the greater part of the Scottish system are founded—along with most of the aspirants at the Scottish bar, Mr. Grant pursued his professional studies at Leyden, where he had the good fortune to be under the auspices of the illustrious commentator John Voet; an advantage by which he is said to have so far profited, that the great civilian retained and expressed for years afterwards a high opinion

¹ Such is his paternity, as given in Haig and Brunton's *History of the College of Justice*, on the authority of Milne's genealogical MS. Wodrow, in one of his miscellaneous manuscripts, says he understood him to be the son of a clergyman.

of his diligence and attainments, and recommended to his other students the example of his young Scottish pupil. He seems indeed to have borne through his whole life a character remarkable for docility, modesty, and unobtrusive firmness, which procured him the countenance and respect of his seniors, and brought him honours to which he did not apparently aspire. Immediately on his return to Scotland, and in consequence of the exhibition of his qualifications at the trial preparatory to his passing at the bar, we find him attracting the notice of Sir George M'Kenzie, then lord-advocate, at the head of the Scottish bar, and in the full enjoyment of his wide-spread reputation; a circumstance creditable to the feelings of both, and which must have been peculiarly gratifying to the younger man, from the circumstance of his early displaying a determined opposition to the political measures of the lord-advocate. Mr. Grant was only twenty-eight years of age when he took an active part in that memorable convention which sat in the earlier part of the year 1689, to decide on the claims of the Prince of Orange; and when older politicians vacillated, and looked to accident for the direction of their future conduct, he boldly adopted his line of politics, and argued strongly, and it would appear not without effect, that the only fit course to pursue was to bestow on the prince the full right of sovereignty, with those limitations only which a care for the integrity of the constitution might dictate, and without any insidious provisions which might afterwards distract the nation by a recurrence of the claims of the house of Stuart. His zeal for the cause he had adopted prompted him at that juncture to publish a small controversial work, which he called *The Loyalist's Reasons for his giving Obedience and swearing Allegiance to the Present Government, as being obliged thereto, by (it being founded on) the Laws of God, Nature, and Nations, and Civil*, by F. G. In the freedom of modern political discussion the arguments which were produced as reasons for a change of government would appear a little singular; the whole is a point of law tightly argued, as if fitted to meet the eye of a cool and skilful judge, who has nothing to do but to discover its accordance or disagreement with the letter of the law. The ground, however, upon which he has met his adversaries is strictly of their own choosing, and the advocate for a revolution seems to have adhered with all due strictness to relevancy and sound law. He founds his arguments on certain postulates, from which, and the facts of the case, he deduces that King James had forfeited his superiority by committing a grand feudal delict against his vassals; and the throne being thus vacated, he shows, in several theses, that the Prince of Orange had made a conquest of the same, and had relinquished its disposal to the country, and the country, having thus the choice of a ruler, ought to bestow the government on the generous conqueror. The whole is wound up by several corollaries, in a strictly syllogistic form. The reasonings are those of an acute lawyer, well interspersed with authorities from the civil and feudal law; and it may easily be presumed that such reasoning, when applied judiciously and coolly to the subject, had more effect on the restricted intellect of the age, than the eloquence of Dalrymple, or the energy of Hamilton. Indeed, the effect of the work in reconciling the feudalized minds of the Scottish gentry to the alteration, is said to have been practical and apparent; and while the author received honours and emoluments from the crown, his prudence and firmness made him respected by the party he had opposed.

The tide of Mr. Grant's fortune continued to flow

with steadiness from the period of this successful attempt in the political world, and he was constantly in the eye of government as a trustworthy person, whose services might be useful for furthering its measures in those precarious times. With such views a baronetcy was bestowed on him, unexpectedly and without solicitation, in the year 1705, preparatory to the general discussion of the union of the kingdoms; and after the consummation of that measure he was raised to the bench, where he took his seat as Lord Cullen in the year 1709. He is said to have added to the numberless controversial pamphlets on the union; and if certain pamphlets called *Essays on Removing the National Prejudices against a Union*, to which some one has attached his name, be really from his pen (which, from the circumstance under which they bear to have been written, is rather doubtful), they show him to have entered into the subject with a liberality of judgment and an extent of information seldom exhibited in such controversies, and to have possessed a peculiarly acute foresight of the advantages of an interchange of commerce and privileges. Lord Cullen was a warm friend to the Church of Scotland, a maintainer of its pristine purity, and of what is more essential than the form, or even the doctrine, of any church, the means of preserving its moral influence on the character and habits of the people. "He was," says Wodrow, "very useful for the executing of the laws against immorality." The power of the judicature of a nation over its morality is a subject to which he seems to have long paid much attention. We find him in the year 1700 publishing a tract entitled "*A Brief Account of the Rise, Nature, and Progress of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, &c., in England*, with a Preface exhorting the Use of such Societies in Scotland." This pamphlet embodies an account of the institution and regulation of these societies by the Rev. Josiah Woodward, which the publisher recommends should be imitated in Scotland. The subject is a delicate and difficult one to a person who looks forward to a strict and impartial administration of the law as a judge, a duty which it is dangerous to combine with that of a discretionary *censor morum*; but, as a private individual, he proposes, as a just and salutary restraint, that such societies should "pretend to no authority or judicatory power, but to consult and endeavour, in subserviency to the magistracy, to promote the execution of the law by the respective magistrates;" a species of institution often followed by well-meaning men, but which is not without danger. This tract is curious from its having been published for gratis distribution, and as perhaps the earliest practically moral tract which was published for such a purpose in Scotland. The strict religious feeling of the author afterwards displays itself in a pamphlet, called "*A Short History of the Sabbath*, containing some few Grounds for its Morality, and Cases about its Observance; with a brief Answer to, or Anticipation of, several Objections against both;" published in 1705. This production aims its attacks at what the author says are improperly termed the innocent recreations of the Sabbath. It has all the qualifications which are necessary to make it be received within the strictest definition of a polemical pamphlet: authorities are gathered together from all quarters of the world; the sacred text is abundantly adduced; and laboured parallels are introduced, in some cases where there is little doubt of the application, in others where it is somewhat difficult to discover it. Controversial tracts are frequently the most interesting productions of any age: they are the ebullition of the feeling of the time. Called out,

generally, by the excitement of a critical state of affairs, and unguarded by the thought and reflection bestowed on a lengthened work, they are, next to speeches accurately reported, the best evidence posterity possesses of the character of a public writer. Those which we have already referred to are anonymous; but we have every reason to believe they have been attributed to the proper quarter.

Lord Cullen had as his companions on the bench, Cockburn of Ormiston, M'Kenzie of Royston, Erskine of Dun, and Pringle of Newhall, under the presidency of Sir Hew Dalrymple, son to the celebrated Viscount Stair. In the course of seventeen years, during which he filled the responsible station of a judge, and the more than ordinarily responsible situation of a Scottish judge, he is asserted by his friends to have been impartial in the interpretation of the laws, vigilant in their application, and a protector of the poor and persecuted; and, what is more conducive to the credit of the assertion, no enemy has contradicted it. A character of his manner and qualifications is thus given in rather obscure terms by Wodrow:—"His style is dark and intricate, and so were his pleadings at the bar and his discourses on the bench. One of his fellow-senators tells me he was a living library, and the most ready in citation. When the lords wanted anything in the civil or canon law to be cast up, or acts of parliament, he never failed them, but turned to the place. He seemed a little ambulatory in his judgment as to church government, but was a man of great piety and devotion, wonderfully serious in prayer and learning the word." It is not improbable that by the terms "dark and intricate," the historian means what would now be expressed by "profound and subtle." The confidence which his friends, and the country in general, reposed in his generosity and justice, is said to have been so deeply felt, that on his intimating an intention to dispose of his paternal estate, and invest the proceeds, along with his professional gains, in some other manner, many decayed families offered their shattered estates for his purchase, in the hope that his legal skill, and undeviating equity, might be the means of securing to them some small remnant of the price—the condition of incumbrance to which they had been long subjected, and the improbability of their being enabled, by the intricate courses of the feudal law, to adjust the various securities, forbidding them to expect such a result by any other measure. On this occasion he purchased the estate of Monymusk, still the property of his descendants, and it is nobly recorded of him that he used his legal acuteness in classing the various demands against the estate, and compromising with the creditors, so as to be enabled to secure a considerable surplus sum to the vendor of a property which was burdened to an amount considerably above its value.

Although acute, however, in his management of the business of others, Lord Cullen has borne the reputation of having been a most remiss and careless manager of his own affairs; a defect which seems to have been perceived and rectified by his more prudent and calculating spouse, who bore on her own shoulders the whole burden of the family matters. It is narrated that this sagacious lady, finding that the ordinary care which most men bestow on their own business was ineffectual in drawing her husband's attention to the proper legal security of his property, was in the habit, in any case where her mind misgave her as to the probable effect of any measure she wished to adopt, of getting the matter represented to him in the form of a "casé," on which his opinion was requested as a lawyer.

This excellent and useful man died at Edinburgh on the 23d of March, 1726, of an illness which lasted only two days, but which, from its commencement, was considered mortal, and thus prepared him to meet a speedy death. His friend Wodrow, stating that the physician had given information of his mortal illness to Lord Cullen's brother-in-law, Mr. Fordyce, thus records the closing scene:—"Mr. Fordyce went to him, and signified so much. My lord, after he had told him, smiled and put forth his hand and took my informer by the hand, and said, Brother, you have brought me the best news ever I heard, and signified he was desirous for death, and how welcome a message this was. He had no great pain, and spoke to the edification of all who came to see him, and that day, and till Wednesday at twelve, when he died, was without a cloud, and in full assurance of faith."¹

Besides the works already mentioned, Lord Cullen published *Law, Religion, and Education, considered in three Essays*, and *A Key to the Plot, by Reflections on the Rebellion of 1715*. He left behind him three sons and five daughters. His eldest son, Sir Archibald, for some time represented the shire of Aberdeen in parliament. The second, William, was a distinguished ornament of the Scottish bar. He was at one time procurator to the church, and principal clerk to the General Assembly. In 1737 he was appointed solicitor-general, and in 1738 lord-advocate, an office which he held during the rebellion of 1745; a period which must have tried the virtue of the occupier of such a situation, but which has left him the credit of having, in the words of Lord Woodhouselee, performed his duties, "regulated by a principle of equity, tempering the strictness of the law." He succeeded Grant of Elchies on the bench in 1754, taking his seat as Lord Prestongrange, and afterwards became lord justice-clerk. He was one of the commissioners for improving the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland, and afterwards one of the commissioners for the annexed estates. He died at Bath in 1764.

GRANT, MRS., of Laggan. This amiable and talented authoress, in whom a manly intellect was so happily blended with woman's gentleness and delicate feeling, was born at Glasgow on the 21st of February, 1755. Her father, Duncan M'Vicar, was an officer in the British army; her mother was a descendant of the ancient family of Stewart of Invernahyle in Argyleshire. A short time after she was born her father accompanied his regiment to America, with the intention of settling there; and soon after this was effected, he was joined by his wife and infant daughter, the latter being scarcely three years old. As New York, the place of her residence, was at this time thinly peopled, especially in the rural districts, where the settlers dwelt miles apart from each other, the early opportunities of education which Mrs. Grant possessed were such as to furnish little hope of future literary excellence. But, happily for her, she had a careful instructor in her mother, besides whom she had no other; and she so profited by domestic tuition, that she quickly learned to read, and before her sixth year was finished had perused the whole of the Old Testament, and was well acquainted with its contents. It was the home teaching of Scotland at this period transplanted into the back-settlements of America. She also acquired about the same time a knowledge of the Dutch language, in consequence of residing for some months with a family of Dutch colonists. Not

¹ Wodrow's *Analecta*, MS. v. 175.—Adv. Lib.

long after, she learned to write, solely from chance lessons which she received in penmanship from the sergeant of a Scottish regiment. Observing also the eagerness of his pupil for knowledge, he presented her with an appropriate Scottish soldier's gift—even the poem of *Wallace*, by Blind Harry, the patriotic Homer of Scotland. The quaint and almost forgotten language in which this work is written, as well as its obsolete orthography, would have made it a sealed book to the half-Scottish half-American little maiden, had it not been for the kindness of the sergeant, who taught her to decipher the words and understand the meaning of the old heroic minstrel. From this source she mainly derived that enthusiastic love of her native country which ever afterwards was a distinguishing feature in her character. Another epic, which had a still higher influence in the formation of her mind, followed. This was Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which she received from an officer in her father's regiment, who marked her love of reading; and this sublime production, which has daunted so many youthful readers at the outset, she studied with eagerness and pleasure. The expansion of intellect and improvement of taste which the careful perusal of the great English bard imparted to her conversation were so conspicuous, that the most distinguished of the New York society, young though she was, were proud to cultivate her acquaintance. The chief of these was Madame Schuyler, a lady with whose excellence and worth she afterwards made the British public sympathize, in her *Memoirs of an American Lady*.

We have already mentioned that Mr. M'Vicar, the father of Mrs. Grant, had repaired to America chiefly for the purpose of becoming a settler in one of its colonies. This he effected in the state of Vermont, where he received a grant of land, to which he made large additions by purchase, while his worth and ingratiating manners secured him the esteem not only of the settlers, but the native Indian tribes. But this career of prosperity was interrupted by ill health, so that he was obliged to return to his native country in 1768, bringing with him his wife and daughter, the latter having now reached the age of thirteen. A few years after, Mr. M'Vicar was appointed barrack-master of Fort Augustus. Unfortunately for him, he had been obliged to leave America in such haste as to have no opportunity to dispose of his property; and, on the breaking out of the American war, the whole was confiscated by the new republican government, so that he was reduced to his limited pay of barrack-master. At the same station of Fort Augustus was the Rev. James Grant, the military chaplain, an accomplished scholar, of amiable manners, and connected with some of the most respectable families of the district, between whom and Miss M'Vicar an acquaintanceship of kindred disposition ripened into permanent affection. Soon afterwards they were married, in consequence of the appointment of Mr. Grant, in 1779, to the parish of Laggan in Inverness-shire—a union from which the subject of our memoir received her literary name and designation.

On becoming the wife of a Highland minister Mrs. Grant addressed herself in good earnest to become useful among the people of the parish. But a difficulty opposed her progress at the outset. Although a Mac, she was not a Highlander; and she was ignorant of Gaelic, that most essential of passports to a Highland heart. Undeterred, however, by an obstacle which few Lowlanders have ever surmounted, she commenced the study of that most difficult of all languages, and made such progress that she was soon able to converse readily with the

people in their own beloved tongue. In the woods of America she had been early trained to the labour of such a necessary task, by mastering the old Saxon Scotch of Blind Harry's *Wallace*. Along with the Celtic language she studied the manners and feelings of the Highlanders, and was soon able to identify herself with the people among whom her lot had been cast. They, on their part, appreciated these kind labours of a stranger with true Highland enthusiasm, and felt that she was their own countrywoman in heart and soul, as well as in tongue and lineage. In this way tranquil years passed on in Laggan, and Mrs. Grant, the mother of twelve children, seemed little likely to commence a new life as an authoress, and obtain distinction in the literary world. But such was her *weird*, and stern misfortune and necessity were to be the instruments of its accomplishment.

After four successive deaths in her family, her husband died, and she was left a helpless widow, with eight children dependent upon her exertions, while the manse, so long her happy home, must be left to the successor of her husband. In taking account also of her worldly affairs, she found that she was worth less than nothing; for the scale of Highland and clerical hospitality by which her household had hitherto been regulated, rather exceeded than equalled the amount of stipend, so that she found herself somewhat, though not greatly, in debt. But strong in her trust on that Providence which had been with her from earliest infancy, she confronted her new necessities, and her first step was to take charge of a small farm in the neighbourhood of Laggan. This expedient soon failed, and in 1803 she removed to the neighbourhood of Stirling. Something was necessary to be done, and that speedily; but the great difficulty lay in the choice. At last the friends of Mrs. Grant suggested the idea of authorship. She had written many verses which they had greatly admired in manuscript, and these, collected into a printed volume, might be equally acceptable to the public at large. Her poems, indeed, had been hasty productions, of which she had hitherto made small account, and it was with no little urgency that she was persuaded to try the experiment of publishing. She had not even a collection of these poems in her possession, as she generally sent them to her numerous correspondents, without retaining a copy for herself. The work was announced to be published by subscription, and so well did her friends exert themselves, that 3000 subscribers were soon procured. This publication, which appeared in 1803, although favourably received by the public, was scarcely calculated to make any lasting impression, or stamp the character of Mrs. Grant as a genuine poetess; and accordingly, it has long ago disappeared from among those works of the period which the present generation cares to read. Its profits, however, enabled her to discharge those debts which had been contracted at Laggan, and which had continued to weigh upon her mind. But fresh domestic difficulties occurred. Her eldest daughter had been sent to Bristol for the cure of a consumptive complaint, which was attended with heavy expense; and one of her sons, who had got an appointment to India through the kindness of her friend Mr. Charles Grant, chairman of the India House, required the necessary outfit. The success that attended the former attempt suggested a fresh trial of authorship, and Mrs. Grant was advised by her friends to collect and publish her letters. These had been written in the manse of Laggan to her correspondents over a course of years, and were so full of Highland scenery, character, and legends, expressed in the happiest style of epistolary composition, that, even with the

omission of whatever was private or confidential, it was thought they would form an acceptable work to the reading public. She allowed herself to be persuaded, and the result was her best and most popular production, the *Letters from the Mountains*, which was published in 1806. This work went through many editions, and was so justly appreciated among the talented and influential men of the day, as to procure for her many distinguished friends, among whom may be enumerated Sir William Grant, master of the rolls, Sir William Farquhar, and Bishop Porteous. The only other works which she subsequently published were, *Memoirs of an American Lady*, and *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*; and it is enough to say that they did not detract from the reputation she had already won. Her productions are thus characterized by Sir Walter Scott, a judge well fitted to estimate them:—"Her literary works, although composed amidst misfortune and privation, are written at once with simplicity and force; and uniformly bear the stamp of a virtuous and courageous mind, recommending to the reader that patience and fortitude which the writer herself practised in such an eminent degree. Her writings, deservedly popular in her own country, derive their success from the happy manner in which, addressing themselves to the national pride of the Scottish people, they breathe a spirit at once of patriotism, and of that candour which renders patriotism unselfish and liberal. We have no hesitation in attesting our belief that Mrs. Grant's writings have produced a strong and salutary effect upon her countrymen, who not only found recorded in them much of national history and antiquities, which would otherwise have been forgotten, but found them combined with the soundest and the best lessons of virtue and morality."

In 1810 Mrs. Grant removed from Stirling to Edinburgh, where she resided during the rest of her life. But still domestic calamities pursued her, and all her children died successively, except her youngest son, who survived her. In the midst of these afflictions, so trying to the affectionate heart of a widowed mother, it is gratifying to add that she was not wholly unaided in the struggle. Her talents and her worth had surrounded her with a circle of affectionate friends, who in the worst hour were ready not only with sympathy but aid. In 1825 an application was made in her behalf for a pension from government, subscribed by Sir Walter Scott, Francis Jeffrey, Mackenzie (the Man of Feeling), Sir William Arbuthnot, Sir Robert Liston, and Principal Baird, which was cordially granted by George IV. At first it amounted to only £50, but was afterwards increased to £100 per annum; and this, with several legacies from deceased friends, enabled her to spend the last years of her life not only in comfort, but comparative affluence. But those for whose sake she most wished to have obtained it had one by one been snatched away! She was also at this period an invalid; for, nearly seven years before the pension was obtained, she had a fall in descending a stair, from the effects of which she was confined almost wholly to her house during the rest of her life. But still she was resigned, and even happy; and her frequent study of the Bible during her hours of leisure, as well as her conversation with intimate friends, betokened the sure foundation upon which her comfort was established. Thus she lived, honoured and beloved, till the eighty-fourth year of her age, when a cold, that increased into influenza, ended her days on the 7th of November, 1838, and her remains were interred in the new cemetery of the parish church of St. Cuthbert's. Her chief talent lay in conversation, in which she

was unrivalled, and hence the high fame she acquired among the literary circles of the day. That voice has passed away of which her works were but an echo, and thus the works themselves are now rated beneath their merits. Still, however, the *Letters from the Mountains* will continue to attest the high talent of their writer, and be perused with pleasure and profit.

GRANT, SIR WILLIAM. This able lawyer was a descendant of the Grants of Beldornie, a sept of the parent clan. His father, originally a farmer, was afterwards appointed collector of customs in the Isle of Man, an office which he held till his death. His son William, the subject of this notice, was born at Elchies in Morayshire, in 1754, and was educated at the grammar-school of Elgin, along with his younger brother, who afterwards became collector at Martinico. William did not forget, when he had attained distinction, the place in which he had been trained, so that, thirty years afterwards, when the school was to be rebuilt, he was one of its earliest contributors. His education was completed at the old college of Aberdeen. In the choice of a profession, which was that of law, he was directed by the advice of his uncle, a merchant, who had been so successful in England that he was enabled to purchase the estate of Elchies, on which he had been born. After the usual course of study at Aberdeen had been finished, William Grant went to London, and was entered at Lincoln's Inn. At the age of twenty-five, although he had not yet been called to the English bar, he was considered competent for colonial practice, and was appointed attorney-general of Canada. In this new office his professional talents soon brought him into universal esteem. He also showed that he understood the adage of *tam Marti quam Mercurio*; for on Quebec being besieged by the American army under Montgomery, the attorney-general became a bold and active captain of volunteers, and continued to perform military duty until the siege was ended. After this he continued to discharge his civil duties for several years; but finding the position of Canada too critical, as well as colonial practice too limited for his aspirations, he resigned his office of attorney-general; and on returning to London he entered with full ardour upon a more favourable arena in the courts of Westminster, after having been commissioned in 1787 to practise as an English barrister. His commencement, however, was so unpropitious as to bring all his energy and resolution into full exercise, and nerve them with double vigour; for however eminent he had been at the bar of Quebec, he found himself an utter stranger in London, while his shy retiring habits gave little promise that such a difficulty would be easily obviated. Fortunately, one of those incidents occurred by which the reserve of modest merit is often broken through, and the possessor dragged out to the sphere which he ought to occupy. Mr. Grant, after having gone the circuit year after year without obtaining a single brief, happened at length to be retained in some appeals from the Court of Session in Scotland to the House of Lords. He discharged his duty so ably on this occasion, and evinced such legal talent and force of reasoning, as to extort the highest approbation from the stern Lord-chancellor Thurlow, a man by no means profuse in compliments. He eagerly asked the name of the speaker; and having learned it he said to a friend, "Be not surprised if that young man should one day occupy this seat." It is thought that Grant might ultimately have fulfilled this prediction had he been willing to encounter the respon-

sible duties of the chancellorship. Thurlow's approbation did not end in empty compliment; he interested himself in the fortunes of the talented but unbefriended stranger, and in consequence of his advice Grant left the practice of common law for that of equity, as being better fitted for his studies and habits.

From this period his career was one of honour and success, and his first step was a seat in parliament, having been returned for Shaftesbury at the general election in 1790. On entering the house he made no attempt to attract notice as a political orator; his *forte* rather lay in private consultations and committees, where his sagacity, good sense, and extensive knowledge were seen and appreciated by the most eminent of his colleagues. Of these especially was Mr. Pitt, of whom he was a firm and effective supporter. On one occasion, in the year 1791, his colonial experience was of great service to the premier. The subject before the House for discussion was a new code of laws for the province of Canada, and on this question he enforced the proposal of Pitt with such incontrovertible arguments, drawn from his own knowledge and practice as attorney-general of the colony, that even Fox was gratified, and all but convinced. Another occasion on which Grant signalized himself in the House of Commons occurred in the following year, when he defended the measures of the ministry upon the subject of the Russian armament. At the beginning of 1794 he was returned to parliament by the borough of Westminster, and at the same time appointed solicitor-general to the queen, and in 1796 he was chosen knight in parliament for the county of Banff. In 1798 he was appointed chief-justice of Chester, and in the year following he was made solicitor-general, on which occasion he received the usual honour of knighthood. In 1801 he was honoured with his last and highest promotion of master of the rolls. This steady rise was owing, not to his support of the predominant party in the state, but the high character which he established for himself as lawyer and judge, in which all parties coincided. He continued to represent the county of Banff until 1812, when the parliament was dissolved, and to fill the office of master of the rolls till 1817, at which period he was anxious to retire from public life, before age had unfitted him for its duties or impaired his intellectual vigour. On the 24th December, therefore, he fulfilled this resolution of self-denial by tendering his resignation of the mastership, on which occasion he received, among other well-deserved eulogiums, the following from the bar of the court, through Sir Arthur Pigott, the speaker appointed for the occasion:—"The promptitude and wisdom of your decisions have been as highly conducive to the benefit of the suitors, as they have been eminently promotive of the general administration of equity. In the performance of your important and arduous duties you have exhibited an uninterrupted equanimity, and displayed a temper never disturbed, and a patience never wearied; you have evinced a uniform and impartial attention to those engaged in the discharge of their professional duties here, and who have had the opportunity, and enjoyed the advantage, of observing that conduct in the dispensation of justice which has been conspicuously calculated to excite emulation, and to form an illustrious example for imitation."

During the sixteen years of life that were still continued to him, Sir William Grant abstained from public affairs, devoting himself wholly to intellectual recreations, and the society of congenial company, in the neighbourhood of Walthamstow, and during

the two last years of his life at Barton House, Dawlish, the residence of his sister, the widow of Admiral Schanck. He was never married. His death occurred on the 25th of May, 1832, when he had reached the age of seventy-eight years.

GREGORY, DAVID, the able commentator on Newton's *Principia*, and Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, was born at Aberdeen on the 24th of June, 1661. His father, Mr. David Gregory, brother of the inventor of the reflecting telescope, had been educated as a merchant, and spent a considerable time in Holland; but by the death of his elder brother he became heir to the estate of Kinnairdie, and from a predilection for the mathematics and experimental philosophy, he soon afterwards renounced all commercial employments, devoting himself entirely to the cultivation of science. The peculiarity of Mr. Gregory's pursuits caused him to be noted through the whole country, and as he was the first person in Scotland who possessed a barometer, from which he derived an extensive knowledge of the weather, it was believed that he held intercourse with the beings of another world. So widely had this belief been circulated, that a deputation from the presbytery waited on him, and it was only one fortunate circumstance that saved him from undergoing a formal trial for witchcraft. He had from choice acquired an extensive knowledge of the healing art, his opinion was held in the highest estimation, and as he practised in all cases without fee, he was of great use in the district where he lived. It was this circumstance alone that prevented the reverend members of the presbytery from calling him to account for his superior intelligence. His son David, the subject of this sketch, studied for a considerable time at Aberdeen, but completed his education at Edinburgh. In 1684, when he was only twenty-three years of age, he made his first appearance as an author in a Latin work concerning the dimensions of figures, printed in Edinburgh, and entitled *Exercitationes Geometricæ*. The same year in which this work was published he was called to the mathematical chair in Edinburgh College, which he held with the greatest honour for seven years. Here he delivered some lectures on optics, which formed the substance of a work on that science of acknowledged excellence. Here also Gregory was first convinced of the infinite superiority of Newton's philosophy, and was the first who dared openly to teach the doctrines of the *Principia* in a public seminary. This circumstance will ever attach honour to the name of Gregory; for let it be remembered that in those days this was a daring innovation; and Cambridge university, in which Newton had been educated, was the very last in the kingdom to admit the truth of what is now regarded by all as the true system of the world. Whiston, in his *Memoirs of his own Time*, bewails this in "the very anguish of his heart," calling the men of science at Oxford and Cambridge poor wretches when compared with those at the Scottish universities. In the year 1691 Gregory went to London, as there had been circulated a report that Dr. Edmond Bernard, Savilian professor at Oxford, was about to resign, which promised a very desirable opening for the young mathematician. On his arrival in London he was kindly received by Newton, who had formed a very high opinion of him, as we learn from a letter written by Sir Isaac to Mr. Flamstead, the astronomer-royal. Newton had intended to make Flamstead a visit at Greenwich observatory, with a view to introduce Gregory, but was prevented by indisposition, and sent a letter with Gregory by way of introduction. "The bearer hereof is Mr. Gregory,

mathematical professor at Edinburgh College, Scotland. I intended to have given you a visit along with him, but cannot; you will find him a very ingenious person, a good mathematician, worthy of your acquaintance." Gregory could not fail to be highly gratified by the friendship of two of the greatest men of the age, and most particularly eminent in that department of science which he cultivated with so much zeal and success. Such a mind as Newton's was not likely to form an opinion of any individual on a vague conjecture of his ability, and the opinion once established would not be liable to change; accordingly, we find that his attachment to the interests of the young mathematician were only terminated by death. In a letter addressed a considerable time afterwards to the same amiable personage, he writes thus: "But I had rather have them (talking of Flamsteed's observations upon Saturn, for five years, which Newton wished from him) for the next twelve or fifteen years—if you and I live not long enough, Mr. Gregory and Mr. Halley are young men."

Gregory's visit to London was important to his future fame as a mathematician. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and afterwards contributed many valuable papers to their *Transactions*. At the head of these must be mentioned that which he delivered on his first introduction to their meetings—a solution of the famous Florentine problem—which had been sent as a challenge to the British mathematicians. Gregory's solution, which is extremely beautiful, will be found in the number of the *Philosophical Transactions* for January, 1694. On the 8th of February, 1692, David Gregory was made Master of Arts of Balliol College, Oxford; and on the 18th of the same month he received the degree of Doctor of Physic. At this time he stood candidate with Dr. Halley for the Savilian professorship of astronomy at Oxford. Gregory had a formidable rival to contend with, as great interest was used for Halley at court, and he had besides rendered himself eminent by his numerous and important discoveries. Gregory in all likelihood would not have obtained this situation, notwithstanding the zealous intercession of Newton and Flamsteed, had it not been for a circumstance which is stated by Whiston in his *Memoirs of his own Time*, as follows: "Halley being thought of as successor to the mathematical chair at Oxford, Bishop Stillingfleet was desired to recommend him at court; but hearing that he was a sceptic and a contemner of religion, the bishop scrupled to be concerned till his chaplain, Mr. Bentley, should talk with him about it, which he did; but Halley was so sincere in his infidelity, that he would not so much as pretend to believe the Christian religion, though he was likely to lose a professorship by it—which he did, and it was given to Dr. Gregory." To the honour of science let it be mentioned, that this circumstance, which opposed the interest of these two mathematicians so directly to each other, instead of becoming the cause of those petty jealousies or animosities which in such cases so commonly occur, was in the present instance the foundation on which was raised a firm and lasting friendship. Nor is it perhaps too bold to suspect that the liberality displayed in this instance by these two eminent men proceeded not so much from themselves as from the science which they cultivated in common. The scruples of Stillingfleet in time lost their efficacy, and Gregory had soon after the pleasure of having Dr. Halley as his colleague, he having succeeded Dr. Wallis in the Savilian chair of geometry.

In 1695 he published at Oxford a very valuable work on the reflection and refraction of spherical sur-

faces. This work is valuable, as it contains the first hint for a practical method of improving the refracting telescope, and destroying the chromatic defect of these instruments. The difficulty to be avoided in those telescopes which operate by glasses instead of mirrors lies in procuring a large field of view, and at the same time retaining distinctness of vision. Gregory drew an analogy from the construction of the eye, and by referring to the method by which this was effected in nature, gave the hint that the same principle might be applied in practice. This, perhaps, paved the way for the achromatic glasses—one of the finest triumphs of modern science. A simplicity pervades the whole work truly characteristic of the author's mind. But the work on which the fame of David Gregory must ultimately depend was published in 1702, entitled *Elements of Physical and Geometrical Astronomy*. This work was a sort of digest of Newton's *Principia*. Great originality was shown in the illustrations, and the arrangement was so adapted as to show the progress the science had made in its various gradations towards perfection; and it was allowed by Newton himself that Gregory's work was an excellent view of his system.

Sir Henry Savile had projected a design of printing a uniform series of the ancient mathematicians; in pursuance of which Gregory published an edition of *Euclid*, and in conjunction with Dr. Halley he commenced the *Conics* of Apollonius; but scarcely had he entered upon this interesting undertaking when death put a period to his existence. He departed this life in 1701, at Maidenhead, in Berkshire, where it is believed his body is interred. His wife erected a monument at Oxford to his memory, with a very simple and elegant inscription. Of the talents of Dr. Gregory ample testimony is borne by the works which he bequeathed to posterity, and of his worth as a private individual by the respect in which he was held by his contemporaries Flamsteed, Keil, Halley, and, above all, Sir Isaac Newton, who held him in the highest estimation. Of Newton's respect for him we shall add one other instance: Sir Isaac had intrusted Gregory with a copy of his *Principia* in manuscript, on which Gregory wrote a commentary, of the benefit of which the great author availed himself in the second edition. Dr. John Gregory presented a manuscript copy of this to the university of Edinburgh, in the library of which it is carefully preserved. Of his posthumous works two deserve particularly to be noticed: one on practical geometry, published by Mr. Colin Maclaurin, and a small treatise on the nature and arithmetic of logarithms, subjoined to Keil's *Euclid*, which contains a simple and comprehensive view of the subject.

An anecdote is told of David Gregory of Kinnairdie, Dr. Gregory's father, which it would not, perhaps, be altogether proper to omit. He had, as was remarked at the beginning, a turn for mathematical and mechanical subjects, and during Queen Anne's wars had contrived a method to increase the effect of field-ordnance. He sent it to the Savilian professor, his son, wishing his opinion, together with Sir I. Newton's. Gregory showed it to Newton, who advised him earnestly to destroy it, as said Newton, "Any invention of that kind, if it even were effectual, would soon become known to the enemy, so that it would only increase the horrors of war." There is every reason to think that the professor followed Newton's advice, as the machine was never afterwards to be found.

It is a more singular circumstance, and indeed without parallel in the scientific history of Scotland, that this old gentleman lived to see three of his sons professors at the same time, viz. David, the subject

of the present sketch; James, who succeeded his brother in the chair of mathematics at Edinburgh; and Charles, professor of mathematics in the university of St. Andrews.

GREGORY, JAMES, whose valuable discoveries served so much to accelerate the progress of the mathematical and physical sciences in the seventeenth century, was born in 1638, at Drumoak, in Aberdeenshire, where his father, the Rev. John Gregory, was minister. Little is known of James Gregory's father, but from some slight notice of him in the minutes of the General Assembly; and whatever part of the genius of the subject of this memoir was possessed by inheritance seems to have descended from the mother. It is an observation of more than one distinguished philosopher, that "he never knew a man of talent whose mother was not a superior woman;" and a more happy instance of the truth of this remark could not be found than that of James Gregory. Mrs. Gregory seems to have descended from a family of mathematicians. Her father was Mr. David Anderson of Finghaugh, whose brother, Alexander Anderson, was professor of mathematics (about the beginning of the seventeenth century) in the university of Paris, and he himself was long noted for his application to mathematical and mechanical subjects. The Rev. John Gregory died when the subject of this article was yet in his boyhood, and left the care of the education of James to David, an elder brother, and the surviving parent. The mother having observed the expanding powers of his mind, and their tendency to mathematical reasoning, gave these early indications of his genius all possible encouragement, by instructing him herself in the elements of geometry. Having received the rudiments of his classical education at the grammar-school of Aberdeen, he completed the usual course of studies at Marischal College. For a considerable time after leaving the university, James Gregory devoted his attention to the science of optics. The celebrated French philosopher Descartes had published his work on *Dioptrics* the year before Gregory was born, nor had any advances been made in that science until James Gregory published the result of his labours in a work printed at London, in 1663, entitled "*Optics Promoted, or the Mysteries of Reflected and Refracted Rays Demonstrated by the Elements of Geometry*;" to which is added, an Appendix, exhibiting a Solution of some of the most difficult Problems in Astronomy." In this work, which forms an era in the history of the science of that century which its author so eminently adorned, and which was published when he was only twenty-four, there was first given to the world a description of the reflecting telescope, of which Gregory is the indisputable inventor. He proposed to himself no other advantage from using mirrors instead of glasses in the construction of telescopes, than to correct the error arising from the spherical figure of the lenses, and by forming the reflectors of a parabolic figure, to bring the rays of light into a perfect focus, being ignorant of the far greater error arising from the unequal refrangibility of the rays of light, which it was reserved for Newton afterwards to discover. Gregory went to London a year after the publication of his work on optics, with a view to the construction of his telescope, and was introduced to Mr. Rieves, an optical instrument maker, by Mr. Collins, secretary to the Royal Society. Rieves could not finish the mirrors on the tool so as to preserve the figure, and so unsuccessful was the trial of the new telescope that the inventor was deterred from making any farther attempts towards its improvement, nor

were these reflectors ever mounted in a tube. Sir I. Newton objected to this telescope, that the hole in the centre of the large speculum would be the cause of the loss of so much light, and invented one in which this defect was remedied. The Gregorian form is universally preferred to the Newtonian when the instrument is of moderate size, the former possessing some material advantages; yet the latter was always employed by Dr. Herschel in those large instruments by which the field of discovery has been so much extended. Although the inventor of the reflecting telescope has received all the honour which posterity can bestow, yet it is lamentable to think that he never had the satisfaction of seeing an instrument completed in his own lifetime. It is only necessary to remark farther, on this subject, that some papers of great interest passed between Gregory and Sir Isaac Newton concerning the reflecting telescope, which may be consulted with advantage by those who would wish to investigate the subject. His work on optics contains, besides the discovery of the reflecting telescope, that of the law of refraction. Descartes had made a similar discovery long ere this, but Gregory had not heard of it till his own work was ready for publication—to which circumstance he alludes in his preface. Playfair, in considering this subject, very justly remarks, that "though the optics of Descartes had been published twenty-five years, Gregory had not heard of the discovery of the law of refraction, and had found it out only by his own efforts—happy in being able, by the fertility of his genius, to supply the defects of an insulated and remote situation."¹ The method in which Gregory investigated the law of refraction is truly remarkable, not only for its singular elegance, but originality; and the series of experiments which he instituted for the purpose of demonstration, affords an indelible proof of the accuracy of his observations. It is truly remarkable that the calculations by this law differ so little from those obtained by the most accurate experiments. There is yet another discovery of the very highest importance to the science of astronomy, which is falsely, and, we would hope, unknowingly attributed to another philosopher, whose manifold brilliant discoveries throw an additional lustre over the country which gave him birth. We allude to the employment of the transits of Mercury and Venus in the determination of the sun's parallax, the merit of which is always ascribed to Dr. Halley, even by that eminent astronomer Laplace. But it is plainly pointed out in the scholium to the 28th proposition of Gregory's work, published many years prior to Halley's supposed discovery. The university of Padua was at this time in high repute for mathematical learning, and Gregory repaired thither from London, about the end of 1667, for the purpose of prosecuting his favourite study. Here he published a Latin work on the areas of the circle and hyperbola, determined by an infinitely converging series; a second edition of which he afterwards published at Venice, with an appendix on the transmutation of curves. Mr. Collins, who always showed himself zealous in Gregory's favour, introduced this work to the notice of the Royal Society of London, of which he was secretary. This work received the commendation of that distinguished nobleman Lord Brouncker, and Dr. Wallis, the celebrated inventor of the arithmetic of infinites. Gregory's attention was once more drawn to the squaring of curves, by the method of converging series, on account of re-

¹ Playfair's "Dissertation," in the *Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica*, part 1st, page 25, 6th edition.

ceiving an instance of the case of the circle in a letter from his friend Collins, who informed him that Newton had discovered a general method for all curves, mechanical and geometrical. Gregory speedily returned to Collins a method for the same purpose, which he was advised by his brother David to publish. Gregory refused to do this, and that from the most honourable motive: as Newton was the original inventor, he deemed it unfair to publish it until Sir Isaac should give his method to the public. Soon after, he returned to London, and from his celebrity as a mathematician he was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society. He read before the society the account of a dispute in Italy concerning the motion of the earth, which Riciolli and his followers had denied; besides many other valuable communications. Huygens had attacked Gregory's method of quadrature in a journal of that period, to which he replied in the *Philosophical Transactions*. The dispute was carried on with great warmth by both, and from Gregory's defence it would appear he was a man of warm temperament, but acute and penetrating genius. Of the merits of either, in this dispute, it would be out of place here to enter into detail. Leibnitz, who considered the subject with attention, and whose capacity of discernment in such matters cannot be questioned, is of opinion that although Huygens did not point out errors in the work of Gregory, yet he obtained some of the results by a much simpler method.

The small work *Exercitationes Geometricæ*, published by Gregory at London in 1668, consisted of twenty-six pages, containing however a good deal of important matter. Nowhere do we learn more of the real private character of Gregory than in the preface and appendix to this little work. He speaks in explicit terms of his dispute with Huygens, complains of the injustice done him by that philosopher and some others of his contemporaries; and we are led to conclude from them that he was a man who, from a consciousness of his own powers, was jealous of either a rival or improver of any invention or discovery with which he was connected. The same year in which he published this last work he was chosen professor of mathematics in the university of St. Andrews. The year following he married Miss Mary Jamesone, daughter of Mr. George Jamesone, the painter whom Walpole has designated the Vandyke of Scotland. By his wife he had a son and two daughters. The son, James, was grandfather of Dr. Gregory, author of the *Theoretica Medicina*, and professor of the theory of medicine in the university of Edinburgh. James Gregory remained at St. Andrews for six years, when he was called to fill the mathematical chair in the university of Edinburgh. During his residence at St. Andrews he wrote a satire on a work of Mr. George Sinclair's, formerly professor of natural philosophy in Glasgow, but who had been dismissed on account of some political heresies. Dr. Gregory did not live to enjoy the chair in Edinburgh more than one year; for returning home late one evening in October, 1675, after showing some of his students the satellites of Jupiter, he was suddenly struck blind, and three days afterwards expired. Thus, at the early age of thirty-seven, in the vigour of manhood, was put a melancholy termination to the life of James Gregory. Of the character of this great man little can be said. His knowledge of mathematical and physical science was very extensive; acuteness of discrimination and originality of thought are conspicuous in all his works; and he seems to have possessed a considerable degree of independence and warmth of temper.

VOL. II.

GREGORY, JAMES, M.D., an eminent modern medical teacher, was the eldest son of Dr. John Gregory, equally celebrated as a medical teacher, by the Honourable Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of William, thirteenth Lord Forbes. He was born in 1753, at Aberdeen, where his father then practised as a physician. Being removed in boyhood to Edinburgh, where his father succeeded Dr. Rutherford as professor of the practice of physic, he received his academical and professional education in that city, and in 1774 took his degree as Doctor of Medicine, his thesis being *De Morbis Cæli Mutatione Medendis*. An education conducted under the most favourable circumstances had improved in the utmost possible degree the excellent natural talents of Dr. Gregory, though he had the misfortune to lose his father before its conclusion. Notwithstanding the latter event, he was appointed in 1776, when only twenty-three years of age, to the chair of the theory of physic in the Edinburgh university. As a textbook for his lectures he published in 1780-2 his *Conspectus Medicinæ Theoreticæ*, which soon became a work of standard reputation over all Europe, not only in consequence of its scientific merits, but the singular felicity of the classical language in which it was written.

In consequence of the death of Dr. Cullen, the subject of this memoir was appointed, in 1790, to the most important medical professorship in the university, that of the practice of physic; an office upon which unprecedented lustre had been conferred by his predecessor; but which for thirty-one years he sustained with even greater distinction. During this long period the fame which his talents had acquired attracted students to Edinburgh from all parts of the world, all of whom returned to their homes with a feeling of reverence for his character, more nearly resembling that which the disciples of antiquity felt for their instructors, than anything which is generally experienced in the present situation of society. Descended by the father's side from a long and memorable line of ancestors, among whom the friend and contemporary of Newton is numbered, and by the mother's from one of the oldest baronial families in the country, the character of Dr. Gregory was early formed upon an elevated model, and throughout his whole life he combined, in a degree seldom equalled, the studies and acquirements of a man of science, with the tastes and honourable feelings of a high-born gentleman. By these peculiarities, joined to the point and brilliancy of his conversation, and his almost romantic generosity of nature, he made the most favourable impression upon all who came in contact with him.

Dr. Gregory had early bent his acute and discriminating mind to the study of metaphysics, and in 1792 he published a volume, entitled *Philosophical and Literary Essays*, in which is to be found one of the most original and forcible refutations of the doctrine of necessity which has ever appeared. His reputation as a Latinist was unrivalled in Scotland in his own day; and the numerous inscriptions which he was consequently requested to write in this tongue were characterized by extraordinary beauty of expression and arrangement. His only philological publication, however, is a *Dissertation on the Theory of the Moods of Verbs*, which appears in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 1790. Dr. Gregory's eminence as a man of science, and his fame throughout Europe, were testified by his being one of the few British honoured with a seat in the Institute of France.

While officiating for nearly fifty years as a medical teacher, Dr. Gregory carried on an extensive and

lucrative practice in Edinburgh. As a physician he enjoyed the highest reputation, notwithstanding a certain severe sincerity, and occasional *brusquerie* of manner, which characterized him in this capacity. It is probable that, but for the pressure of his professional engagements, he might have oftener employed his pen both in the improvement of medical knowledge and in general literature. His only medical publication, besides his matchless *Conspectus*, was an edition of Cullen's *First Lines of the Practice of Physic*, 2 vols. 8vo. It is with reluctance we advert to a series of publications of a different kind, which Dr. Gregory allowed himself to issue, and which it must be the wish of every generous mind to forget as soon as possible. They consisted of a variety of pamphlets, in which he gave vent to feelings that could not fail to excite the indignation of various members of his own profession; the most remarkable being a memorial addressed, in 1800, to the managers of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, complaining of the younger members of the College of Surgeons being there allowed to perform operations. A list of these productions is given in the preface to Mr. John Bell's *Letters on Professional Characters and Manners*, 1810, and we shall not therefore allude further to the subject than to say that the language employed in several of them affords a most striking view of one of the paradoxes occasionally found in human character, the co-existence in the same bosom of sentiments of chivalrous honour and benevolence, with the most inveterate hostility towards individuals.

Dr. Gregory died at his house in St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, April 2, 1821, leaving a large family, chiefly in adolescence.

GREGORY, DR. JOHN, a distinguished physician of the eighteenth century, was descended from a family of illustrious men, whose names and discoveries will ever form a brilliant page in the history of the literature of Scotland. Many of the members of this family held professorships in the most distinguished universities both in this and the southern kingdom; and we may turn to the name of Gregory for those who raised Scotland to an equal rank with any other nation in the scientific world. John Gregory was born at Aberdeen, on the 3d of June, 1724, being the youngest of the three children of James Gregory, professor of medicine in King's College there. This professor of medicine was a son of James Gregory, the celebrated inventor of the reflecting telescope.

When John Gregory was seven years of age he lost his father, and the charge of his education devolved upon his elder brother, James, who succeeded his father in the professorship. He acquired his knowledge of classical literature at the grammar-school of Aberdeen, where he applied himself with much success to the study of the Greek and Latin languages. He completed a course of languages and philosophy at King's College, Aberdeen, under the immediate care of Principal Chalmers, his grandfather by the mother's side. He studied with great success under Mr. Thomas Gordon, the professor of philosophy in that college; and, to the honour of both, a friendly correspondence was then commenced, which was maintained till the end of Gregory's life. In noticing those to whom Gregory was indebted for his early education, it would be unpardonable to pass over the name of Dr. Reid, his cousin-german; the same whose *Inquiry into the Human Mind* forms so conspicuous a feature in the history of the intellectual philosophy of the eighteenth century;—and here we may remark the existence of that family spirit for mathematical reasoning, which has so long

been entailed on the name of Gregory. The essay on quantity and the chapter on the geometry of visibles prove this eminently in Dr. Reid; and the success with which Gregory studied under Mr. Gordon can leave no doubt of its existence in him. In 1741 Gregory lost his elder brother George, a young man concerning whom there was entertained the highest expectation; and the year following John and his mother removed from Aberdeen to Edinburgh. He studied three years at Edinburgh under Monro, Sinclair, and Rutherford; and on his first coming to Edinburgh, he became a member of the Medical Society there, which was the cause of an intimacy between him and Mark Akenside, author of *The Pleasures of Imagination*.

The university of Leyden was at this time in very high reputation, and Gregory repaired thither, after having studied at Edinburgh for three years. Here he had as his preceptors three of the most eminent men of the age—Goubius, Royen, and Albinus; he also cultivated the acquaintance of some fellow-students who afterwards became eminent in the literary and political world; amongst whom the most eminent were John Wilkes, Esq., and the Honourable Charles Townshend. While prosecuting his studies at Leyden, John Gregory was honoured with an unsolicited degree of Doctor of Medicine from King's College, Aberdeen; and after two years' residence on the Continent he returned to his native country, and was immediately called to fill the chair of philosophy in that seminary where he had first been nurtured, and which lately had conferred on him so great a mark of her regard. He lectured for three years at Aberdeen on the mathematics, and moral and natural philosophy; when, in 1749, from a desire to devote himself to the practice of medicine, he resigned, and took a few weeks' tour on the Continent, of which the chief object seems to have been amusement. Three years after the resignation of his professorship Dr. Gregory married Miss Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of Lord Forbes, a lady of extraordinary wit, beauty, and intellectual endowment.

The field of medical practice in Aberdeen was already almost entirely preoccupied by men of the first eminence in their profession, and the share which fell to Dr. Gregory was not sufficient to occupy his active mind. He went to London in 1754, and his fame as a physician and as a literary man being already far extended, he had no difficulty in being introduced to the first society. Here it was that the foundation was first laid of that friendship which existed between him and Lord Lyttleton. It was at this period also that he became acquainted with Lady Wortley Montague and her husband. This lady kept assemblies, or conversaziones, to which the first characters of the kingdom resorted. By her he was introduced to all the most eminent men in the kingdom for taste or genius; yet he is indebted to her for a favour of a far higher order—the continuance to his posterity of that friendship she had ever shown towards himself. About this period Dr. Gregory was chosen fellow of the Royal Society of London, and his practice was daily increasing. Dr. James Gregory, professor of medicine in King's College, Aberdeen, to whose care Gregory owed so much, died in 1755, which created a vacancy in that chair. Dr. John Gregory was elected in his own absence, and, being a situation which suited his inclination, he accepted it. There were many circumstances which would render a return to his native country agreeable. He was to be restored to the bosom of the friends of his infancy, he was to be engaged in the duties of a profession in which he felt the highest interest, and to the enjoyment of the

society of Reid, Beattie, Campbell, and Gerard. He entered on the duties of his new office in the beginning of 1756.

A literary club met weekly in a tavern in Aberdeen, which was originally projected by Drs. Reid and Gregory. It was called the Wise Club, and its members consisted of the professors of both Marischal and King's College, besides the literary and scientific gentlemen about Aberdeen. An essay was read each night by one of the members in rotation. Most of the distinguishing features of the philosophical systems of Gregory and his colleagues, who have been already mentioned, were first delivered in this society. Gregory's work on the faculties of man and other animals was first composed as essays for the Wise Club, but afterwards arranged and published under the patronage of his friend Lord Lyttleton—the first instance in which Gregory appeared to the world as an author. This work, which was published in London, 1764, was entitled *A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man, with those of the Animal World*.

Dr. Gregory remained in the chair of medicine in Aberdeen for eight years, when, with a view to the increase of his practice, he removed to Edinburgh, and two years afterwards was appointed successor to Dr. Rutherford in the university there as professor of the practice of physic, and in the same year, 1766, he succeeded Dr. Whyt as first physician to his majesty in Scotland. Dr. Gregory lectured for three years solely on the practice of physic; but at that time an agreement was entered into by his honoured colleague Dr. Cullen—the celebrated author of the system of nosology which goes by his name—that they should lecture in turn on the theory and practice of medicine, which was continued for many years. None of Dr. Gregory's lectures were ever written, except a few introductory ones on the duties and qualifications of a physician; which probably would not have made their appearance, had it not been the circumstance of one of his students offering a written copy taken from notes to a bookseller for sale, which induced Gregory to publish the work, the profits of which he gave to a poor and deserving student. This will always be a standard work among medical men, and will ever remain a lasting monument of the author's profound research, energy of mind, and liberality of opinion. Nothing could so effectually convince us as the perusal of this work, of the truth of one of his observations—"that the profession of medicine requires a more comprehensive mind than any other." This work was published in 1770, and the same year he published his *Elements of the Practice of Physic*, a work which was intended as a text-book for his pupils, and was excellent as far as it went, but never was completed.

The amiable and accomplished wife of Dr. Gregory lived only with him nine years, during which period he enjoyed all the pleasure which domestic happiness could afford. He regretted her death exceedingly; and, as he says himself, he for the amusement of his solitary hours wrote that inimitable little work—*A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*. In this work he feelingly states, that while he endeavours to point out to them what they should be, he draws but a very faint and imperfect picture of what their mother was.

Gregory inherited from his mother a disease, with which he had from the age of eighteen been frequently attacked. This was the gout, of which his mother died suddenly while sitting at table. The doctor often spoke of this to his friends, and one day, when talking with Dr. James Gregory, his son (author of the *Conspectus Theoreticus Medicinæ*), it was ob-

served by the latter, that as he had not had an attack these three years past, it was likely the next would be pretty severe. Dr. Gregory was not pleased with this remark of his son, but unfortunately the prediction was true. Dr. Gregory had gone to bed in his usual health on the 9th of February, 1773, and seems to have died in his sleep, as he was found in the morning without the slightest appearance of discomposure of feature or limb. Dr. Beattie laments him pathetically in the concluding stanzas of the *Minstrel*:—

"Art thou, my Gregory, for ever fled,
And am I left to unavailing woe;
When fortune's storms assail this weary head
Where cares long since have shed untimely snow!
Ah! now for ever whither shall I go?
No more thy soothing voice my anguish cheers,
Thy placid eyes with smiles no longer glow,
My hopes to cherish and allay my fears,
'Tis meet that I should mourn—flow forth afresh my tears."

Dr. Gregory was considerably above the middle size, and although he could not be called handsome, yet he was formed in good proportion. He was slow in his motion, and had a stoop forward. His eye and countenance had a rather dull appearance until they were lighted up by conversation. His conversation was lively and always interesting; and although he had seen much of the world, he was never given to that miserable refuge of weak minds—story-telling. In his lecturing he struck the golden mean between formal delivery and the ease of conversation. He left two sons and two daughters: Dr. James Gregory, who was the able successor of his father in the university of Edinburgh; William Gregory, rector of St. Mary's, Bentham; Dorothea, the wife of the Rev. A. Allison, of Baliol College; and Margaret, wife of J. Forbes, Esq., of Blackford.

GREGORY, DR. WILLIAM. It has often happened with some unfortunate branch of the human family, that the more it was trodden down by persecution and oppression, the more highly it has risen and prospered—that even every attempt to exterminate it only seems to increase its numbers. Such has been eminently the case with the unfortunate clan of Macgregor. Hunted from their homes, they have taken root and multiplied wherever they might find a resting-place; and although their very name was proscribed, as if to hold it were a crime, it has won distinction not only by itself, but under every form into which it has been modified. Such has especially been the case with those of the condemned race who endeavoured to find safety under the semi-transparent name of Gregory. For nearly two centuries it has supplied eminent professors to several of our universities, and won for itself a renown in science which perhaps no other collective name has surpassed.

The subject of our present notice was the fourth son of James Gregory, professor of the practice of physic in the university of Edinburgh. He completed his medical studies, and graduated at Edinburgh in 1828; but, having in early life acquired a strong predilection for the study of chemistry, it possessed him so wholly, that he relinquished all views of practice as a physician. The correctness of his choice was shown when but a young man, by his introducing a process for making the muriate of morphia, which is still, we believe, generally followed. He thus had the merit of introducing into use a very valuable remedy. Soon after completing his curriculum at the university, he went to the Continent, for the purpose of prosecuting the study of chemistry, to which he had resolved to devote himself; and after spending some time at the con-

tinental schools, he returned to Edinburgh, and established himself as an extra-academical lecturer in chemistry. Here his merits soon brought him into notice, so that he was appointed lecturer in chemistry in the Andersonian University of Glasgow, where he succeeded Mr. Graham, who had been translated to University College, London. Having afterwards found a more favourable opening in Dublin, Dr. W. Gregory removed afterwards to that city, and lectured in one of its medical schools. In 1839 he was appointed to the professorship of medicine and chemistry in King's College, Aberdeen—a chair which had been filled by more than one of his distinguished ancestors; and in 1844 he was elected professor of chemistry in the university of Edinburgh by the town-council of that city, who are the patrons of the university.

The need of such a man for the science to which he was so exclusively devoted, and in which he so greatly excelled, is thus stated by the writer of his obituary in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*:—"At the time of Dr. Gregory's graduation in 1828, but when he had already made up his mind to aim at distinction only as a chemist and teacher of chemistry, the greater part of what we now regard as the first principles of this science had been brought to light within the recollection of the passing generation. This may be said of the system of Lavoisier, of Priestley, and Cavendish, founded on the experiments which determined the constitution of air and of water, and the nature of combustion; of the researches of Black and of Watt on the nature of carbonic acid and the properties of steam; of the laws of crystallography, ascertained by Haüy; of the atomic theory, originating with Dalton; of the analysis of the alkalies, and discovery of the nature of chlorine, by Davy; and of all the applications of chemistry to illustrate the processes of assimilation, nutrition, respiration, and excretion, both in vegetables and animals; and likewise of the application of these processes to illustrate the results of examination of the memorials of the former inhabitants of the globe made known to us by geology. In order," the writer adds, "to bring within a reasonable compass the instruction to be given on subjects of such extent and interest, Dr. Gregory early saw the necessity of a greater subdivision of the science than had previously been adopted; and in the preface to his *Outlines of Chemistry*, published in 1845, he assigned his reasons for the division of the *ponderables* from the *imponderables*, and the exclusion of the former elementary subjects—*i.e.* of heat, light, electricity, and magnetism—from the study of the *ponderables*, or proper chemical elements, whether solid, fluid, or gaseous, and their compounds; and if his health had enabled him to execute what at one time he had in view—a separate and complete course of each of these, the whole of the instruction delivered from that chair would probably have been more complete than from any other scientific chair in Europe. But when the subject of chemistry is nearly confined to the ponderable elements, the study of the imponderables must be held as preliminary to that subject, and as being usually made part of natural philosophy, and part also of natural history. On the other hand, several of the applications of chemical science to the arts are of late years provided for by the professorships of agriculture and of technology."

This aim of Dr. Gregory to comprise and illustrate the science of chemistry in all its various departments, if a too ambitious, was also certainly a noble one, and that he failed in it could scarcely be imputed as his fault. That the attempt had been

commenced in good earnest is evident from his volume of *Outlines*, where it appears that two-thirds of his course of lectures were devoted to *organic*, as distinguished from *inorganic*, substances. The importance of the first-mentioned in all the departments of medicine is sufficiently apparent, and the novelty of their introduction was equal to their importance. This plan appeared to him the right way of treating the science of chemistry, and he was aware that these were better understood upon the Continent than at home. He therefore especially attached himself to the celebrated Professor Liebig of Giessen, whom he assisted in several courses of his experiments, and several of whose publications he translated and edited at their author's desire. The last and best of these translations was the *Familiar Letters on Chemistry and its Applications*, which obtained the following eulogium from its distinguished author:—"From his intimate familiarity with chemical science, and especially with the physiological subjects here treated, I am confident that the task could not have been intrusted to better hands than those of my friend Dr. Gregory." The intercourse of these two distinguished men of science continued to the last. With Baron Liebig he was also joint-editor of posthumous editions of Dr. Edward Turner's *Elements of Chemistry*.

From the foregoing account it will be rightly surmised that Dr. Gregory was more intent in teaching what was already known in chemistry than in hazarding fresh theories, or attempting new fields of discovery. Such was his love of the science independent of self, that he was more earnest to communicate the knowledge of it to others, than aggrandize his own reputation by becoming a discoverer; and for this he was admirably qualified, as he had carefully made himself acquainted with the history of the whole science up to his own day—a fact of which his elementary work entitled *Outlines of Chemistry*, the best *résumé* of chemistry, especially in the organic department, which exists in the English language, is a convincing proof. In the same spirit he was better known by his writings on the subject, than by his attempts in the laboratory. The chief of these consisted of communications on *pyroxanthine*, a solid volatile product of the destructive distillation of wood; on a compound of *sulphur and nitrogen*; and on the *decomposition products of uric acid*; whilst to practical chemistry he contributed improved processes for the preparation of hydrochloric acid, oxide of silver, and muriate of morphia. Nor was he by any means averse to the patient labour of observation and experiment:—"Whether he was right or not," says one of his admirers, "in some of his views of specific difference [in *dialumes*], they were not arrived at by hasty examination. Some people who find perhaps only one or two examples of one of his species in a slide, would be ready to jump to the conclusion that he was content to decide upon too scanty materials. But, in such cases, he persevered through hundreds of slides—often mounted only to be subsequently destroyed, until he had completed his investigation. He kept a record of everything of interest in every slide he examined, and the amount of labour is perfectly astonishing."

The constitution of Dr. Gregory, naturally a delicate one, was at the prime of life assailed by an acute disease, under repeated attacks of which he suffered for several years; and from these he sought relief sometimes by change of scene, and sometimes by change of study, in the last of which the microscope was in frequent use. His death occurred on the 24th of April, 1858, in the fifty-fourth year of his age; and it speaks highly both for his talents and

industry that already he had both learned and achieved so much in the science to which he was so zealously devoted. Of his personal character we extract the following paragraph from the biographical notice of him in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, from which the foregoing statements are derived:—

“Dr. Gregory retained throughout life the same simplicity and earnestness of character which had distinguished him as a zealous and devoted student of natural science. Incapable of deceit himself, he was unwilling to ascribe any such intention to those from whom he received what they held out as scientific facts; and hence, in the opinion of many of his friends, he was too credulous as to the evidence of certain alleged principles of science. His knowledge of the modern languages was such as to enable him to enjoy the society of several scientific friends both in Germany and France, and he often enjoyed better health in those countries than in this; but his naturally candid and benevolent disposition attached him strongly to his native city and his friends in Scotland. Under much and varied suffering from disease he was uniformly and remarkably patient and cheerful.” To this short account we have only to add, that at his decease Dr. Gregory left behind him a widow and an only son, the latter named after his friend Baron Liebig.

GREIG, SIR SAMUEL, a distinguished naval officer in the Russian service, was born 30th November, 1735, in the village of Inverkeithing in the county of Fife. Having entered the royal navy at an early period of life, he soon became eminent for his skill in naval affairs, and remarkable for his zeal and attention to the discharge of his duty—qualities which speedily raised him to the rank of lieutenant, and ultimately opened up to him the brilliant career which he afterwards pursued.

The court of Russia having requested the government of Great Britain to send out some British naval officers of skill to improve the marine of that country, Lieutenant Greig had the honour of being selected as one. His superior abilities here also soon attracted the notice of the Russian government, and he was speedily promoted to the rank of captain, the reward of his indefatigable services in improving or rather creating the Russian fleet, which had been previously in the most deplorable state of dilapidation.

On a war some time after breaking out between the Russians and the Turks, Captain Greig was sent under the command of Count Orlov, with a fleet to the Mediterranean. The Turkish fleet which they met here was much superior to the Russian in force, the former consisting of fifteen ships of the line, the latter of no more than ten. After a severe and sanguinary but indecisive battle, the Turkish fleet retired during the night close into the island of Scio, where they were protected by the batteries on land. Notwithstanding the formidable position which the enemy had taken up, the Russian admiral determined to pursue, and if possible destroy them by means of his fire-ships. Captain Greig's well-known skill and intrepidity pointed him out as the fittest person in the fleet to conduct this dangerous enterprise, and he was accordingly appointed to the command. At one o'clock in the morning Captain Greig bore down upon the enemy with his fire-ships, and although greatly harassed by the cowardice of the crews of these vessels, whom he had to keep at their duty by the terrors of sword and pistol, succeeded in totally destroying the Turkish fleet. Captain Greig, on this occasion assisted by another British officer, a Lieutenant Drysdale, who acted under him, set the match to the fire-ships with his own hands. This perilous

duty performed, he and Drysdale leaped overboard and swam to their own boats, under a tremendous fire from the Turks, and at the imminent hazard besides of being destroyed by the explosion of their own fire-ships. The Russian fleet following up this success, now attacked the town and batteries on shore, and by nine o'clock in the morning there was scarcely a vestige remaining of either town, fortifications, or fleet. For this important service Captain Greig, who had been appointed commodore on his being placed in command of the fire-ships, was immediately promoted by Count Orlov to the rank of admiral, an appointment which was confirmed by an express from the Empress of Russia. A peace was soon afterwards concluded between the two powers, but this circumstance did not lessen the importance of Admiral Greig's services to the government by which he was employed. He continued indefatigable in his exertions in improving the Russian fleet, remodelling its code of discipline, and by his example infusing a spirit into every department of its economy, which finally made it one of the most formidable marines in Europe.

These important services were fully appreciated by the empress, who rewarded them by promoting Greig to the high rank of admiral of all the Russias, and governor of Cronstadt. Not satisfied with this, she loaded him with honours, bestowing upon him the different orders of the empire, viz. St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newskie, St. George, St. Vladimir, and St. Anne.

Admiral Greig next distinguished himself against the Swedes, whose fleet he blocked up in port, whilst he himself rode triumphantly in the open seas of the Baltic. Here he was attacked by a violent fever, and having been carried to Revel, died on the 26th of October, 1788, on board of his own ship, the *Rotislaw*, after a few days' illness, in the fifty-third year of his age. As soon as the empress heard of his illness, she, in the utmost anxiety about a life so valuable to herself and her empire, instantly sent for her first physician, Dr. Rogerson, and ordered him to proceed immediately to Revel and to do everything in his power for the admiral's recovery. Dr. Rogerson obeyed, but all his skill was unavailing.

The ceremonial of the admiral's funeral was conducted with the utmost pomp and magnificence. For some days before it took place the body was exposed in state in the hall of the admiralty, and was afterwards conveyed to the grave on a splendid funeral bier drawn by six horses, covered with black cloth, and attended in public procession by an immense concourse of nobility, clergy, and naval and military officers of all ranks; the whole escorted by large bodies of troops, in different divisions; with tolling of bells and firing of cannon from the ramparts and fleet: everything in short was calculated to express the sorrow of an empire for the loss of one of its most useful and greatest men.

GREY, ALEXANDER, a surgeon in the service of the Honourable East India Company, and founder of an hospital for the sick poor of the town and county of Elgin, was the son of Deacon Alexander Grey, a respectable and ingenious tradesman of Elgin, who exercised the united crafts of a wheelwright and watchmaker, and of Janet Sutherland, of whose brother, Dr. Sutherland, the following anecdote is related by some of the oldest inhabitants of Elgin. It is said that the King of Prussia, Frederick William I., being desirous to have his family inoculated with small-pox, applied in England for a surgeon to repair to Berlin for that purpose. Though this was an honourable and probably lucrative mis-

sion, yet from the severe and arbitrary character of the king, it was regarded by many as a perilous undertaking to the individual, as it was not impossible that he might lose some of his princely patients, and be made answerable for the disaster. Sutherland, at all hazards, offered his services, was successful in the treatment of his royal patients, and was handsomely rewarded. On his return to England his expedition probably brought him more into public notice; for we afterwards find him an M.D. residing and practising as a physician at Bath, until he lost his sight, when he came to Elgin, and lived with the Greys for some years previous to 1775, when he died.

Deacon Grey had a family of three sons and two daughters, and by his own industry and some pecuniary assistance from Dr. Sutherland, he was enabled to give them a better education than most others in their station. Alexander, the subject of this memoir, born in 1751, was the youngest of the family. Induced by the advice or success of his uncle, he made choice of the medical profession, and was apprenticed for the usual term of three years to Dr. Thomas Stephen, a physician of great respectability in Elgin. He afterwards attended the medical classes in the college of Edinburgh, and having completed his education he obtained the appointment of an assistant-surgeonship on the Bengal establishment. It does not appear that he was distinguished either by his professional skill or literary acquirements from the greater proportion of his professional brethren in the East. When advanced in life, he married a lady much younger than himself, and this ill-assorted match caused him much vexation, and embittered his few remaining years. They had no children, and as there was no congeniality in their dispositions nor agreement in their habits, they separated some time before Dr. Grey's death, which happened in 1808. By economical habits he amassed a considerable fortune, and it is the manner in which he disposed of it that gives him a claim to be ranked among distinguished Scotsmen.

It is no improbable supposition that, in visiting the indigent patients of the humane physician under whom he commenced his professional studies, his youthful mind was impressed with the neglected and uncomfortable condition of the sick poor of his native town, and that when he found himself a man of wealth without family, the recollection of their situation recurred, and he formed the benevolent resolution of devoting the bulk of his fortune to the endowment of an hospital for their relief. He bequeathed for this purpose, in the first instance, £20,000, besides about £7000 available at the deaths of certain annuitants, and £4000 pounds more, liable to another contingency. From various causes, over which the trustees appointed by the deed of settlement had no control, considerable delay was occasioned in realizing the funds, and the hospital was not opened for the reception of patients until the beginning of 1819. It is an elegant building of two stories, in the Grecian style, after a design by James Gillespie, Esq., architect, and is erected on a rising ground to the west of Elgin. The funds are under the management of the member of parliament for the county, the sheriff-depute, and the two clergymen of the Established church, *ex officio*, with three life directors named by the founder in the deed of settlement. A physician and surgeon appointed by the trustees at fixed salaries attend daily in the hospital. For several years there was a prejudice against the institution among the class for whom it was founded; but this gradually wore off, and the public are now fully alive to and freely avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

Mr. Grey did not limit his beneficence to the founding and endowing of the hospital which will transmit his name to future generations; he bequeathed the annual interest of £2000 to "the reputed old maids in the town of Elgin, daughters of respectable but decayed families." This charity is placed under the management of the two clergymen and the physicians of the town of Elgin, and it is suggested that, to be useful, it ought not to extend beyond eight or ten individuals. At the death of Mrs. Grey a farther sum of £1000 was to fall into this fund. The annual interest of £7000 was settled on the widow during her life, and it was directed that at her death £4000 of the principal should be appropriated to the building of a new church in the town of Elgin, under the inspection of the two clergymen of the town, and that the interest of this sum should be applied to the use of the hospital until a church should be required. This is the contingency already referred to; and as a durable and handsome new church, of dimensions sufficient to accommodate the population of the town and parish, had been previously erected by the heritors at an expense exceeding £8000, the funds of the hospital, in all probability, will for a long time have the advantage of the interest of this bequest. Grey was kind and even liberal to his relatives during his life; and to his sister, the only member of his family who survived him, he left a handsome annuity, with legacies to all her family unprovided for at her death. On the whole he seems to have been a warm-hearted and benevolent man; but being disappointed in the happiness which he expected from his matrimonial connection, his temper was soured, and a considerable degree of peevishness and distrust is evident throughout the whole of his deed of settlement. Whatever were his failings, his memory will be cherished by the thousands of poor for whom he has provided medical succour in the hour of distress; while the public at large cannot fail to remember with respect a man who displayed so much benevolence and judgment in the disposal of the gifts of fortune.

GUILD, WILLIAM, an eminent divine, was the son of a wealthy tradesman in Aberdeen, where he was born in the year 1586. He received his education at Marischal College, then recently founded; and, while still very young, and before taking orders, published at London a work entitled *The New Sacrifice of Christian Incense*, and another soon after, called *The only Way to Salvation*. His first pastoral charge was over the parish of King Edward, in the presbytery of Turriff and synod of Aberdeen. He here acquired both the affections of his flock and an extended reputation as a man of learning and address, so that, when King James visited Scotland in 1617, Bishop Andrews, who accompanied his majesty as an assistant in his schemes for the establishment of Episcopacy, paid great attention to this retired northern clergyman, and took much of his advice regarding the proper method of accomplishing the object in view. Mr. Guild acknowledged his sense of the bishop's condescension, by dedicating to him in the following year his excellent work, entitled *Moses Unveiled*, which points out the figures in the Old Testament allusive to the Messiah. This was a branch of theological literature which Mr. Guild had made peculiarly his own province, as he evinced further in the course of a few years, by his work entitled *The Harmony of the Prophets*.

In 1610 Mr. Guild was married to Catharine Rolland, daughter of Rolland of Disblair, by whom he had no issue. Not long after the royal visit above

alluded to, he was appointed one of the king's chaplains. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was also conferred upon him. From his retirement at King Edward, he sent out various theological works of popular utility, and at the same time solid learning and merit. Of these his *Ignis Fatuus*, against the doctrine of Purgatory, *Popish Glorifying in Antiquity turned to their Shame*, and his *Compend of the Controversies of Religion*, are particularly noticed by his biographers. In the meantime he displayed many marks of attachment to his native city, particularly by endowing an hospital for the incorporated trades, which is described by Mr. Kennedy, the historian of Aberdeen, as in his day enjoying a revenue of about £1000, and affording relief to upwards of a hundred individuals annually. In 1631 he was preferred to one of the pulpits of that city, and took his place amongst as learned and able a body of local clergy as could be shown at that time in any part of either South or North Britain. His distinction among the Aberdeen doctors, as they were called, in the controversy which they maintained against the Covenanters, was testified by his being their representative at the General Assembly of 1638, when the system of church government to which he and his brethren were attached was abolished. The views and practice of Dr. Guild in this trying crisis seem to have been alike moderate; and he accordingly appears to have escaped much of that persecution which befell his brethren. He endeavoured to heal the animosities of the two parties, or rather to moderate the ardour of the Covenanters, to whom he was conscientiously opposed, by publishing *A Friendly and Faithful Advice to the Nobility, Gentry, and others*; but this, it is to be feared, had little effect. In 1640, notwithstanding his position in regard to the popular cause, he was chosen principal of King's College, and in June, 1641, he preached his last sermon as a clergyman of the city. The king about this time signified his approbation of Dr. Guild's services, by bestowing upon him "a free gift of his house and garden, which had formerly been the residence of the bishop." The reverend principal, in his turn, distributed the whole proceeds of the gift in charity.

Dr. Guild continued to act as principal of King's College till he was deposed by Monk in 1651, after which he resided in Aberdeen as a private individual. In his retirement he appears to have written several works—*The Sealed Book Opened*, or an explanation of the Apocalypse, and *The Novelty of Popery Discovered*, which was published at Aberdeen in 1656; and *An Explication of the Song of Solomon*, which appeared two years after in London. He also exerted himself during this interval in improving the Trades Hospital, and in other charitable pursuits. Upon these incorporations he bestowed a house on the south side of Castle Street (in Aberdeen), the yearly rents of which he directed to be applied as bursaries, to such of the sons of members as might be inclined to prosecute an academical course of education in the Marischal College; and of this fund, we are informed by Mr. Kennedy, six or eight young men generally participate every year. As an appropriate conclusion to a life so remarkably distinguished by acts of beneficence, Dr. Guild, in his will dated 1657, bequeathed seven thousand merks, to be secured on land, and the yearly profit to be applied to the maintenance of poor orphans. By the same document he destined his library to the university of St. Andrews, excepting one manuscript, supposed to be the original of the memorable letter from the states of Bohemia and Moravia to the council of Constance in 1415, relative to John Huss and Jerome

of Prague: this curious paper he bequeathed to the university of Edinburgh, where it is still faithfully preserved. Dr. Guild died in August, 1657, aged about seventy-one years. A manuscript work which he left was transmitted by his widow to Dr. John Owen, to whom it was designed to have been dedicated, and who published it at Oxford in 1659, under the title of *The Throne of David; or an Exposition of Second [Book of] Samuel*. Mrs. Guild, having no children upon whom to bestow her wealth, dedicated it to the education of young men and other benevolent purposes; and it appears that her foundations lately maintained six students of philosophy, four scholars at the public school, two students of divinity, six poor widows, and six poor men's children.

GUTHRIE, JAMES, one of the most zealous of the Protesters, as they were called, during the religious troubles of the seventeenth century, was the son of the laird of Guthrie, an ancient and highly respectable family. Guthrie was educated at St. Andrews, where, having gone through the regular course of classical learning, he commenced teacher of philosophy, and was much esteemed, as well for the equanimity of his temper as for his erudition. His religious principles in the earlier part of his life are said to have been highly prelatial, and of course opposite to those which he afterwards adopted, and for which, in the spirit of a martyr, he afterwards died. His conversion from the forms in which he was first bred is attributed principally to the influence of Mr. Samuel Rutherford, minister of Anwoth, himself a zealous and able defender of the Scottish church, with whom he had many opportunities of conversing.

In 1638 Mr. Guthrie was appointed minister of Lauder, where he remained for several years, and where he had already become so celebrated as to be appointed one of the several ministers selected by the committee of estates, then sitting in Edinburgh, to wait upon the unfortunate Charles I. at Newcastle, when it was learned that the unhappy monarch had delivered himself up to the Scottish army encamped at Newark.

In 1649 Mr. Guthrie was translated from Lauder to Stirling, where he remained until his death. While in this charge he continued to distinguish himself by the zeal and boldness with which he defended the covenant, and opposed the resolutions in favour of the king (Charles II.) He was now considered leader of the Protesters, a party opposed to monarchy, and to certain indulgences proposed by the sovereign and sanctioned by the committee of estates, and who were thus contra-distinguished from the Resolutioners, which comprehended the greater part of the more moderate of the clergy.

Mr. Guthrie had in the meantime created himself a powerful enemy in the Earl of Middleton, by proposing to the commission of the General Assembly to excommunicate him for his hostility to the church; the proposal was entertained, and Guthrie himself was employed to carry it into execution in a public manner in the church of Stirling. It is related by those who were certainly no friends to Guthrie, regarding this circumstance, that on the morning of the Sabbath on which the sentence of excommunication was to be carried into effect against Middleton, a messenger, a nobleman it is said, arrived at Mr. Guthrie's house with a letter from the king, earnestly requesting him to delay the sentence for that Sabbath. The bearer, waiting until he had read the letter, demanded an answer. Guthrie is said to have replied, "You had better come to church and hear sermon, and after that you shall have your answer."

The messenger complied; but what was his surprise, when he heard the sentence pronounced in the usual course of things, as if no negotiation regarding it had taken place. On the dismissal of the congregation he is said to have taken horse and departed in the utmost indignation, and without seeking any further interview with Guthrie. It is certain that a letter was delivered to Guthrie, of the tenor and under the circumstances just mentioned, but it was not from the king, but, according to Wodrow, on the authority of his father, who had every opportunity of knowing the fact, from a nobleman. Who this nobleman was, however, he does not state, nor does he take it upon him to say even that it was written by the king's order, or that he was in any way privy to it. However this may be, it is stated further, on the authority just alluded to, that the letter in question was put into Mr. Guthrie's hands in the hall of his own house, after he had got his gown on, and was about to proceed to church, the last bell having just ceased ringing; having little time to decide on the contents of the letter, he gave no positive answer to the messenger, nor came under any promise to postpone the sentence of excommunication: with this exception the circumstance took place as already related.

Soon after the Restoration Mr. Guthrie and some others of his brethren, who had assembled at Edinburgh for the purpose of drawing up a *supplication* to his majesty, and who had already rendered themselves exceedingly obnoxious to the corrupt government, were apprehended and lodged in the castle of Edinburgh; from thence Mr. Guthrie was removed to Dundee, and afterwards brought back again to Edinburgh, where he was finally placed on trial for high treason, on the 20th of February, 1661; and, notwithstanding an able and ingenious defence, was condemned to death, a result in no small degree owing to the dislike which Middleton bore him for his officiousness in the matter of his excommunication, and which that nobleman had not forgotten.

It is said that Guthrie had been long impressed with the belief that he should die by the hands of the executioner, and many singular circumstances which he himself noted from time to time, and pointed out to his friends, strengthened him in this melancholy belief. Amongst these it is related, that when he came to Edinburgh to sign the solemn league and covenant, the first person he met as he entered at the West Port was the public executioner. On this occasion, struck with the singularity of the circumstance, and looking upon it as another intimation of the fate which awaited him, he openly expressed his conviction that he would one day suffer for the things contained in that document which he had come to subscribe.

Whilst under sentence of death Guthrie conducted himself with all the heroism of a martyr. Sincere and enthusiastic in the cause which he had espoused, he did not shrink from the last penalty to which his adherence to it could subject him, but, on the contrary, met it with cheerfulness and magnanimity. On the night before his execution he supped with some friends, and conducted himself throughout the repast as if he had been in his own house. He ate heartily, and after supper asked for cheese—a luxury which he had been long forbidden by his physicians; saying jocularly, that he need not now fear gravel, the complaint for which he had been restricted from it. Soon after supper he retired to bed, and slept soundly till four o'clock in the morning, when he raised himself up and prayed fervently. On the night before he wrote some letters to his friends, and sealed them with his coat of arms, but while the wax was yet soft, he turned the seal round and round

so as to mar the impression, and when asked why he did so, replied that he had now nothing to do with these vanities. A little before coming out of the tolbooth to proceed to execution, his wife, embracing him, said, "Now, my heart," her usual way of addressing him, "your time is drawing nigh, and I must take my last farewell of you." "Ay, you must," he answered, "for henceforth I know no man after the flesh." Before being brought out to suffer, a request was made to the authorities by his friends to allow him to wear his hat on the way to the scaffold, and also that they would not pinion him until he reached the place of execution. Both requests were at first denied; the former absolutely, because, as was alleged, the Marquis of Argyle, who had been executed a short while before, had worn his hat, in going to the scaffold, in a manner markedly indicative of defiance and contempt, and which had given much offence. To the latter request, that he might not be pinioned, they gave way so far, on a representation being made that he could not walk without his staff, on account of erysipelas in one of his legs, as to allow him so much freedom in his arms as to enable him to make use of that support, but they would not altogether dispense with that fatal preparation. Having ascended the scaffold, he delivered with a calm and serene countenance an impressive address to those around him; justified all for which he was about to suffer, and recommended all who heard him to adhere firmly to the covenant. After hanging for some time, his head was struck off, and placed on the Netherbow Port, where it remained for seven and twenty years, when it was taken down and buried by a Mr. Alexander Hamilton at the hazard of his own life. The body, after being beheaded, was carried to the Old Kirk, where it was dressed by a number of ladies who waited its arrival for that purpose; many of whom, besides, dipped their napkins in his blood, that they might preserve them as memorials of so admired a martyr. While these gentlewomen were in the act of discharging this pious duty, a young gentleman suddenly appeared amongst them, and without any explanation proceeded to pour out a bottle of rich perfume on the dead body. "God bless you, sir, for this labour of love," said one of the ladies, and then, without uttering a word, this singular visitor departed. He was, however, afterwards discovered to be a surgeon in Edinburgh named George Stirling. Guthrie was executed on the 1st June, 1661.

GUTHRIE, WILLIAM, the author of the well-known work entitled *The Christian's Great Interest*, was born at Pitforthly in Forfarshire, in the year 1620. His father was proprietor of that estate, and was a cadet of the family of that ilk. He had five sons, of whom it is remarkable that four devoted themselves to the ministry. Of these William was the eldest.

The rank and estate of Mr. Guthrie enabled him to educate his sons liberally for the profession which so many of them had chosen from their early years. William, with whom alone we are at present concerned, made while very young such advances in classical literature as to give high hopes of future eminence. His academical education was conducted at St. Andrews university under the immediate direction of his relation Mr. James Guthrie, afterwards the heroic martyr in the cause of civil and religious liberty, and subject of the preceding notice. The records of the university for this period are unfortunately lost, so that the time of his matriculation, or any other information respecting his advancement or proficiency, cannot be obtained from that

source. We know, however, that after completing the philosophical curriculum he took the degree of Master of Arts, and then devoted his attention to the study of divinity under Mr. Samuel Rutherford. At length he applied to the presbytery of St. Andrew's for license, and having gone through the usual "tryalls," he obtained it in August, 1642. Soon afterwards he left St. Andrews, carrying with him a letter of recommendation from the professors, in which they expressed a high opinion of his character and talents.

Mr. Guthrie was now engaged by the Earl of Loudon as tutor to his son Lord Mauchlin. In that situation he remained till his ordination as first minister of Fenwick—a parish which had till that time formed part of that of Kilmarnock. Lord Boyd, the superior of the latter—a stanch royalist and a supporter of the association formed at Cumbernauld in favour of the king in 1641—had also the patronage of Fenwick. This nobleman was most decidedly averse to Mr. Guthrie's appointment—from what reasons does not appear, although we may be allowed to conjecture that it arose either from Mr. Guthrie's decided principles, or from the steady attachment of the Loudon family to the Presbyterian interest. Some of the parishioners, however, had heard him preach a preparation sermon in the church of Galston, became his warmest advocates, and were supported in their solicitations by the influence of the heritors. Mr. Guthrie was after some delay ordained minister of the parish on the 7th of November, 1644.

The difficulties which Mr. Guthrie had to encounter when he entered upon his charge were neither few nor unimportant. From the former large extent of the parish of Kilmarnock, the nature of the country, and the badness, in many cases the total want, of roads, a large mass of the people must have entirely wanted the benefits of religious instruction. He left no plan untried to improve their condition in that respect. By every means in his power he allured the ignorant or the vicious; to some he even gave bribes to attend the church; others in more remote districts he visited as if incidentally travelling through their country, or even sometimes in the disguise of a sportsman; in such cases, says the author of the *Scots Worthies*, "he gained some to a religious life whom he could have had little influence upon in a minister's dress."

In August, 1645, Mr. Guthrie married Agnes, daughter of David Campbell of Skeldon in Ayrshire, but he was soon called to leave his happy home by his appointment as a chaplain to the army. He continued with them till the battle of Dunbar was fought and lost: after it he retired with the troops to Stirling; from thence he went to Edinburgh, where we find him dating his letters about six weeks afterwards. The last remove was viewed by the clergy with considerable jealousy; and their suspicions of an "intended compliance," intimated to him in a letter from Mr. Samuel Rutherford, must have been a source of much distress and embarrassment to him. That such was not his intention his subsequent conduct showed, nor was it any part of Cromwell's policy to convert the Scottish clergy by torture or imprisonment. Upon entering the metropolis he intimated that he did not wish to interfere with the religion of the country, and that those ministers who had taken refuge in the castle might resume their functions in their respective parishes.

But while Cromwell had determined to leave the clergy and people of Scotland to their own free-will in matters of religion, it is lamentable to observe that they split into factions, which were the cause of some violent and unchristian exhibitions. When

they divided into the grand parties of Resolutions and Remonstrators or Protesters, Mr. Guthrie joined the latter: but he displayed little of that animosity which so unfortunately distinguished many of his brethren. He preached with those whose political opinions differed from his own, and earnestly engaged in every measure which might restore the peace of the church. But while we cannot but lament their existence, these dissensions do not seem to have been unfavourable to the growth of religion in the country. On the contrary, both Law and Kirkton inform us that "there was great good done by the preaching of the gospel" during that period, "more than was observed to have been for twenty or thirty years." We have some notices of public disputes which took place during the protectorate—particularly of one at Cupar in 1652, between a regimental chaplain and a Presbyterian clergyman.¹ It is highly probable that this freedom of debate, and the consequent liberty of professing any religious sentiments, may have been one great cause of so remarkable a revival.

From this period to the Restoration few interesting events present themselves to the reader of Scottish history. We do not find any notice of Mr. Guthrie till the year 1661, when all the fabric which the Presbyterians had raised during the reign of Charles I. was destroyed at one blow. Of the exaggerated benefits anticipated from the restoration of his son every one who has read our national history is aware. Charles II. was permitted to return to the throne with no farther guarantee for the civil and religious liberties of his people than fine speeches or fair promises. It was not long before our Scottish ancestors discovered their mistake; but the fatal power, which recalls to the mind the ancient fable of the countryman and the serpent, was now fully armed, and was as uncompromising as inhuman in its exercise. In the dark and awful struggle which followed, Mr. Guthrie was not an idle spectator. He attended the meeting of the synod of Glasgow and Ayr, which was held at the former place in April, 1661, and framed an address to the parliament at once spirited and moderate. Unfortunately, when this address was brought forward for the approbation of the synod, the members were so much divided that one party declared their determination to dissent in the event of its being presented. In such circumstances it could only prove a disgraceful memorial of their distractions, and many, otherwise approving of its spirit and temper, voted against any further procedure. The "Glasgow Act," by which all ministers who had been ordained after 1649, and did not receive collation from their bishop, were banished, soon followed; but it did not affect Mr. Guthrie.

Through the good offices of the Earl of Glencairn (to whom Mr. Guthrie had some opportunity of doing a favour during his imprisonment before the Restoration) he had hitherto escaped many of the evils which had visited so large a majority of his brethren. Dr. Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, now began to act with great severity towards the non-conforming clergy of his diocese. To the entreaty of Lord Glencairn and of other noblemen, that he would in the meantime overlook Mr. Guthrie, the haughty prelate only replied, "That cannot be done—it shall not: he is a ringleader and a keeper up of schism in my diocese." With much difficulty he prevailed upon the curate of Calder, for the paltry bribe of five pounds, to intimate his suspension. The parishioners of Fenwick had determined to oppose such an intimation even at the risk of rebellion, but were prevailed upon to desist from an

¹ *Lamont's Diary*, ed. 1830, p. 48.

attempt which would have drawn undoubted ruin upon themselves. The paltry curate therefore proceeded upon his errand with a party of twelve soldiers, and intimated to Mr. Guthrie, and afterwards in the parish church, his commission from Archbishop Burnet to suspend him. Wodrow mentions that when he wrote his history it was still confidently asserted "that Mr. Guthrie, at parting, did signify to the curate that he apprehended some evident mark of the Lord's displeasure was abiding him for what he was now doing"—but that this report rested on very doubtful authority. "Whatever be in this," he continues, "I am well assured the curate never preached more after he left Fenwick. He came to Glasgow, and whether he reached Calder—but four miles beyond it—I know not: but in four days he died in great torment of an iliac passion, and his wife and children died all in a year or thereby. So hazardous a thing is it to meddle with Christ's sent servants."

Mr. Guthrie remained in the parish of Fenwick for a year after this time without preaching. In the autumn of 1665 he went to Pitforth, where his brother's affairs required his presence. He had only been there a few days when a complaint which had preyed upon his constitution for many years, a threatening of stone, returned with great violence, accompanied by internal ulceration. After some days of extreme pain, in the intervals of which he often cheered his friends by his prospects of happiness in a sinless state, he died in the house of his brother-in-law, the Rev. Lewis Skinner, at Brechin, on the 10th of October, 1665.

Mr. Guthrie would in all probability never have appeared before the world as an author had it not been requisite in his own defence. In 1656 or 1657 a volume was published, containing imperfect notes of sermons preached by him on the fifty-fifth chapter of Isaiah. Although it had a considerable circulation, he was not less displeased with its contents than the pomposity of its title. It was true, indeed, that it was not brought forward as his production, yet Mr. Guthrie "was reputed the author through the whole country," and therefore bound to disclaim it in his own vindication. He accordingly revised the notes which he had preserved of these sermons; and from thence wrote his only genuine work, *The Christian's Great Interest*, now better known by the title of the first part, *The Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ*. Any praise that could here be bestowed upon the work would be superfluous. It has gained for itself the best proof of its merits—a circulation almost unparalleled among that class of readers for which it was perhaps chiefly intended, the intelligent Scottish peasantry.

John Howie mentions in his *Scots Worthies*, that "there were also some discourses of Mr. Guthrie's in manuscript," out of which he transcribed seventeen sermons, published in the year 1779. At the same period there were also a great number of MS. sermons and notes bearing his name. Some of these had apparently been taken from his widow by a party of soldiers who entered her house by violence, and took her son-in-law prisoner in 1682.

It may be necessary here to allude to another work connected with Mr. Guthrie's name—"The Heads of some Sermons preached at Fenwick in August, 1662, by Mr. William Guthrie, upon Mat. xiv. 24, &c., anent the trials of the Lord's people, their support in, and deliverance from them by Jesus Christ," published in 1680, and reprinted in 1714. This work was wholly unauthorized by his representatives, being taken not from his own MSS., but from imperfect notes or recollections of some of his hearers.

His widow published an advertisement disclaiming it, a copy of which is preserved in the Advocates' Library, among the collections of the indefatigable Wodrow.

Memoirs of Mr. Guthrie will be found in the *Scots Worthies*, and at the beginning of the work *The Christian's Great Interest*. A later and more complete sketch of his life, interspersed with his letters to Sir William Muir, younger, has been written by the Rev. William Muir, the editor of the interesting genealogical little work, *The History of the House of Rowallan*. From the latter most of the materials for the present notice have been drawn.

GUTHRIE, WILLIAM, a political, historical, and miscellaneous writer, was born in Forfarshire in the year 1708. His father was an Episcopal minister at Brechin, and a cadet of a family which has for a long time possessed considerable influence in that part of the country. He studied at King's College in Aberdeen, and having taken his degrees, had resolved to retire early from the activity and ambition of the world to the humble pursuits of a Scottish parochial schoolmaster; from this retreat, however, he seems to have been early driven by the consequences of some unpropitious affair of the heart, hinted at but not named by his biographers, which seems to have created, from its circumstances, so great a ferment among the respectable connections of the schoolmaster, that he resolved to try his fortune in the mighty labyrinth of London. Other accounts mingle with this the circumstance of his having been an adherent of the house of Stuart, which is likely enough from his parentage, and of his consequently being disabled from holding any office under the Hanoverian government—a method of making his livelihood which his character informs us he would not have found disagreeable could he have followed it up; at all events, we find him in London, after the year 1730, working hard as a general literary man for his livelihood, and laying himself out as a doer of all work in the profession of letters. Previously to Dr. Johnson's connection with the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which commenced about the year 1738, Guthrie had been in the habit of collecting and arranging the parliamentary debates for that periodical, or rather of putting such words into the mouths of certain statesmen as he thought they might or should have made use of, clothing the names of the senators in allegorical terms—a system to which a dread of the power of parliament, and the uncertainty of the privilege of being present at debates, prompted the press at that time to have recourse. When Johnson had been regularly employed as a writer in the magazine, the reports, after receiving such embellishments as Guthrie could bestow on them, were sent to him by Cave to receive the final touch of oratorical colouring; and sometimes afterwards the labour was performed by Johnson alone, considerably, it may be presumed, to the fame and appreciation of the honourable orators. Guthrie soon after this period had managed to let it be known to government that he was a person who could write well, and that it might depend on circumstances whether he should use his pen as the medium of attack or of defence. The matter was placed on its proper footing, and Mr. Guthrie received from the Pelham administration a pension of £200 a year. He was a man who knew better how to maintain his ground than the ministry did, and he managed with his pension to survive its fall. Nearly twenty years afterwards we find him making laudable efforts for the continuance of his allowance by the then administration: the following letter addressed to a minister—one of the coolest specimens

of literary commerce on record—we cannot avoid quoting:—

“June 3d, 1762.

“MY LORD,—In the year 1745–6 Mr. Pelham, then first lord of the treasury, acquainted me that it was his majesty's pleasure I should receive till better provided for, which never has happened, £200 a year, to be paid by him and his successors in the treasury. I was satisfied with the august name made use of, and the appointment has been regularly and quarterly paid me ever since. I have been equally punctual in doing the government all the services that fell within my abilities or sphere of life, especially in those critical situations which call for unanimity in the service of the crown. Your lordship will possibly now suspect that I am an author by profession—you are not deceived; and you will be less so if you believe that I am disposed to serve his majesty under your lordship's future patronage and protection with greater zeal, if possible, than ever.

“I have the honour to be, my lord, &c.,

“WILLIAM GUTHRIE.”

This application, as appears from its date, had been addressed to a member of the Bute administration, and within a year after it was written the author must have had to undergo the task of renewing his appeal and changing his political principles. The path he had chosen out was one of danger and difficulty: but we have the satisfaction of knowing that the reward of his submission to the powers that were, and of his contempt for common political prejudices, was duly continued to the day of his death.

The achievements of Guthrie in the literary world it is not easy distinctly or satisfactorily to trace. The works which bear his name would rank him as, perhaps, the most miscellaneous and extensive author in the world; but he is generally believed to have been as regardless of the preservation of his literary fame as of his political constancy, and to have shielded the productions of authors less known to the world under the sanction of his name. About the year 1763 he published “*A Complete History of the English Peerage*, from the best Authorities, illustrated with elegant Copperplates of the Arms of the Nobility, &c.” The noble personages whose ancestors appeared in this work as the embodied models of all human perfection, were invited to correct and revise the portions in which they felt interested before they were committed to the press; nevertheless, the work is full of mistakes, and has all the appearance of having been touched by a hasty though somewhat vigorous hand. Thus, the battle of Dettingen, as connected with the history of the Duke of Cumberland, is mentioned as having taken place in June, 1744, while, in the account of the Duke of Marlborough, the period retrogrades to 1742—both being exactly the same distance of time from the true era of the battle, which was 1743. Very nearly in the same neighbourhood George II. achieves the feat of leaving Hanover on the 10th of June, and reaching Aschaffenberg on the 10th of the same month; in a similar manner the house of peers is found addressing his majesty on the subject of the battle of Culloden on the 29th of August, 1746, just after the prorogation of parliament. To this work Mr. Guthrie procured the assistance of Mr. Ralph Bigland. Guthrie afterwards wrote a history of England in three large folios; it commences with the conquest, and terminates, rather earlier than it would appear the author had at first intended, at the end of the republic. This work has the merit of being the earliest British history which placed reliance on the fund of authentic information to be found in the records of parliament. But the genius of Guthrie was not to be chained to

the history of the events of one island; at divers times about the years 1764–5 appeared portions of “*A General History of the World, from the Creation to the Present Time*, by William Guthrie, Esq., John Gray, Esq., and others Eminent in this Branch of Literature,” in twelve volumes. “No authors,” says the *Critical Review*, “ever pursued an original plan with fewer deviations than the writers of this work. They connect history in such a manner, that Europe seems one republic, though under different heads and constitutions.” Guthrie was then a principal writer in that leading periodical, in which his works received much praise, because, to save trouble, and as being best acquainted with the subject, the author of the books took on himself the duties of critic, and was consequently well satisfied with the performance. In 1767 Mr. Guthrie published in parts a *History of Scotland*, in ten volumes octavo. It commences with “the earliest period,” and introduces us to an ample acquaintance with Dornadilla, Durst, Corbred, and the numerous other long-lived monarchs, whose names Father Innes had, some time previously, consigned to the regions of fable. Of several of these persons he presents us with very respectable portraits, which prove their taste in dress, and knowledge of theatrical effect, to have been by no means contemptible. In this work the author adheres with pertinacity to many opinions which prior authors of celebrity considered they had exploded; like Goodall, he seems anxious to take vengeance on those who showed the ancient Scots to have come from Ireland by proving the Irish to have come from Scotland; and a similar spirit seems to have actuated him in maintaining the *regiam majestatem* of Scotland to have been the original of the *regiam potestatem* of Glanvil—Nicholson and others having discovered that the Scottish code was borrowed from the English. With all its imperfections, this book constituted the best *complete* history of Scotland published during the last century. The views of policy are frequently profound and accurate, and the knowledge of the contemporaneous history of other nations frequently exhibited, shows that attention and consideration might have enabled the author to have produced a standard historical work. Towards its general merits Pinkerton has addressed the following growl of qualified praise:—“Guthrie's *History of Scotland* is the best of the modern, but it is a mere money-job, hasty and inaccurate.” It would be a useless and tedious task to particularize the numerous works of this justly styled “miscellaneous writer.” One of the works, however, which bear his name, has received the unqualified approbation of the world. *Guthrie's Historical and Geographical Grammar* is known to every one, from the school-boy to the philosopher, as a useful and well-digested manual of information. This work had reached its twenty-first edition before the year 1810; it was translated into French in 1801 by Messieurs Noel and Soules, and the translation was re-edited for the fourth time in a very splendid manner in 1807. The astronomical information was supplied by James Gregory, and rumour bestows on Knox the bookseller the reputation of having written the remaining part under the guarantee of a name of literary authority. Besides the works already enumerated, Guthrie translated *Quintilian*, *Cicero De Officiis*, and *Cicero's Epistles to Atticus*; he likewise wrote *The Friends*, a *Sentimental History*, in two volumes, and *Remarks on English Tragedy*. This singular individual terminated his laborious life in March, 1770. The following tribute to his varied qualifications is to be found on his tombstone in Mary-le-bone:—“Near this place lies interred the body of William Guthrie, Esq., who died 9th

March, 1770, aged sixty-two, representative of the ancient family of Guthrie of Halkerton, in the county of Angus, North Britain; eminent for knowledge in all branches of literature, and of the British constitution, which his many works, historical, geographical, classical, critical, and political, do testify; to whom this monument was erected, by order of his brother, Henry Guthrie, Esq., in the year 1777."

Guthrie was one of those individuals who live by making themselves useful to others, and his talents and habits dictated the most profitable occupation for his time to be composition: he seems to have exulted in the self-imposed term of "an author by profession;" and we find him three years before his death complacently styling himself, in a letter to the Earl of Buchan, "the oldest author by profession in Britain;" like many who have maintained a purer fame, and filled a higher station, his political principles were guided by emolument, which, in his instance,

seems to have assumed the aspect of pecuniary necessity. Had not his engagements with the booksellers prompted him to aim at uniting the various qualities of a Hume, a Robertson, a Johnson, a Camden, and a Cowley, attention to one particular branch of his studies might have made his name illustrious. Johnson considered him a person of sufficient eminence to regret that his life had not been written, and uttered to Boswell the following sententious opinion of his merits:—"Sir, he is a man of parts. He has no regular fund of knowledge, but by reading so long, and writing so long, he no doubt has picked up a good deal." Boswell elsewhere states in a note:—"How much poetry he wrote I know not, but he informed me that he was the author of the beautiful little piece, "The Eagle and Robin Redbreast," in the collection of poems entitled *The Union*, though it is there said to be written by Archibald Scott before the year 1600."

H.

HACKSTON, DAVID, of Rathillet, is a name of considerable celebrity in the annals of Scotland, from its connection with the events of 1679-80, and from its pre-eminence in some of the most remarkable transactions of that stormy period. Hackston, though indebted for his celebrity to the zeal and courage which he displayed in the cause of the Covenanters, is said to have led an exceedingly irreligious life during his earlier years, from which he was reclaimed by attending some of the field preachings of the period, when he became a sincere and devoted convert. The first remarkable transaction in which he was engaged in connection with the party with which he had now associated himself was the murder of Archbishop Sharp. Hackston of Rathillet formed a conspicuous figure in the group of that prelate's assassins, although in reality he had no immediate hand in the murder. He seems, however, even previous to this, to have gained a considerable ascendancy over his more immediate companions, and to have been already looked up to by his party as a man whose daring courage and enthusiasm promised to be of essential service to their cause. When the archbishop's carriage came in sight of the conspirators, of whom there were eight besides Hackston, they unanimously chose him their leader, pledging themselves to obey him in everything in the conduct of the proposed attack on the prelate. This distinction, however, Hackston declined, on the ground that he had a private quarrel with the archbishop, and that therefore, if he should take an active part in his destruction, the world would allege that he had done it to gratify a personal hatred—a feeling of which he declared he entertained none whatever towards their intended victim. He further urged scruples of conscience regarding the proposed deed, of the lawfulness of which he said he by no means felt assured, the archbishop, as is well known, having only come accidentally in the way of Hackston and his associates. Hackston having refused the command of the party, another was chosen, and under his directions the murder was perpetrated. Whilst the shocking scene was going forward, Hackston kept altogether aloof, and countenanced it no further than by looking on. He seems, however, to have had little other objection to the commission of the crime than that he himself should not have an immediate hand in its accom-

plishment; for when the unfortunate old man, after being compelled to come out of his carriage by the assassins, appealed to him for protection, saying, "Sir, I know you are a gentleman, you will protect me;" he contented himself with replying that he would never lay a hand on him. Rathillet was on horseback, from which he did not alight during the whole time of the murder. Next day the conspirators divided themselves into two parties, three remaining in Fife, and five, with Rathillet, proceeding north in the direction of Dunblane and Perth. Soon after they repaired to the west, and finally joined a body of Covenanters at Evandale. Here the latter, having drawn up a declaration containing their testimony to the truth, Rathillet with another, Mr. Douglas, one of the most intrepid of the covenanting clergymen, was appointed to publish it. For this purpose he proceeded with his colleague to the town of Rutherglen, where, on 29th May, after burning, at the market cross, all those acts of parliament and council which they and their party deemed prejudicial to their interest, they proclaimed the testimony. Hackston's next remarkable appearance was at the battle of Drumclog, where he distinguished himself by his bravery. On the alarm being given that Claverhouse was in sight, and approaching the position of the Covenanters, who, though they had met there for divine worship, were all well armed, Hackston and Hall of Haugh-head placed themselves at the head of the footmen, and led them gallantly on against the dragoons of Claverhouse. The result of that encounter is well known. The bravery of the Covenanters prevailed. The affair of Drumclog was soon after followed by that of Bothwell Brig, where Rathillet again made himself conspicuous by his intrepidity, being, with his troop of horse, the last of the whole army of the Covenanters on the field of battle. He had flown from rank to rank when he saw the confusion which was arising amongst the Covenanters, and alternately threatened and besought the men to keep their ground. Finding all his efforts vain, "My friends," he said, addressing his troop, "we can do no more, we are the last upon the field;" and he now, retreating himself, endeavoured as much as possible to cover the rear of the fleeing Covenanters. Rathillet sought safety in concealment, for, besides what he had to fear from his having carried arms

against the government, he had also to apprehend the consequences of a proclamation which had been issued, offering a reward of 10,000 merks for his apprehension, or any of those concerned in the death of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. For twelve months he contrived to escape, but was at length taken prisoner at Airmoss by Bruce of Earlsall. Rathillet, with about sixty other persons, had come to the place just named to attend a preaching by Richard Cameron, the celebrated founder of the sect called Cameronians, when they were surprised by Bruce with a large body of horse, and after a desperate resistance, during which Hackston was severely wounded, he and several others were taken. Cameron himself was killed in this affair, with nine of his adherents. Hackston gives a very interesting account of this skirmish, and, without the slightest aim at effect, has presented us with as remarkable and striking an instance of the spirit of the times, of the almost romantic bravery and resolution which religious fervour had inspired into the Covenanters, as is upon record. It appears from the account alluded to that the party to which Hackston was attached had been informed that the military were in search of them, and that, to avoid the latter, they had spent some days and nights, previous to their encountering them, in the moors. On the day on which the skirmish took place, while wandering through the morasses, they came upon a spot of grass, which tempted them to halt. Here they laid themselves down and took some refreshment, but while thus employed they were startled with the intelligence that their enemies were approaching them, Hackston conjectures, to the number of at least 112 men, well armed and mounted, while the force of the Covenanters did not amount to more than sixty-three, of which forty were on foot, and twenty-three on horseback, and the greater part of them but poorly appointed. Unappalled by those odds, Hackston immediately formed his little host in battle array, and, while doing so, asked them if they were all willing to fight. The reply was readily given in the affirmative, and preparations were instantly made for a desperate conflict. In the meantime the dragoons were fast advancing towards them. Hackston, however, did not wait for the attack, but put his little band also in motion, and marched on to meet their enemy. "Our horse," says Hackston, "advanced to their faces, and we fired on each other. I being foremost, after receiving their fire, and finding the horse behind me broken, rode in amongst them, and went out at a side without any wrong or wound. I was pursued by severals, with whom I fought a good space, sometimes they following me and sometimes I following them. At length my horse bogged, and the foremost of theirs, which was David Ramsay, one of my acquaintance, we both being on foot, fought it with small swords, without advantage of one another, but at length closing, I was stricken down with those on horseback behind me, and received three sore wounds on the head, and so falling, he saved my life, which I submitted to. They searched me and carried me to their rear, and laid me down, where I bled much—where were brought severals of their men sore wounded. They gave us all testimony of being brave resolute men." Hackston with several others were now, his little party having been defeated, carried prisoners to Douglas, and from thence to Lanark. Here he was brought before Dalrymple, who, not being satisfied with his answers, threatened in the brutal manner peculiar to him to *roast* him for his contumacy. Without any regard to the miserable condition in which Hackston was—dreadfully wounded and worn out with fatigue—Dalrymple now ordered him to be put

in irons, and to be fastened down to the floor of his prison, and would not allow of any medical aid to alleviate his sufferings. On Saturday, two days after the affair of Airmoss, Rathillet, with other three prisoners, were brought to Edinburgh. On arriving at the city they were carried round about by the north side of the town, and made to enter at the foot of the Canongate, where they were received by the magistrates. Here the unparalleled cruelties to which Hackston was subjected commenced. Before entering the town he was placed upon a horse with "his face backward, and the other three were bound on a goad of iron, and Mr. Cameron's head carried on a halbert before him, and another head in a sack on a lad's back." And thus disposed, the procession moved up the street towards the Parliament Close, where the prisoners were loosed by the hands of the hangman. Rathillet was immediately carried before the council, and examined regarding the murder of Archbishop Sharp, and on several points relative to his religious and political doctrines. Here he conducted himself with the same fortitude which had distinguished him on other perilous occasions, maintaining and defending his opinions, however unpalatable they might be to his judges. After undergoing a second examination by the council, he was handed over to the court of judicatory, with instructions from the former to the latter to proceed against him with the utmost severity. On the 29th of July he was brought to trial as an accessory to the murder of the primate, for publishing two seditious papers, and for having carried arms against his sovereign. Rathillet declined the jurisdiction of the court, and refused to plead. This, however, of course, availed him nothing. On the day following he was again brought to the bar, and in obedience to the injunctions of the council, sentenced to suffer a death unsurpassed in cruelty by any upon record, and which had been dictated by the council previous to his trial by the judicatory court, in the certain anticipation of his condemnation. After receiving sentence, the unfortunate man was carried directly from the bar and placed upon a hurdle, on which he was drawn to the place of execution at the cross of Edinburgh. On his ascending the scaffold, where none were permitted to be with him but two magistrates and the executioner and his attendants, the cruelties to which he had been condemned were begun. His right hand was struck off; but the hangman performing the operation in a tardy and bungling manner, Rathillet, when he came to take off the left hand also, desired him to strike on the joint. This done, he was drawn up to the top of the gallows with a pulley, and allowed to fall again with a sudden and violent jerk. Having been three times subjected to this barbarous proceeding, he was hoisted again to the top of the gibbet, when the executioner with a large knife laid open his breast, before he was yet dead, and pulled out his heart. This he now stuck on the point of a knife, and showed it on all sides to the spectators, crying, "Here is the heart of a traitor!" It was then thrown into a fire prepared for the purpose. His body was afterwards quartered. One quarter, together with his hands, were sent to St. Andrews, another to Glasgow, a third to Leith, and a fourth to Burntisland, his head being fixed upon the Netherbow. Thus perished Hackston of Rathillet, a man in whose life, and in the manner of whose death, we find at once a remarkable but faithful specimen of the courage and fortitude of the persecuted of the seventeenth century, and of the inhuman and relentless spirit of their persecutors.

HAILES, LORD. *See* DALRYMPLE, SIR DAVID.

HALDANE, JAMES ALEXANDER.—It seldom happens that when a great work is to be accomplished in which co-operated effort is required, the same family which produced the originator should also furnish the effectual secondor of the movement. From this general rule the family of Haldane of Airthrey is an honoured exception; for while Robert was building churches over the whole extent of Scotland, his younger brother, James, was ably preparing the way by preaching in its most destitute localities, and reviving that religious spirit which had sunk for years into cold apathy and indifference.

James Alexander Haldane was born at Dundee, on the 14th of July, 1768, within a fortnight after the death of his father. He also lost his mother when he had only reached his sixth year. After attending the high-school of Edinburgh with his brother, he went to the university, which he attended for three years, until he had completed his studies in Latin and Greek, and gone through the curriculum of logic, metaphysics, mathematics, and natural philosophy. Having thus established a sufficient groundwork for future self-improvement, and made a tour through the north of England, he joined, at the age of seventeen, the service for which he had been early destined, by entering as midshipman the *Duke of Montrose*, East Indiaman, bound to Bombay and China, of which ship he was to obtain the command when he was qualified by age and service.

On embarking upon his profession, James Haldane devoted himself earnestly to his duties, ambitious to become an active seaman and skilful navigator. Besides this, his love of general literature, which his previous education had imparted, made him spend all his leisure time in the study of the best authors, of which he carried with him a well-stored sea-chest, and in this way he was unconsciously training himself to become an able theological writer and eloquent preacher. He made in all four voyages to India and China; and during the long period over which these extended he saw much of the variety of life, as well as experienced the usual amount of hair's-breadth escapes so incidental to his profession. During his third voyage, in which he was third officer of the *Hillsborough*, and while returning from India, he encountered one of those dangers so frequently attendant upon the naval and military service, and so unreasonable and contemptible in services so full of perils of their own, because so utterly gratuitous. One of the passengers, a cavalry officer, notorious as a quarrelsome bully and a good shot, picked a quarrel with James Haldane, and at the mess-table threw a glass of wine in his face, which the other retorted by throwing a decanter at the officer's head. A challenge was inevitable, and Haldane was the more ready to receive it, as, from his antagonist's reputation as a duellist, a refusal might have looked like cowardice. Such was that law of honour now so generally abjured, which in a few years more will evaporate amidst the general derision. No opportunity occurred of a hostile meeting until the ship arrived at St. Helena, where the parties went ashore early in the morning to settle their quarrel by mortal arbitration. James Haldane who, the night before had made his will, and written a farewell letter to his brother, to be delivered in the event of his death, raised his pistol at the signal, and inwardly ejaculating, with fearful inconsistency, the solemn prayer, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit," he drew the trigger. The pistol burst, and one of the splinters wounded him in the face, while his opponent, whose weapon at the same instant missed fire, declared himself fully satisfied. Thus terminated the first and last affair of the kind

in which he ever was engaged. His amiable disposition, as well as his acknowledged courage and spirit, alike prevented him afterwards from giving or receiving injury.

After his fourth voyage was completed, James Haldane, now at the age of twenty-five, was found fully competent to assume the command of the *Melville Castle*; and on passing his examinations he was promoted to that office in 1793. After his appointment he married Miss Joass, only child of Major Joass, fort-major of Stirling Castle, and niece of Sir Ralph Abercromby. As his fortune was still to seek, while his bride was a young lady of great attractions and high prospects, some demur was made by her relatives to her marriage with a younger brother; but the mutual affection of the pair at last reconciled all parties to the measure. At the end of the year the *Melville Castle* was at Portsmouth ready for an Indian voyage, in company with a large fleet of Indiamen lying at the same port, and Haldane, having parted with his wife at London, had already joined his vessel, when delays occurred that prevented its sailing till some months afterwards. While the fleet was thus lying at anchor, a mutiny broke out in the *Dutton*, which grew to such a height that the chief officers were obliged in terror to abandon the ship; and the crew, arming themselves with what weapons came to hand, threatened to sink every boat that came alongside to board them, or at the worst to blow up the ship, or carry it into a French port. In this state of wild uproar Captain Haldane threw himself into one of the boats of the *Melville Castle*, and approached the *Dutton*, amidst the cries of "Keep off, or we'll sink you!" Undeterred by these threats, he boarded the hostile deck, cutlass in hand, relieved the remaining officers, who were about to be overpowered on the quarter-deck, and by his prompt decided measures so appalled the mutineers, that they were soon brought to a surrender. But while this was going on upon deck, a noise was heard below, and on learning the cause he rushed to the powder magazine, which two men were about to enter, with a shovelful of live coals, after having wrenched off the doors, swearing that they would blow the ship to heaven or hell, no matter which. He clapped a pistol to the breast of the most forward, and compelled him to stand; and ordered the crew to put the two offenders instantly in irons, which was done almost as rapidly as it had been commanded. The daring demeanour and prompt decision of the young captain of the *Melville Castle* so completely quelled the ship's company, and recalled their habits of obedience, that the chief mutineers submitted, and order was restored.

By this time Haldane had acquired a high character in his profession. His skill as a sailor, and his excellent qualities as an officer, had endeared him to seamen and passengers alike; his courage in trying emergencies had been well proved; while the political influence by which he was supported, not only through his friends at home, but in India, where his wife's uncle, Sir Ralph Abercromby, was commander-in-chief of the British army, insured him the speedy attainment both of rank and fortune. Such a consummation was also expected of him as a duty, both on the part of his wife's relatives and his own, who saw no reason why he should sink, with all his prospects and attainments, into the rank of an obscure bonnet laird, or idle country gentleman. And yet he had even already resolved to abandon the sea and all its alluring advantages! The cause of this is to be traced to his early religious education, which had more or less clung to him in his after-career, so that in all he had undergone and enjoyed, as well as all

that he hoped or feared, he had felt the contention of two hostile elements within him—he had been a man divided against himself. With an earnest longing that the spiritual should prevail, so that he might be renewed and sanctified, he felt withal as if such an end could not be attained in his present pursuits and occupations. Frequent conversations with the Rev. Dr. Bogue of Gosport confirmed him in his purpose, which was also enforced by the earnest entreaties of his brother Robert, who had already quitted the navy, and was about to devote himself to that career of religious usefulness by which his whole life was afterwards distinguished. James Haldane accordingly sold his interest in the *Melville Castle* for a sum that insured him a decent independence for life, bade adieu to the sea for ever, and, on rejoining his wife in Scotland and establishing a peaceful home in Edinburgh, he became a diligent student in theology in the best sense of the term. It was in this way that both the brothers qualified themselves for their appointed work. In their case it was from no sudden fit of enthusiasm that they devoted themselves to a career which excited the wonderment of society, and that had to be persevered in through much scorn and opposition for years; on the contrary, they were led to the faith upon which they acted through a long course of inquiry; and this being attained, they were able deliberately to count the cost, and prepare themselves for the sacrifice. In this spirit, while Robert was earnestly straining every nerve to obtain the privilege of deportation and exile as a missionary, James was qualifying himself for the equally humble and self-denying duties of an itinerant preacher. The first attempts of James Haldane in this new sphere of action were sufficiently humble, being confined to the collier village of Gilmerton, where he preached his first sermon in May, 1797.

After having continued to preach for a short time at Gilmerton, James Haldane's views extended over Scotland at large, so that he resolved to commence the work of an itinerant preacher in good earnest. But an ambulatory ministry and lay preaching—these are irregularities which only a very urgent emergency can justify; and yet, perhaps, Scotland at this time needed them as much as England did the labours of her Wesleys and Whitefield. James Haldane also went forth, not as a minister, to dispense the higher ordinances of religion, but simply as an evangelist, to call men to repentance. This his first tour, in 1797, extended through the northern counties of Scotland and the Orkney Islands, and was made in company with Mr. Aikman, originally settled in a prosperous business in Jamaica, but now a student in theology, with the view of becoming a minister. They preached wherever they could find a place to assemble men together—in school-rooms and hospitals, at market-crosses, and in church-yards and upon stair-heads—and assembled their auditories by announcing their purpose through the town-drummer or bellman. In this way they itinerated through Perth, Scone, Cupar, Glamis, Kirriemuir, Montrose, and Aberdeen. At the last-mentioned place Haldane had hearers in thousands, who were attracted by the novelty of a captain of an East Indian turning preacher. The tourists then proceeded to Banff, Elgin, Forbes, Nairn, and Inverness; and having learned that a great fair was soon to be held at Kirkwall, to which people were wont to assemble from every island of the Orkneys, they resolved to comprise this Ultima Thule of the modern as well as the ancient world within the sphere of their operations. And miserable indeed was the spiritual state of the Orkneys at this time, where the ministers were

so far removed beyond the ken of the General Assembly, that they might live as they listed; while the difficulties of navigation in the performance of their duties were so numerous, that they might leave as much undone as they pleased. Here, then, was the field for a devoted Christian, earnest in his sacred work, and fearless of wind and weather; and from Kirkwall as his head-quarters, the bold sailor was ready to scud before the wind in an open boat, to preach the gospel at whatever island might most require his services. In some of these desolate places there had been no religious ordinances for several years; while in Kirkwall, where he and his fellow-traveller preached daily during the fair, they had congregations by the thousand.

This was but the first of a series of tours of a similar character, which were continued at intervals for years, not only in the north, south, and west of Scotland, but in England and Ireland; and which only ceased when the increase of a faithful ministry, and the general revival of a religious spirit, superseded the necessity of such itinerancy.

While Mr. James Haldane was thus pursuing his course as an itinerant and lay preacher, events soon occurred by which the office of an ordained minister, and the superintendence of a regular congregation, were added to his employments. His brother Robert, after having failed in his attempt to establish a great Indian mission, was now employed in the opening of tabernacles, and the extension of evangelical religion at home. It was natural that in such a work he should seek the able co-operation of his brother, and that, too, at Edinburgh, the metropolis and head-quarters of the new movement. The circus or tabernacle, a large place of worship capable of holding 2500 hearers, had been opened for this purpose, and on the 3d of February, 1799, Mr. James Haldane was ordained as its minister.

The rest of the life of James Haldane, as an Edinburgh dissenting minister, although it passed over such a course of years, may be briefly summed up.

The first important event that occurred arose from the divisions in that party of which he was so important a member. While a religious body is small, with the whole world arrayed against it, there is neither time for discord nor motive for division, and in this very feebleness its strength mainly consists. But with its expansion grows security, which promotes dissension, until it falls asunder by its own weight. This dissension had now commenced among the Independent congregations of Scotland, and it was based upon the trying questions of ecclesiastical polity and discipline. It was agreed on all hands that the apostolic model was the only authoritative rule: but what was that model? Here every one had his own theory or interpretation. The frequency with which the Lord's supper should be administered, the mode of conducting their weekly fellowship meetings for social worship, and the amount of pastoral duty that might be conceded to gifted lay members in exhorting the church and conducting the public devotions, were all severally and keenly contested as matters of religious, and therefore of infinite importance. To these, also, was added the question of pædobaptism, in which Mr. James Haldane himself was personally and deeply interested. He had been anxiously studying the subject for several years, and after some time he announced to his flock, that "although his mind was not made up to become himself a Baptist, yet that at present he could not conscientiously baptize children." His mind was made up at last: he was baptized; but still his wish was that the difference of opinion should be no ground of disunion between Baptists and Pædobaptists.

This, however, was too much to expect from any sect or class of Christians in the present state of human nature, and accordingly a disruption ensued in his congregation, of whom nearly two-thirds went away, some to the Establishment, and others to the two tabernacles in College Street and Niddry Street. By this change, also, the two Haldanes ceased to be the leaders of a sect which their labours had originated in Scotland, and their resources hitherto supported. As for James, he now ministered to a very limited congregation, and with diminished popularity, but his elevated generous heart could endure the change as far as it only affected himself. He saw that the good which he had sought to accomplish was in progress under other agencies; and he was content to be nothing, and less than nothing, if the gospel itself should become all in all.

In this way the days and years of James Haldane's life went onward. He regularly officiated to his own Edinburgh congregation, preached occasionally in the open air in its neighbourhood, and diversified his duties by journeys of similar usefulness to greater distances. He published several tracts upon the most important religious doctrines, which were widely circulated, and attended, it is believed, with much usefulness. He was also engaged as a controversialist, in which capacity he published a *Refutation of the Heretical Doctrine promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving, respecting the Person and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ*; and when Mr. H. Drummond came to the rescue of his pastor, with his *Candid Examination of the Controversy between Messrs. Irving, Andrew Thomson, and James Haldane*, the last replied with a volume of 277 pages. But controversy was not his congenial element, and Dr. Johnson would have rejected him because he was not a good hater. "I see many evils," he thus writes in a letter, "both at home and abroad, which I hope the Lord will correct; but I do not see anything which I can do, unless it be to live near to God, and to preach his gospel where I am placed in the course of his providence." In 1831 he published *Observations on Universal Pardon, the Extent of the Atonement, and Personal Assurance of Salvation*. The next important event that occurred in his course was the decease of his brother Robert, whose death-bed he attended, and whose triumphant end he witnessed; and it was during the closing hours of his life that the dying man spoke affectionately to his wife of the great benefit he had derived from the sermons and publications of his brother James, from which, he said, he had derived more solid edification than from any others. He also spoke with fond affection of the complete harmony of mind and purpose that had subsisted between them from the beginning. It seemed as if, in the course of nature, the death of James Haldane must speedily follow, for he was now seventy-four years old, and had already outlived many of his early associates. But his term was extended eight years longer, and they were years not of inert senility, but active diligent exertion. In 1842 he published a treatise entitled *Man's Responsibility; the Nature and Extent of the Atonement, and the Work of the Holy Spirit; in reply to Mr. Howard Hinton and the Baptist Midland Association*. In 1848 he reappeared as an author, by publishing an *Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians*. Between these he also published two tracts on the important subject of the *Atonement*. Until he had nearly reached the age of fourscore he was wont also, in addition to these labours, to conduct three public services every Sabbath. In 1849, having completed the fiftieth year of his ministry, his flock and the Congregationalists of Edinburgh agreed to

celebrate the event by a jubilee, which they did on the 12th of April; and the meeting was attended by ministers of all denominations, who were thus eager to testify their love for such a venerable father in Israel. After this his life and labours were continued till 1851, when both were terminated on the 8th of February, in the eighty-third year of his age. His last illness was gentle and brief, and his death the death of the righteous.

HALDANE, ROBERT. The family of Haldane had, for many centuries, been possessors of the barony of Gleneagles, in Perthshire, and were connected with some of the noblest houses of Scotland. As their name implies, they were of a Norse rather than Anglo-Saxon origin, and had probably emigrated from the Danelagh of England at, or soon after, the period of Alfred. Of the representatives of this family (Captain James Haldane of Airthrey, and Katherine Duncan, his wife and first cousin) were born two sons, Robert and James, the subjects of this and the previous notice, and a daughter, who died in childhood. Robert Haldane, the eldest of the family, was born, not in Scotland, but in London, on the 28th of February, 1764; but while still an infant he became a resident in his ancestral country of Scotland, where his father died in 1768. His widowed mother, the daughter of Alexander Duncan of Lundie, and sister of the illustrious hero of Camperdown, was eminent not only for gentleness and maternal affection, but ardent piety; and her religious instructions to her fatherless children, as well as fervent prayers in their behalf, were long after remembered by the objects of her pious cares. But brief was the period of her widowed life, for she died in 1774, when Robert had only reached his tenth, and James his fifth year, and the orphans were consigned to the guardianship of their relatives, by whom their education was carefully superintended. And that they were willing to learn was attested by the following incident. Having been instructed by their tutor in the mysteries of the ancient battering-ram, they resolved to try a practical experiment of its effects by dragging the carriage of their uncle Admiral Duncan to the edge of a slope, down which it would rush by its own weight against a garden wall at the bottom. The carriage was accordingly wheeled up, and let loose; and the astonished admiral, who had been alarmed by the noise, came out only in time to find the vehicle fairly lodged in the garden, and the wall as effectually breached as if one of his own broadsides had been discharged against it.

Having made some progress in Latin, the two boys were sent to the high-school of Edinburgh, where they were boarded with Dr. Adam, its rector, and had for class-fellows John Campbell and Greville Ewing, the former the African traveller, and the latter the minister of the Independent congregation in Glasgow—men with whose labours the Haldanes were in after-life to be intimately connected. When the time arrived that they should choose a profession, the sea naturally presented itself, not only from the high naval reputation of their uncle, but the circumstance of their father having been captain of the *Duke of Albany*, East Indiaman, and on the eve of being elected an East India director when his unexpected death occurred. Besides this, their great family influence insured a rapid promotion, whether in the royal service or that of the East India Company. Robert accordingly was destined to the former, and James to the latter; and in 1780 the family separation commenced, by Robert's joining the *Monarch* at Portsmouth during that year. From this period we follow their respective careers.

On entering the naval service under such a commander as the future hero of Camperdown, Robert Haldane, now at the age of seventeen, was not likely to remain idle. After being a year in the *Monarch*, he was transferred to the *Foudroyant*, 80 guns, commanded by Captain Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent, and was present at the memorable night engagement with the *Pégase*, a French ship of fully greater force than the *Foudroyant*. In this battle, which was hotly maintained for three-quarters of an hour, Robert Haldane served his guns with the skill and coolness of a veteran, and in pointing them in the dark he persevered in using a lantern, although he thereby served as a mark for the enemy's rifles. His gallantry on this occasion obtained the approbation of his brave commander, who sent him on board the *Pégase* to receive its surrender; and on writing to Admiral Duncan, he congratulated him on the conduct of his nephew, and predicted that he would become an ornament to his country. On the return of the *Foudroyant* to Spithead, Robert Haldane spent much of his time at Gosport; and being there attracted by the ministry of the Rev. Dr. Bogue, originally a Scottish Presbyterian, but afterwards the pastor of an Independent congregation at Gosport, Robert Haldane not only had those religious impressions revived which had been implanted by his mother, but his bias directed in favour of Independence.

The design of relieving Gibraltar, for which an expedition was sent out in 1782, under the command of Lord Howe, summoned Robert Haldane once more into action. The garrison was relieved, and at the entrance of the British fleet into Gibraltar the *Foudroyant* was the leading ship. On the return from the Straits an indecisive engagement with the enemy took place, after which the fleet reached Spithead unmolested. An incident occurred on the way that showed Haldane's courage and self-devotedness in his profession. A Spanish 60-gun ship occasioned a chase among some of the British vessels, in which the fast-sailing *Foudroyant* was foremost, as usual, with all her canvas spread, while Haldane was ordered to the fore-topgallant-mast to remain on the look-out until he was recalled. In the meantime, in consequence of an order from Lord Howe, the chase was abandoned, but Haldane was forgot in the movement; the overstrained mast had sprung with the press of canvas, and he expected every moment to be swept into the sea; but still, faithful to the letter of his orders, he would not abandon his post: his only chance of safety, which an old seaman who was stationed beside him suggested, was to keep hold of the lower part of the ropes, so that when carried into the sea they might still retain their hold of the mast, with their heads above water. While their moments were thus numbered, a sudden cry of "A man overboard!" occasioned a rapid shortening of sail; the critical situation of Haldane and the sailor was then discovered, and an instant order to descend relieved them from their peril. It was an act of obedience such as Rome would have gladly enrolled in her history. On the *Foudroyant* being paid off at Spithead, Haldane was removed into the *Satishbury*, of 50 guns, on which the broad pennant of his commander, Sir John Jervis, was hoisted, as commodore of a squadron intended for the double purpose of a voyage of discovery round the world, and an attack on the Spanish settlements of South America. But the peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain, in 1783, altered the destination of the *Satishbury*, so that she only made a short voyage to Newfoundland. On her return to England Robert Haldane, finding no prospect either of active service

VOL. II.

or immediate promotion, resolved to spend the rest of his days on shore. He accordingly resigned his commission; and being as yet only twenty years old, he determined to complete the education which had been interrupted three years before, when he went to sea. For this purpose he once more became a student at the university of Edinburgh, of which he had formerly been an alumnus; and, after attending two seasons, he made the grand tour, comprising the principal countries of Europe. After his return he married, in 1786, Katherine Cochrane Oswald, daughter of George Oswald of Scotston, and settled down upon his patrimonial estate of Airthrey, resolving to devote himself to the life and occupations of a country gentleman. Into this he now threw all his energies, and his taste in agricultural improvements soon made him conspicuous among his contemporaries. Airthrey was possessed of great natural capabilities, and these he so highly improved that his example was speedily followed, and the surrounding country began to assume a new aspect.

Thus passed the course of Robert Haldane's life for eight years, an even tenor such as poets delight to picture and moralists to recommend. But higher and holier duties awaited him than the transplanting of trees and improvement of lawns and gardens; and he was suddenly awoke from his innocent dream by an event that shook the very pillars of the world, and roused the dullest to alarm and inquiry. Who could sleep, or even muse, amidst the sudden and universal reel of the French Revolution? The laird of Airthrey saw in this event the annihilation of feudal rights and the destruction of heritable charters; but his generous heart did not the less sympathize in the sufferings of a great nation, and its Titan-like throes for deliverance, while he hoped that all this was but the beginning of a happy political millennium, of which France was destined to be the first-fruits. He did not at the time take into account the infidel principles upon which that revolution was based, and the utter insufficiency of such principles to produce the results he anticipated. The recoil, however, soon arrived, and with it that spirit of thoughtful inquiry which was to lead him to the best results.

Having attained a vital knowledge of Divine truth, and prosecuted his first perceptions by careful reading and inquiry, Robert Haldane was eager to impart to others the knowledge he had learned and the blessings he had experienced. Such is the effect of the Christian life, especially when ingrafted upon a naturally heroic temperament. It will neither sit down amidst the silence of private life, nor withdraw itself to the solitude of the hermit's cell; not content with its own salvation alone, it is impatient for the salvation of others also, so that, while the patriot is ready to die for his country, the Christian is ready for even more than this—like St. Paul, he could wish himself "accursed from Christ for his brethren." Thus animated, he looked for a field of Christian enterprise, and soon found it in India—that empire of a hundred realms, which Britain has conquered, but still failed to Christianize. The Baptist mission had just previously been established there, and the account of its proceedings been published; and Haldane, who read the first number of its periodical statements, was impatient to enter such a field, and co-operate with the efforts of Carey and his brethren. He, too, like the poor English shoemaker, would become a missionary, and devote himself to a life of danger and toil in India. It was a strange plan, but neither rashly adopted nor unwisely prosecuted. It was upon a grand and comprehensive scale. With himself, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Innes, minister at

48

Stirling, Mr. Bogue of Gosport, and Greville Ewing, at that time a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, were to go out as missionaries. These were to be accompanied by an efficient staff of catechists, city missionaries, and schoolmasters; and a printing-press, with its necessary establishment of printers and bookbinders. The whole mission, thus completely equipped, was to be conveyed to India, and, when there, to be salaried and supported entirely at the expense of Mr. Haldane; and, to provide a fund for the purpose, he was prepared to bring to the hammer his rich and beautiful estate of Airthrey, for which he had already done so much. Well might such a man say, as he did, "Christianity is everything or nothing. If it be true, it warrants and commands every sacrifice to promote its influence. If it be not, then let us lay aside the hypocrisy of professing to believe it."

All being thus in readiness, it appeared as if nothing more was necessary than that the mission should hoist sail and be gone. It was a great national undertaking, of which our government should reap the fruits, and that, too, with the unwonted advantage of having to pay nothing in return. Still, however, permission had to be obtained from the directors of the East India Company and the Board of Control, without which the mission would have been treated as an unauthorized intrusion. It was not forgotten, also, that Carey had been obliged to commence his labours, not in British India, from which he would have been excluded, but in the Danish settlement of Serampore. But it was thought that a better spirit, the result of a more matured experience, had descended upon our Indian legislators; and that so extensive and liberal an enterprise, superintended by one of Haldane's rank, character, and high connections, would scarcely be met by a refusal. Thus also hoped Robert Haldane, and he applied accordingly, but was rejected. Politicians, who had not yet recovered from their astonishment at the facility with which our Indian empire of twenty millions of subjects had been won by a few British bayonets, and who feared that such a sovereignty might be lost as rapidly as it had been gained, could at present see no better mode of retaining their conquest than by keeping the natives in profound ignorance. If Christianity was introduced, the Hindoos would become as knowing as ourselves, and where, then, would be our superiority? It was alleged, also, that an attack upon Brahminism, like that which a Christian mission implied, would kindle such resentment throughout the whole of Hindoostan, that instant revolt would ensue, and end in the expulsion of the British from the country. To these political motives in behalf of such a selfish forbearance, religious ones were also added. It was asserted that Brahminism was a religion the best of all fitted for India; that it was a mild, innocent, and virtuous system; and that, by disturbing the faith of its worshippers, we could at best only translate them from good, pious Hindoos, into very questionable Christians. These motives prevailed, notwithstanding the powerful influence with which Haldane's application was supported, and the persevering urgency with which it was reiterated.

In this way was extinguished one of the noblest and most comprehensive schemes of Christian philanthropy that graced the religious history of the eighteenth century. Of the proceedings of its originator, in consequence of this heavy disappointment, he has himself given the following account:—"For some time after this (1797) I did not lay aside my endeavours to go out to Bengal; and, in the meanwhile, was busied in selling my estate, that there

might be no delay on my part, if obstructions from without should be removed. I accordingly at length found a purchaser, and with great satisfaction left a place, in the beautifying and improving of which my mind had once been much engrossed. In that transaction I sincerely rejoice to this hour, although disappointed in getting out to India. I gave up a place and a situation which continually presented objects calculated to excite and gratify 'the lust of the eye and the pride of life.' Instead of being engaged in such poor matters, my time is now more at my command; and I find my power of applying property usefully very considerably increased." A man thus resolved and disencumbered was not likely to remain long inactive; and his new course of enterprise embraced such a variety of religious benevolence, that we can only bestow a glance upon the objects in which the men of the present generation found him toiling, with unabated hopes and undiminished energy.

One of the first of these was the plan of Christianizing Africa through the agency of its own children. That dark continent, hitherto so impervious to Europeans, and its climate so noxious to all but its natives, presented insuperable obstacles to the zealous missionary as well as the enterprising explorer; so that, to repair thither, was considered as a journey to that country

"——— From whose undiscovered bourne
No traveller returns."

In this difficulty, the idea had occurred to Mr. John Campbell, himself afterwards a successful explorer of Africa, that native children brought to Britain, there educated in Christianity and the arts of civilization, and afterwards returned to their homes, would prove the fittest missionaries and teachers of their countrymen. It was a simple expedient, the soundness of which all our subsequent experience has verified. But, with all its excellence, Campbell, at that time nothing more than a poor tradesman in Edinburgh, could only propose it, for funds were wanting for its accomplishment. In 1798 he met with Robert Haldane, to whom he mentioned his scheme; and the latter, struck with its promising character, at once offered to defray the expense, which was calculated at from £6000 to £7000. Accordingly, twenty-four African children, belonging to the families of different chiefs, were shipped at Sierra Leone, and brought safely to London. Nothing now remained than that they should be sent to Edinburgh, and placed under Mr. Haldane's care, who, in the anticipation of such an arrival, had leased the large old tenement in King's Park, well known to tourists as the house of the Laird of Dumbiedykes. But here, unfortunately, a ground of refusal had occurred. Mr. Haldane, while he defrayed the whole expense of the experiment, was not to be intrusted with the management and education of the children, which, on the contrary, was to be placed under a London committee. He could not accede to proposals so unexpected, and made at the last hour, and he found himself constrained to withdraw from the enterprise. It is gratifying to add, however, that the main purpose was not abandoned, or the children neglected. After having received a religious education, and been taught several handicraft professions, these youthful missionaries were in due time restored to their homes.

While this unpleasant affair was pending, and after it had terminated so unsatisfactorily, Mr. Haldane was by no means idle in the work of Christian benevolence; and the disappointments he experienced, both in his Indian and African efforts, seemed only to recal him with redoubled

vigour into the field. Among his labours may be mentioned his zealous dissemination of religious tracts. In the present day, when publications of this kind descend like snow-showers, and too often melt away as rapidly, such a mode of doing good has come to be held in little account. But very different was the state of things at the close of the last century. As yet the Tract Society had no existence, and many can well recollect the "perilous stuff" which, under the name of "ballants," was plentiful in every cottage of Scotland, and constituted the principal reading of the people, both young and old. And what kind of training did the youthful mind receive from the *Exploits of John Cheap the Chapman, Leper the Tailor, and Lothian Tom*? It was much, indeed, that one man should have set himself to stem such a tide, and this Mr. Haldane did. At his own expense he caused useful religious tracts to be printed, and these he distributed over the country in myriads. In this manner slim broad-sheets insinuated their way through every opening, and the attention of all classes was awakened to doctrines which they were too seldom accustomed to hear from the pulpit. While he thus anticipated the work of the Tract Society, he also forestalled that of the British and Foreign Bible Society, by a copious dissemination of the Scriptures at his own expense. He formed, and aided in forming, Sabbath-schools, at that time sorely needed in Scotland, in consequence of the new mercantile character impressed upon it, through which children became sons and daughters of the loom and the spinning-jenny, instead of the legitimate offspring of Christian men and women. And wherever missionary work was to be undertaken, whether at home or abroad, there his counsel and his purse were equally open; and the Serampore translations of the Scriptures, for the use of India, were benefited by his aid, at the same time that he was labouring for the circulation of the gospel among the huts and cottages of his own native country.

But of all the attempts of Robert Haldane, that of the establishment of a new church in Scotland was certainly the most remarkable. It was a daring, and at first sight a superfluous attempt, in the land of John Knox and of solemn leagues and covenants. For was not Scotland already famed over Europe as the most religious and most spiritually enlightened of all countries? But this was the reputation of a past age, upon which a spendthrift generation had now entered, and which they were squandering away in handfuls. At the close of the last century Moderatism had attained its height, and alongside of philosophy and metaphysics, these sciences so congenial to the Scottish national character, infidelity and scepticism had kept equal pace; so that, both in college and church, the doubts of Hume and the doctrines of Socinus had well-nigh eradicated all the visible landmarks of the national faith. Happily, however, for Scotland, its creed, thus driven from both school and pulpit, found a shelter among the homely dwellings of our peasantry; and through the writings of such men as Guthrie, Boston, and Willison, of our own country, and Bunyan, Flavel, and Hervey, of England—all equally prized and carefully studied—the people were in many cases wiser than all their teachers. Still, without further aid these defences must have gone down, and the whole land been inundated with the prevalent tide. Then, however, a few ministers were raised up, by whom that aggressive warfare against the general evil was waged, which was finally attended with such beneficial results; and then also was Robert Haldane, a layman, a man of rank, and

therefore a disinterested witness, brought forward to corroborate these clerical efforts, and give effectual aid in the coming revival.

The necessity of a faithfully-preached gospel was at that time peculiarly urgent in Scotland, and here, therefore, it was that Haldane directed his chief endeavours. While the population had increased twofold, church accommodation had in a great measure remained stationary; and even if additional churches should be built, the difficulty of supplying them with a proper ministry still remained. There was as little hope at the time that government would supply the former as the church the latter deficiency, and thus the affair was allowed to drift onward, let it finally strand where it might. To build or hire churches was Mr. Haldane's first aim, and these were speedily set up in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Perth, Thurso, Wick, and Elgin; and to furnish them with an efficient ministry eighty students were soon enrolled, under the pastoral instruction of Dr. Bogue, Mr. Ewing, and Mr. Innes. His chapels, or tabernacles, as they were usually called, continued to multiply, so that by the year 1805 nearly 200 preachers from Mr. Haldane's seminaries were labouring as ministers and missionaries in Scotland, besides those who had gone to America. When the result of all this devotedness is reduced to pounds, shillings, and pence, it assumes the most tangible form to the eye and understanding; we shall therefore simply state that, from 1798 to 1810, Mr. Haldane had expended about £70,000 in his labours to propagate the gospel at home. And be it remembered, too, that he was no mere philanthropic epicure, acting upon random impulses, or impatient, through sheer laziness, to be rid of his money as an incumbrance. Instead of this, he was as much alive to the enjoyments of fortune as others—as conscious of the value of money, and as provident in securing and expending it as the shrewdest trafficker could well be. But all this he deliberately did at the solemn call of duty; toiling, calculating, and foreseeing at every step; and bestowing these princely sums, that were never to return to him, as considerably as if he had been speculating in the stocks, or investing funds in some hopeful mercantile enterprise. Never, perhaps, were Christian liberality and Scottish *cannyness* so admirably combined, or so nobly illustrated; and it is upon this principle that we are to estimate the true worth and the disinterested sacrifices of Robert Haldane.

The effects produced by these tabernacles were very soon apparent throughout Scotland. They roused a spirit of attention; and even when the feeling was nothing more than that of alarm, it led to inquiry, of all feelings the one most needful at such a crisis. The most neglected districts, the most secluded nooks of our land, were soon pervaded with an itinerant or settled mission; and communities that had slumbered in hundreds of parishes under the drowsy influence of Moderatism were shaken from their torpor, and raised into full activity. And was Presbyterian Scotland in very deed to become Independent? Happily for the national character and its established habits, so great a violence was not to be sustained; and the public mind, once awakened, had its own beloved Presbyterianism at hand, instead of that system of tabernacle church-government, which it could not well comprehend. In this way Independency fulfilled its mission in Scotland, and having accomplished this it silently retrograded, and left what remained for accomplishment to a more efficient, or at least a more popular and congenial agency. At first, indeed, Haldane, in the introduction of these chapels, had no idea of a dissent from the church

—they were only intended as auxiliaries; and both ministers and members were in the practice of communicating at the sacrament in the Established churches. But it was impossible that this harmony could long continue; and, as was the case of Methodism in England, the alliance was soon broken, and the new congregations were organized into a body of Dissenters. And then followed a spirit of division by which the body was rent in twain. The question of paedobaptism was the subject of controversy; and while Haldane and his brother adopted the sentiments of the Baptists, and were followed by a large portion of the Congregationalists, the rest took a more decided stand upon those principles of Independency which had long been recognized in England. Such was the history of a religious cause which, be its intrinsic merits what they may, has never been congenial to the spirit of the Scottish nation.

In this manner the days of Robert Haldane were indefatigably occupied for a course of years, and to these general labours we must add his own individual exertions as a lay-preacher and missionary; for he was of opinion that the office of an evangelist neither needed the regular preparation of a college nor the authoritative sanction of a presbytery. At length, finding that repose to be necessary which results from change of action, he once more turned to the occupations of a country gentleman, by purchasing, in 1809, the estate of Auchingray, in Lanarkshire—a desolate moor of 2000 acres, on which grew only a single tree; but which his exertions adorned with forests of larch, fir, birch, ash, and coppice. This, however, was not his chief occupation, for a large portion of his time was spent in the study, where his preparations for the pulpit equalled those of the most ambitious or painstaking minister. Another important purpose to which he addressed himself was the preparation of a literary work on the *Evidences of Christianity*. He was dissatisfied with the established writings upon this important subject, where the authors, however learned and talented, seemed to be more solicitous about the outworks of Christianity than its inner life and spirit; and he justly thought that a more correct and more endearing view of the faith itself should be given, in addition to the arguments by which its heaven-descended authority was authenticated. The result of this wish was his *Evidence and Authority of Divine Revelation*, of which the first edition was published in 1816. The work, which, at a later period of his life, was considerably extended and improved, was not only favourably received by the Christian public, but highly commended by the most influential judges.

After this publication an important epoch in the life of Mr. Haldane followed. This was his memorable journey to Geneva and Montauban. After twenty years of toil and sacrifice he had witnessed such a religious revival in Scotland as left him little cause to regret that Congregationalism should at last be found unnecessary. Still as earnest upon the great work of his life, and as buoyant for missionary enterprise as when he commenced his career, he now resolved to make once more a tour of the Continent, which the peace had but lately opened to the visits of British travellers. Accompanied by Mrs. Haldane, he left Edinburgh on the 9th of October, 1816. His first halt was at Paris; but finding no opening there for missionary labour, and hearing of the benighted state of Geneva, he went to that city, and there took up his residence. That home of Calvin and refuge of John Knox, and therefore so endeared to the affections of every leal-hearted Scotsman—alas! how it had fallen from its ancient supremacy! Those doctrines, of which it was once the nursing-

mother and propagandist, had been so utterly forgotten, that, when the new visitor announced them, he was met with the Athenian cry, "Thou bringest certain strange things to our ears!" Not merely the Calvinistic form of Christianity, but even Christianity itself, had dwindled down into Arianism, Socinianism, Neology, Deism—anything, in short, but what it originally was; while each man was allowed to modify it according to his own pleasure, provided he did not disturb society, either with warnings of its apostasy or a summons to repentance. Such was especially the state of the pastors of the canton, the theological schools, and the students in training for the ministry; and although a very few suspected occasionally that they were in the wrong, and that there was some better way which they had missed, there was neither friend to encourage nor teacher to direct them in their inquiries. But, on the entrance of Robert Haldane, a change commenced in Geneva. He received a few of the students at his hôtel, to whom he expounded the Scriptures; the numbers of inquirers grew and multiplied, and light increased among those who diligently sought it. These students, however, numerous as they ultimately became, did not constitute the whole of his audience. "Besides those who attended regularly," Haldane himself writes, "some, who did not wish to appear with the students, came at different hours; and in conversing with them at those times, or after finishing the public course at eight o'clock, I was often engaged till near midnight. Others of the inhabitants of Geneva, unconnected with the schools of learning, and of both sexes, occasionally visited me in the afternoon respecting the gospel." No such movement has ever occurred without opposition; and the Genevese pastors, after vainly attempting to refute the new preacher, endeavoured to procure his banishment from the canton; and, on the refusal of their free republican government, they proposed to cite him before their spiritual court as a teacher of error and perverter of their students. But all that they could do was to frame new acts, which every student was required to sign before being licensed to preach; acts particularly framed against the doctrines of the Godhead of the Saviour, original sin, grace and effectual calling, and predestination. It was the blundering policy of persecutors, who endeavour to silence, without having power and authority to destroy. The sword, wielded by such feeble hands, was as the touch of a spur to accelerate the movement.

Having finished the good work at Geneva, and kindled a flame that was not to be extinguished, Mr. Haldane wisely resolved to retire, and transfer his labours to some other quarter. Montauban was selected as his next field, which he reached in July, 1817. Here he published, in French, his prelections to the students of Geneva, in two volumes, under the title of a *Commentary on the Romans*. Although the centre of education for the Protestants of the Reformed Church in France, Montauban was too like the parent city of Geneva; it had lapsed from the faith, and was overrun with Arianism and infidelity. Here he resided more than two years, and proceeded in the same manner as he had done at Geneva. And, happily, it was with similar results. Several ministers and many young students, who had been trained in Rationalism, were awoke from their security, and converted to the faith under his apostolic ministry. At length, the near prospect of the death of his father-in-law, in Scotland, occasioned his return, but with the purpose of revisiting Montauban, which, however, he was not destined to accomplish.

On his return to Scotland Mr. Haldane, always indefatigable in the good work to which he had devoted himself, was employed with the state of religion at home and upon the Continent, intermingled with occasional preaching and a missionary visit to Ireland. In this way he occupied himself till 1821, when a painful event called him forth as a controversialist, and that too, not with the enemies, but the professed friends and disseminators, of vital uncontaminated Christianity. This conflict in which he was engaged, still remembered as the Apocryphal Controversy, originated in the following circumstances:—On the establishment of the British and Foreign Bible Society, it was agreed that the Scriptures should be circulated without note and comment, and that the Apocrypha should be excluded. This condition it was easy to observe at home, and in Protestant countries abroad, where the canon of Scripture has been established, and its own inspired language received as the only authority. But it was very different in Popish countries, where the prevalent errors are mainly established upon passages from the Apocryphal writings, and where, consequently, the books of Tobit, the Maccabees, and Bel and the Dragon, are of equal authority with those of the apostles and prophets. They would not receive the Bible, therefore, unless it included the Apocrypha, and in an evil hour the society yielded to their demand. They not only gave money in aid of foreign societies that published these adulterated Scriptures, but actually printed Bibles with the Apocrypha intermingled or appended, to further the circulation of the Word among Romanist, Greek, and semi-Protestant communities. In this way a pious fraud was commenced, that went onward step by step, until it attained the maturity of full-grown Jesuitism. And still the unsuspecting public increased their liberality from year to year, and satisfied themselves that all was right. At length it fell to Robert Haldane, by the merest accident, to detect this monstrous evil. In 1821, being in London, he had occasion to visit the offices of the Bible Society, where he left his umbrella, and called next day to recover it. While he thus “looked in,” he was requested to join a sub-committee which was then sitting. He complied; but as the business went onward, he was astonished to discover how much the Apocrypha had been already circulated among the foreign translations of the Bible. His appeals on the occasion were loud and earnest, and the society agreed to discontinue the practice. Thus matters continued quiet till 1824, when it was found that the practice was still going on—and all that good might come out of it. Finding his remonstrances ineffectual, Mr. Haldane now appealed to the Edinburgh Society, which had hitherto acted in connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society; and as none of those Apocryphal sympathies were harboured in the north that still lingered in England, the Edinburgh branch withdrew from the coalition, and formed an establishment of its own for the circulation of an unmixed, unadulterated gospel. Such a secession could not be accomplished without a controversy; for the parent society, that felt itself rebuked by the movement, endeavoured to justify itself to the Christian public; and thus the two parties entered into a conflict that lasted for years, and was waged with all the earnestness not only of a religious but a national warfare. It was England and Scotland once more in the field, while the canon of Scripture itself was at issue. In behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society, not only the mere advocates of expediency were enlisted, but men of the highest reputation for learning, orthodoxy,

and piety, and the chief religious periodicals of the day. On the other side, Dr. Andrew Thomson, the most formidable of controversialists, and Robert Haldane, by whom the evil had been detected and the resistance commenced, were the principal champions.

Nothing can be more unjust and ungenerous at this time of day, than to look back upon such a conflict either with contempt or indifference. Revelation itself was at stake. Driven from all their weak defences of necessity and expediency, the Apocryphal party in desperation endeavoured to justify themselves by calling in question the canon of Scripture itself, as if it were a mere matter on which every one might think as he pleased; and to make good their mischievous position, they explored the works of the old heretical writers, to show how much of the Bible was interpolated or uninspired, and how much might safely be called in question. Never indeed was such violence done to the faith of a Protestant community, or the belief of men in such danger of being unsettled. Onward went the conflict till 1830, when Dr. Thomson, exhausted by his almost superhuman efforts, fell dead at his post with the banner in his hand, which was immediately caught and raised aloft by Mr. Haldane. It was much indeed that he had been able hitherto to keep pace with the onward stride of such a leader. But after many a change and trial, truth in the end prevailed; the canon of inspiration was more securely settled than ever, and the Bible Society recovered from its errors and restored to healthfulness and efficiency. During this long controversy, Mr. Haldane's exertions, both on the platform and in the press, were so numerous, that we can only particularize his chief publications upon the subject. In 1825 appeared his “*Review of the Conduct of the British and Foreign Bible Society relative to the Apocrypha, and to their Administration on the Continent*”; with an Answer to the Rev. C. Simeon, and Observations on the Cambridge Remarks.” This was afterwards followed by a *Second Review*, in a pamphlet of more than 200 pages, in consequence of a Letter addressed to Robert Haldane, Esq., by Dr. Steinkopff, impugning the statements of the first. A third work which he published was entitled *Authenticity and Inspiration of the Scriptures*. A fourth was a *Review of Dr. Pye Smith's Defence of Dr. Haffner's Preface, and of his Denial of the Divine Authority of Part of the Canon, and of the full Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, by Alexander Carson*. This work, written by a friend, served as a sequel to his own on the *Authenticity and Inspiration of the Scriptures*. Several other works by the same Dr. Carson, on the canon of Scripture, were published by Mr. Haldane during the course of the controversy, at his own expense. After these, a series of pamphlets appeared from the pen of Mr. Haldane, in which he answered separately the Rev. John Scott of Hull, Mr. Gurney of Norwich, the Rev. Samuel Wilks, and other defenders of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

We must now hasten over the latter days of Haldane, although they were characterized by the same high sense of duty and devoted activity that had distinguished his whole career. Before the Apocryphal controversy had ended, he published a *Refutation of the Heretical Doctrine promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving respecting the Person and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ*; a work, the title of which will sufficiently explain the purport. In 1834 he published a new edition of his *Evidences of Christianity*, to which many valuable chapters were added that had not appeared in the original work of 1816. After this he addressed himself to the re-

vision of his greatest work, the *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans*, upon which he had been more or less employed for thirty years, and published it, greatly improved and enlarged, in 1835. The fact of a lengthened exposition upon such a subject having reached a fifth edition within seven years was a full attestation of its theological merits. It might have been hoped that his controversial warfare had now ended, and that his life would have been left undisturbed to those important theological investigations which he so greatly delighted to prosecute. But, in 1838, a generous love of fair play and sympathy for the oppressed, obliged him once more to buckle on his armour. The clergy of the Established church in Edinburgh were paid, as they had long been, by an annuity-tax levied upon every household within the royalty of the city. But at this the dissenters and seceders had demurred, and were now in open opposition; while many, from mistaken conscientiousness, or allured by the *éclat* of martyrdom divested of its more serious pains and penalties, were willing to incur the risk of fine or even of imprisonment rather than support any longer what they called "the State church." Thus the Established clergy of Edinburgh were surrounded by a blockade, and threatened to be reduced by famine. It was then that Haldane, himself a dissenter, hastened to the rescue. He boldly assailed the coalition that had been formed for the non-payment of the annuity-tax; grounding his argument upon the first seven verses of the thirteenth chapter of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, and startled the recusants by proving from this authority that they were guilty of rebellion against Christ himself. His appeal was addressed through one of the Edinburgh newspapers, and eleven letters followed, in which he pursued the same line of argument. So successful were these addresses that the tide of popular feeling was turned, the coalition broken, and its leader silenced. It would be well for the Established clergy of Edinburgh, if again, when the hostile feeling has been renewed, they could find such another advocate.

Old age and its decay were now doing their appointed work, and by 1840 Mr. Haldane was obliged to desist from his wonted duties as preacher in the chapel which he had erected at Auchingray. But to the last he continued to interest himself in religious and missionary movements, and to revise and improve his *Exposition of the Romans*, which he justly regarded as the most important of all his writings. Thus he continued to the close of his life, on the 12th of December, 1842, when he died, rejoicing in the faith he had preached, and the love and Christian charity which his whole life had so beautifully exemplified. His remains lie interred in one of the aisles of the venerable cathedral of Glasgow, awaiting the joyful resurrection of the just. Only six months after his widow also died, and her body was buried in the same vault with her husband. Their only child, Margaret, left one son and three daughters, the grandchildren of Robert Haldane.

HALKET, LADY ANNE, whose extensive learning and voluminous theological writings place her in the first rank of female authors, was the daughter of Mr. Robert Murray, of the family of Tullibardine, and was born at London, January 4, 1622. She may be said to have been trained up in habits of scholastic study from her very infancy, her father being preceptor to Charles I. (and afterwards provost of Eton College), and her mother, who was allied to the noble family of Perth, acting as sub-governess to the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth. Lady Anne was instructed by her parents in every

polite and liberal science; but theology and physic were her favourite subjects; and she became so proficient in the latter, and in the more unfeminine science of surgery, that the most eminent professional men, as well as invalids of the first rank, both in Britain and on the Continent, sought her advice. Being, as might have been expected, a staunch royalist, her family and herself suffered with the misfortunes of Charles. She was married on March 2d, 1656, to Sir James Halket, to whom she bore four children, all of whom died young, with the exception of her eldest son Robert. During her pregnancy with the latter she wrote an admirable tract, *The Mother's Will to the Unborn Child*, under the impression of her not surviving her delivery. Her husband died in the year 1670; but she survived till April 22d, 1699, and left no less than twenty-one volumes behind her, chiefly on religious subjects, one of which, her *Meditations*, was printed at Edinburgh in 1701. She is said to have been a woman of singular but unaffected piety, and of the sweetest simplicity of manners; and these qualities, together with her great talents and learning, drew upon her the universal esteem and respect of her contemporaries of all ranks.

HALL, CAPTAIN BASIL, R.N., was the son of Sir James Hall, Bart., of Dunglass, in the county of Haddington, and M.P. for the borough of St. Michael's, Cornwall, of whom a notice will be given in this collection. Basil was born in Edinburgh in 1788. His education, which was chiefly conducted at the high-school of his native city, appears to have given little promise of future literary distinction; its monotony he felt to be a very weariness; and, instead of seeking a high place among his fellows, he preferred the middle of the class, because it was nearest to the comfortable fire. Still, however, his character was marked by considerable originality and independence; a startling proof of which he once gave to the master, by desiring to have the hours for study and recreation left to his own disposal, instead of his being tied down to the regulations of the school. As might be expected, this disregard of the laws of the Medes and Persians fared as it deserved, and he continued to doze by the fireside. Happily, however, his aim in life had been early chosen, so that he could think of something else than Latin conjugations. He had resolved to be a sailor, and every holiday that released him from the class-room was spent by the sea-shore, and in frequent cruises with the fishermen of the coast on which his father's estate was situated.

This early predilection of Basil Hall was soon gratified; for, in 1802, when he had only reached his fourteenth year, he was entered into the royal navy. On leaving home, "Now," said his father, putting a blank-book into one hand of the stripling, and a pen into the other, "you are fairly afloat in the world; you must begin to write a journal." Little did Sir James know how zealously this judicious advice would be followed out, and what fruits would germinate from such a small beginning. The education that was fitted for such a mind as his had now fairly commenced. As his biographer has justly observed, "The opportunities which the naval profession affords, both for scientific pursuits and the study of men and manners in various climes, happened, in Captain Hall's case, to lead him into scenes of more than usual interest; or perhaps it would be more correct to state that his eager and indefatigable pursuit of knowledge induced him to seek every means of extending the sphere of his observations." After having been six years at sea,

during which long period he had been only twelve days at home, he received a lieutenant's commission in 1808; and, being desirous of active service, he procured his transference from a ship of the line to the frigate *Endymion*, employed at that time in transporting troops for Sir John Moore's army in Spain. There Lieutenant Hall witnessed many heart-stirring events, not the least of which was that of the heroic Moore borne dying from the battle of Corunna. Of the whole of this conflict, in which he was a spectator, he has given an interesting account in his *Fragments of Voyages and Travels*.

The rest of Basil Hall's naval career is so well known from his numerous works, that nothing more is necessary than merely to advert to its leading points. In 1814 he was promoted to the rank of commander, and in 1817 to that of post-captain. Pending the period of advance from a lieutenancy, he was acting commander of the *Theban* on the East India station, in 1813, when he accompanied its admiral, Sir Samuel Hood, in a journey over the greater part of the island of Java. On his return home he was appointed to the command of the *Lyra*, a small gun-brig that, in 1816, formed part of the armament in the embassy of Lord Amherst to China. On the landing of the suite, and while his lordship was prosecuting his inland journey to Peking, Captain Hall used the opportunity by exploring those wonders of the adjacent seas, which as yet were little, if at all, known to the "barbarians" of the "outer circle." During this cruise his visit to the Great Loo-Choo Island will continue to be memorable, from the Eden-like scenery and primitive innocent race which it presented to the eyes of its astonished visitors. Even Napoleon himself was justified in doubting whether such a community existed, when he was informed by Captain Hall that they not only used no money, but possessed also no lethal weapon, not even a poniard or an arrow. The ex-emperor indeed was in the right, for subsequent accounts have shown that the Loo-Chooans must have cunningly imposed both upon Hall and Captain Maxwell, by whom the *Alceste* was commanded in the expedition, and that these gentle islanders used not only weapons and money, but were among the most merciless pirates in the Yellow Sea. On his return to England in 1817 Captain Hall published *A Voyage of Discovery to the Western Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island in the Japan Sea*, a work so novel and interesting in its materials, as well as so attractive in style, that it rapidly secured a wide popularity. In this first edition there was an appendix containing charts and various hydrographical and scientific notices, which were omitted in the second, published in 1820. In 1827 the work appeared in a still more popular form, being the first volume of *Constable's Miscellany*, while it was enriched with the highly interesting account of his interview with Napoleon at St. Helena, when the *Lyra* was on its return from the Chinese Sea.

In 1820 Captain Hall, in the ship *Conway*, under his command, proceeded to Valparaiso, being charged to that effect by the British government. It was a period of intense interest to the Spanish colonies of South America, engaged as they were in that eventful warfare with the mother country by which their independence was secured, and in such a contest Britain could not look on as an unconcerned spectator. After having touched at Teneriffe, Rio-de-Janeiro, and the River Plate, and remained at anchor in the principal seaport of the Chilean coast, according to orders, he was next sent in 1821 from Valparaiso towards Lima, being commanded to call by the way at the intermediate ports on the coast of Chili and Peru. The object of this cruise was to

inquire into the British interests at these places; to assist and protect any of his Britannic majesty's trading subjects; and, in a general way, to ascertain the commercial resources of the district. Having discharged these pacific but important duties to the full satisfaction of government, he returned to England early in 1823, and published the result of his observations under the title of *Extracts from a Journal written on the Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, in the years 1820, 1821, and 1822*. This work, which afterwards constituted the second and third volumes of *Constable's Miscellany*, contained not only a highly interesting account of the people of these countries, and the events of the war of South American independence, but a memoir on the navigation of the South American station, a valuable collection of scientific observations, and an article "On the Duties of Naval Commanders-in-chief on the South American Station, before the appointment of Consuls."

Captain Hall had now established for himself a higher reputation than that of a brave sailor, skilful navigator, and rising man in his profession; his scientific acquirements, which he made by close study and careful observation during the course of his professional service in every quarter of the world, had insured him the favourable notice of the most eminent in the several departments of physics, while the literary excellence of the works he had already published had given him an honoured place among the most popular writers of the day. On this account, while he was on shore, it was as an author, and in the society of authors; and in this respect his journal affords such a mass of information that we wonder how a sailor could have written it. But every phase of intellectual society, every movement, every utterance, was as carefully noted by him as if he had been on the look-out upon the mast-head amidst a new ocean studded with rocks, shoals, and sunny islands. In this way, amongst other information, he has given us one of the most minute, and at the same time most graphic and interesting, accounts which we possess of the domestic life of Sir Walter Scott. As he was living on shore at the time, he spent the Christmas of 1824 at Abbotsford, with the "Great Unknown," while the mansion itself, which was newly finished and now to be inaugurated, had a greater concourse of distinguished guests than it could well contain. "Had I a hundred pens," exclaims Hall on this occasion, "each of which at the same time should separately write down an anecdote, I could not hope to record one-half of those which our host, to use Spenser's expression, 'welled out alway.'" But what man could do he did on this occasion; and during these ten or twelve happy days, every hour found him on the alert, and every evening occupied in bringing up his log. In this way his *Abbotsford Journal* alone would form a delightful volume. "Certainly, Sir Walter Scott," observes his son-in-law and biographer, "was never subjected to sharper observation than that of his ingenious friend Captain Basil Hall." But while thus observant, Hall could also be as frolicsome a Jack-shore as ever landed after a two years' cruise, and this he showed when Hogmanay-night came; that night often so destructive of merriment, because people are then, as it were, enjoined by proclamation, like that of Othello in Cyprus, to "put themselves in triumph." "It is true enough," says Hall, when philosophizing upon this perverse tendency, "that it is to moralize too deeply to take things in this way, and to conjure up, with an ingenuity of self-annoyance, these blighting images. So it is, and so I acted; and as my heart was light and unloaded with any care,

I exerted myself to carry through the ponderous evening; ponderous only because it was one set apart to be light and gay. I danced reels like a wild man, snapped my fingers, and hallooed with the best of them; flirted with the young ladies at all hazards; and with the elder ones—of which there was a store—I talked and laughed finely." While mentioning Scott and Hall in connection, it may be as well to state that the acquaintance-ship which they enjoyed during these bright but brief festal meetings at Abbotsford, was not interrupted, but rather drawn more closely, by the distressing events that clouded the latter years of Sir Walter. When Scott's health was so utterly broken down that a voyage to Naples, and a winter's residence there, were prescribed as a last resource, Captain Hall, unknown to his friend, and prompted by his own kind heart, applied on this occasion to Sir James Graham, first lord of the admiralty, and suggested how fit and graceful an act it would be on the part of government to place a frigate at Scott's disposal for his voyage to the Mediterranean. The application was successful; and Sir Walter, amidst the pleasure he felt at such a distinction, could not help exclaiming of Hall, "That curious fellow, who takes charge of every one's business without neglecting his own, has done a great deal for me in this matter." Here Captain Hall's good offices did not terminate, for he preceded Sir Walter to Portsmouth, to make preparations for his arrival and comfortable embarkation. Of the few days which Sir Walter Scott spent at Portsmouth on this occasion, the captain has given a full account in the third volume of his *Third Series of Voyages and Travels*.

In the interview which Hall was privileged to enjoy with Napoleon Bonaparte at St. Helena, and amidst the abrupt transitions that occurred in the manifold dialogue, where he was catechized more closely than ever he had been before, he records the following part of it, so closely connected with his own personal history:—"Bonaparte then said, 'Are you married?' and upon my replying in the negative, continued, 'Why not? What is the reason you don't marry?' I was somewhat at a loss for a good answer, and remained silent. He repeated his question, however, in such a way that I was forced to say something, and told him I had been too busy all my life; besides which, I was not in circumstances to marry. He did not seem to understand me, and again wished to know why I was a bachelor. I told him I was too poor a man to marry. 'Aha!' he cried, 'I now see—want of money—no money—yes, yes!' and laughed heartily, in which I joined, of course, though, to say the truth, I did not altogether see the humorous point of the joke." We do not wonder at Hall's blindness, for it was no joke at all to have been compelled to remain so long in celibacy (he was now in his thirtieth year), without a definite prospect of emancipation. Thus matters continued for eight years longer, when, in 1825, he married Margaret, youngest daughter of Sir John Hunter, consul-general for Spain.

Hitherto the career of Captain Hall had been a mixed one, being spent partly on sea and partly on shore, while the duties of his profession were alternated with the study of the sciences and the acquirement of languages; and whatever land he visited in the course of his many voyages, called forth from him a descriptive work, such as few literary landmen could have written. And yet, with all this incessant mental action, and overflow of intellectual labour, the details of his profession had been so carefully studied, and its manifold requirements so well attended to, that he had attained a naval rank and

reputation only accorded to those who have devoted themselves exclusively to the sea service. Now, however, we must briefly trace the rest of his life on shore, when, as a married man, he had settled down, and, in the words of Bacon, given hostages to fortune. By settling down, however, we are to understand nothing else than his abandonment of the naval profession, for his active inquiring spirit would have carried him into every corner of the earth, had time and opportunity permitted. In 1827 he repaired with his wife and child to the United States, in which they spent above a year, and where he travelled during that time nearly nine thousand miles by land and water. The fruits of his observations were given soon after his return, in his *Travels in North America*, in three vols. 8vo, which he published in 1829. His next work was *Fragments of Voyages and Travels*, which formed three serial publications, each consisting of 3 vols. 12mo. In 1834 he was travelling in Italy, and at Rome he formed the acquaintance-ship of the distinguished Countess of Purgstall, who had been an early friend of his father. This lady, originally Miss Cranstoun, a native of Scotland, and sister of George Cranstoun, advocate, afterwards Lord Corehouse, was so famed for her eccentric liveliness, beauty, wit, and accomplishments, as to have been supposed by many to have been the original Diana Vernon, who so fascinated the novel-reading world in the pages of *Rob Roy*. Although this identity is denied by the biographer of Sir Walter Scott, it is certain that she was the early friend of the great novelist, and bore a strong family resemblance to the subsequent heroine of his creation. In 1797 she was married to Godfrey Wenceslaus, Count of Purgstall, an Austrian nobleman, possessing large establishments in Styria. But although surrounded with almost regal splendour, the latter part of the life of this once happy creature was a mournful one; for first her husband died in 1811, and finally, a few years afterwards, her only son, a youth of high promise and attainments, at the early age of nineteen, by which death the illustrious race of Purgstall was extinct; and the forlorn wife and mother, who had vowed to her son upon his death-bed that her dust should finally be mingled with his, resisted every solicitation of her early friends to return to her native Scotland, and preferred a residence for the rest of her days in her now lonely and deserted Styria. Captain Hall gladly accepted an invitation to visit her at her *schloss* or castle of Heinfeld, near Gratz; and from the journal which he kept there he afterwards published his work of *Schloss Heinfeld, or a Winter in Lower Styria*. The lady had now reached the advanced age of seventy-eight, but her recollections of early days were still so fresh and vivid, that they formed the chief theme of her conversation, while she found in Captain Hall a delighted listener. "The countess's anecdotes," he says, "relating to this period (of her intimacy with Sir Walter Scott), were without number; and I bitterly regretted, when it was too late, that I had not commenced at once making memoranda of what she told us. It was indeed quite clear to us that this accomplished and highly-gifted lady was the first person who not merely encouraged him to persevere, but actually directed and chastised those incipient efforts which, when duly matured, and rendered confident by independent exercise, and repeated though cautious trials, burst forth at last from all control, and gave undisputed law to the whole world of letters." It was at this huge Styrian castle, also, that Captain Hall spent his forty-sixth birth-day, upon which occasion he gives us the following retrospect of his past existence:—"I have enjoyed to the full each

successive period of my life, as it has rolled over me; and just as I began to feel that I had had nearly enough of any one period, new circumstances, more or less fortunate and agreeable, began to start up, and to give me fresher, and, generally speaking, more lively interest in the coming period than in that which had just elapsed. As a middy, I was happy—as a lieutenant, happier—as a captain, happiest! I remember thinking that the period from 1815 to 1823, during which I commanded different ships of war, could not by any possibility be exceeded in enjoyment; and yet I have found the dozen years which succeeded greatly happier, though in a very different way. It is upon this that the whole matter turns. Different seasons of life, like different seasons of the year, require different dresses; and if these be misplaced, there is no comfort. Were I asked to review my happy life, and to say what stage of it I enjoyed most, I think I should pitch upon that during which I passed my days in the scientific, literary, and political society of London, and my nights in dancing and flirting till sunrise, in the delicious paradise of Almack's, or the still more bewitching ball-rooms of Edinburgh! Perhaps next best was the quiet half-year spent in the Schloss Heinfeld. What the future is to produce is a secret in the keeping of that close fellow, Time; but I await the decision with cheerfulness and humble confidence, sure that whatever is sent will be for the best, be it what it may."—How blessed a boon is our ignorance of futurity! Through this ignorance, years of happiness were yet in store for Captain Hall, and at their close "sufficient for the day were the evils thereof."

Hitherto we have noticed the carefulness with which he had been accustomed, wherever he went, to keep a daily journal. The advantage of this plan is obvious in all his writings. Every object he describes as if he had just left it, and every event as if its last echo had not yet died away. Thus, his *Schloss Heinfeld*, which is such a lively fascinating work, was but an episode in one of three trips to the Continent, and out of these visits he purposed to make a whole series of similar writings from the copious memorials he had taken of his every-day movements. This, however, he did not accomplish, and his last production, entitled *Patchwork*, in three volumes, was published in 1841. It is a light sketchy collection of tales, recollections of his travel in foreign countries, and essays, and evinces that his intellect was still as vigorous and his heart as buoyant as ever. But here the memoir of Captain Hall must be abruptly closed. Mental aberration, perhaps the result of so much activity and toil, supervened, after which his existence was but a blank; and, being necessarily placed in confinement, he died in the Royal Hospital, Haslar, Portsmouth, on the 11th of September, 1844, at the age of fifty-six.

In the preceding notice, instead of enumerating the whole of Basil Hall's numerous writings, we have confined ourselves to those that were connected with his personal history. Allusion has already been made to his scientific researches, which he commenced as a young midshipman, and continued to the end of his career. Besides the interspersions of these researches among his popular works, he produced several detached papers, of which the following list has been given:—*An Account of the Geology of the Table Mountain; Details of Experiments made with an Invariable Pendulum in South America and other Places, for determining the Figure of the Earth; Observations made on a Comet at Valparaiso.* Besides these three papers, which were published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, Captain Hall produced—*A Sketch of the Professional and Scientific*

Objects which might be aimed at in a Voyage of Research; "A Letter on the Trade-winds," in the Appendix to *Daniel's Meteorology*; several scientific papers in *Brewster's Journal*, *Jameson's Journal*, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. It is only necessary to add to this account, that Captain Hall was a fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, and a member of the Astronomical Society of London.

HALL, SIR JAMES, Bart., father of Captain Sir Basil Hall, R.N., the subject of the preceding notice, was born at Dunglass in East Lothian, on the 17th January, 1761. He was the eldest son of Sir John Hall, who had married his cousin, Magdalen, daughter to Sir Robert Pringle of Stichell in Berwickshire. Sir James received a private education until his twelfth year, when he was sent by his father to a public school in the neighbourhood of London, where he had the good fortune to be under the care and superintendence of his uncle, Sir John Pringle, the king's physician. He succeeded to the baronetcy by the death of his father, in July, 1776, and much about the same period entered himself in Christ's College, Cambridge, where he remained for some years. He then proceeded with his tutor, the Rev. Mr. Brand, on a tour on the Continent, whence he returned to Edinburgh, when twenty years old, and lived there with his tutor until he became of age, attending, at the same time, some of the classes of the Edinburgh university. In 1782 Sir James Hall made a second tour on the continent of Europe, where he remained for more than three years, gradually acquiring that accurate information in geology, chemistry, and Gothic architecture, which he afterwards made so useful to the world. During this period he visited the courts of Europe, and made himself acquainted with their scientific men. In his rambles he had occasion to meet with the adventurer Ledyard; the interview between them, its cause and consequence, are, with a sense of gratitude and justice not often witnessed on similar occasions, detailed in the journals and correspondence of that singular man; and the scene is so honourable to the feelings of Sir James Hall, that we cannot avoid quoting it in Ledyard's own words:

"Permit me to relate to you an incident. About a fortnight ago Sir James Hall, an English gentleman, on his way from Paris to Cherbourg, stopped his coach at our door, and came up to my chamber. I was in bed, at six o'clock in the morning, but having flung on my *robe de chambre*, I met him at the door of the ante-chamber—I was glad to see him, but surprised. He observed, that he had endeavoured to make up his opinion of me with as much exactness as possible, and concluded that no kind of visit whatever would surprise me. I could do no otherwise than remark that his *opinion* surprised me at least, and the conversation took another turn. In walking across the chamber he laughingly put his hand on a six-livre piece and a louis d'or that lay on my table, and with a half-stifled blush, asked me how I was in the money way. Blushes commonly beget blushes, and I blushed partly because he did, and partly on other accounts. 'If fifteen guineas,' said he, interrupting the answer he had demanded, 'will be of any service to you, there they are,' and he put them on the table. 'I am a traveller myself, and though I have some fortune to support my travels, yet I have been so situated as to want money, which you ought not to do—you have my address in London.' He then wished me a good morning and left me. This gentleman was a total

stranger to the situation of my finances, and one that I had, by mere accident, met at an ordinary in Paris."¹

The sum was extremely acceptable to Ledyard, for the consumption of the six-livre piece and the louis d'or would have left him utterly destitute; but he had no more expectation or right to assistance from Sir James Hall than (to use his own simile) from the Khan of Tartary. On his return to Scotland, Sir James Hall married, in 1786, the Lady Helen Douglas, second daughter of Dunbar, Earl of Selkirk. Living a life of retirement, Sir James commenced his connection with the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of which he was for some time president, and enriched its *Transactions* by accounts of experiments on a bold and extensive scale. The results were in many instances so important that they deserve to be cursorily mentioned in this memoir, which, treating of a scientific man, would be totally void of interest without some reference to them. He was a supporter of the theory of Dr. Hutton, who maintained the earth to be the production of heat, and all its geological formations the natural consequences of fusion; and his experiments may be said to be special evidence collected for the support of this cause. Among the minute investigations made by the supporters of both sides of the controversy, it had been discovered by the Neptunians, that in some granites, where quartz and feldspar were united, the respective crystals were found mutually to impress each other—therefore, that they must have been in a state of solution together, and must have congealed simultaneously; but as feldspar fuses with less heat than is required for quartz, the latter, if both were melted by fire, must have returned to its solidity previously to the former, and so the feldspar would have yielded entirely to the impression of the crystals of the quartz. Sir James Hall discovered that when the two substances were pulverized and mixed in the proportions in which they usually occur in granite, a heat very little superior to that required to melt the feldspar alone, fused both, the feldspar acting in some respects as a solvent or flux to the quartz. Making allowance for the defects of art, the result of the experiment, while it could not be used as a positive proof to the theory of the Huttonians, served to defend them from what might have proved a conclusive argument of their opponents. But the other experiments were founded on wider views, and served to illustrate truths more important. The characteristic of the theory of Dr. Hutton, distinguishing it from those of others who maintained the formation of the earth by means of fire, was, that perceiving the practical effect of heat on most of the bodies which formed the crust of the earth, to be calcination, or change of state, and not fusion, or change of form, and knowing from the experiments of Dr. Black, that, in the case of limestones, the change depended on the separation of the carbonic acid gas from the earth, the theorist concluded, that by a heat beyond what human agency could procure, calcareous earths might be fused, provided the gas were prevented from escaping by means of strong pressure. Sir James Hall, conceiving it possible that a sufficient heat might be procured to exemplify the theory on some calcareous bodies, commenced a series of experiments in 1798, which he prosecuted through success and disappointment for seven years. The result of these experiments was announced in an elaborate paper, read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and published in the *Transactions* of that body in

1806; they were in number 156, some successful, others productive of the disappointment to which accident frequently exposes the zealous chemist—conducted with considerable danger, great expense, and unvarying patience and labour, and on the whole singularly satisfactory in their results. The plan followed by Sir James was, to procure a tube which might afford a strong resistance to inward pressure, for which purpose he alternately tried iron and porcelain; one end being closed up, pulverized chalk or other limestone was inserted, and the space betwixt its surface and the mouth of the tube being closely packed with some impervious substance, such as clay baked and pounded, fused metal, &c., the open extremity was hermetically sealed, and the end which contained the substance to be experimented upon, subjected to the action of a furnace. The iron or the porcelain was frequently found insufficient to sustain the pressure; the substance rammed into the tube to prevent the longitudinal escape of the gas had not always the effect, nor could Sir James, even in the most refined of his experiments, prevent a partial though sometimes scarcely perceptible escape of gas; yet the general results showed the truth of the theory on which he had proceeded to act, with singular applicability;—the first successful experiment procured him from a piece of common chalk, broken to powder, a hard stony mass, which dissolved in muriatic acid with violent effervescence—sometimes the fruit of his labour was covered with crystals visible to the naked eye—proving fusion and re-formation as a limestone mineral. The results of these experiments, as applicable to the formation of the earth, were reduced to a table, in which, by a presumption that the pressure of water had been the agent of nature, the author considers that 1700 feet of sea, with the assistance of heat, is sufficient for the formation of limestone—that by 3000 feet a complete marble may be formed, &c.;—it may be remarked that a fragment of marble manufactured by Sir James Hall in the course of his experiments, so far deceived the workman employed to give it a polish, that, acting under the presumption that the fragment had been dug up in Scotland, he remarked, that if it were but a little whiter, the mine where it was found might be very valuable.

In 1808 Sir James Hall represented the burgh of St. Michael's in Cornwall; but after the dissolution of parliament in 1812, he did not again offer himself as a candidate. In 1813 he published his well-known *Origin, Principles, and History of Gothic Architecture*, in one volume quarto, accompanied with plates and illustrations. It contained an enlargement and correction of the contents of a paper on the same subject, delivered before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in the year 1797. This elegant volume is the most popular and esteemed work on the subject of which it treats, both in the particular theory it espouses, and the interest of its details. The origin and formation of Gothic architecture had given birth to many theories, accounting for it on the imitative principles which guide the formation of all architecture, some ingenious, but none satisfactory. Warburton pointed out the similarity of Gothic aisles to avenues of growing trees. Milner adopted the theory propounded in Bentham's *History of Ely Cathedral*, that the pointed arch was formed by the interlacing of two semicircular arches; and Murphy referred the whole formation of Gothic architecture to an imitation of the form of the pyramid. Sir James Hall perceived that no form could be appropriately assumed in Gothic architecture which might not be constructed in wicker-ware; and considered that the earliest stone buildings of this

¹ *Life and Travels of John Ledyard, from his Journals and Correspondence*, 1828, p. 223, 224.

peculiar form were imitations of the natural forms assumed in constructions of boughs and twigs. "It happened," he says, in giving a lively account of the circumstance which hinted such a theory, "that the peasants of the country through which I was travelling were employed in collecting and bringing home the long rods or poles, which they make use of to support their vines, and these were to be seen in every village, standing in bundles, or waving partly loose in carts. It occurred to me that a rustic dwelling might be constructed of such rods, bearing a resemblance to works of Gothic architecture, and from which the peculiar forms of that style might have been derived. This conjecture was at first employed to account for the main parts of the structure, and for its general appearance only; but after a diligent investigation, carried on at intervals, with the assistance of friends, both in the collection of materials, and the solution of difficulties, I have been enabled to reduce even the most intricate forms of this elaborate style to the same simple origin; and to account for every feature belonging to it, from an imitation of wicker-work, modified according to the principles just laid down, as applicable to architecture of every sort." Sir James, who was never fond of trusting to the power of theory without practice, erected with twigs and boughs a very beautiful Gothic edifice, from which he drew conclusions strikingly illustrative of his theory. But it must be allowed that he has carried it in some respects a little beyond the bounds of certainty, and that, however much our tasteful ancestors continued to follow the course which chance had dictated of the imitation of vegetable formations in stone, many forms were imitated, which were never attempted in the wicker edifices of our far-distant progenitors. A specimen of this reasoning is to be found in the author's tracing the origin of those graceful spherical angles which adorn the interior parts of the bends of the mullions in the more ornate windows of Gothic churches, to an imitation of the curled form assumed by the bark when in a state of decay, and ready to drop from the bough. The similitude is fanciful, and may be pronounced to be founded on incorrect data, as the ornament in question cannot be of prior date to that of the second period of Gothic architecture, and was unknown till many ages after the twig edifices were forgotten. The theory forms a check on the extravagancies of modern Gothic imitations, and it were well if those who perpetrate such productions would follow the advice of Sir James Hall, and correct their work by a comparison with nature. This excellent and useful man,¹ after a lingering illness of three and a half years, died at Edinburgh on the 23d day of June, 1832. Of a family at one time very numerous, he left behind him five children, of whom the second was the distinguished Captain Basil Hall.

¹ The following anecdote of Sir James Hall, which has been related to us by the individual concerned in it, appears to be characteristic of the philosopher. Our friend had become interested in some improvements suggested upon the quadrant by a shoemaker named Gavin White, resident at Aberdour in Fife; and he sent an account of them to Sir James Hall, desiring to have his opinion of them. A few days after, Sir James Hall visited our friend, and, with little preface, addressed him as follows: "Sir, I suppose you thought me a proper person to write to on this subject, because I am president of the Royal Society. I beg to inform you that I am quite ignorant of the quadrant, and therefore unable to estimate the merit of Mr. White. I have a son, however, a very clever fellow, now at Loo Choo: if he were here, he would be your man. Good morning, Sir." It occurs to the editor of these volumes, that few philosophers of even greater distinction than Sir James Hall, would have had the candour to confess ignorance upon any subject—although unquestionably to do so is one of the surest marks of superior acquirements and intellect.

HALYBURTON, THOMAS, an eminent author and divine, and professor of divinity in the university of St. Andrews, was born in December, 1674, at Dupplin in the parish of Aberdalgay, near Perth, of which parish his father had been clergyman for many years, but being a "nonconformist," was ejected after the Restoration. Upon his death, in 1682, his widow emigrated to Holland with Thomas, her only son, then eight years old, on account of the persecutions to which those of their persuasion were still exposed in their native country. This event proved fortunate for the subject of this notice, who attained uncommon proficiency in all branches of classical literature. He returned to Scotland in 1687, and after completing the usual curriculum of university education, turned his views to the church, and entered upon the proper course of study for that profession. He was licensed in 1699, and in the following year was appointed minister of the parish of Ceres, in Fife-shire. Here he continued till 1710, distinguished by the piety of his conduct and the zeal with which he performed the duties of this charge, when his health becoming impaired in consequence of his pastoral exertions, he was appointed, upon the recommendation of the synod of Fife, to the professor's chair of divinity in St. Leonard's College at St. Andrews, by patent from Queen Anne. About this period *Deism* had partly begun to come into fashion in Scotland, in imitation of the free-thinking in England and on the Continent, where it had been revived in the preceding century. Many writers of great learning and talent had adopted this belief, and lent their pens either directly or indirectly to its propagation, the unhappy consequences of which were beginning to display themselves on the public mind. To counteract their pernicious influence Mr. Halyburton assiduously applied himself, and on his induction to the professor's chair delivered an inaugural discourse, taking for his subject a recent publication by the celebrated Dr. Pitcairn of Edinburgh, containing an attack on revealed religion under the feigned name of *Epistola Archimedis ad Regem Gelonem albe Græcæ reperta, anno aræ Christianæ, 1688, A. Pitcairnio, M.D. ut vulgo creditur, auctore*. One of the earliest, and perhaps the most powerful of all the deistical writers that have yet appeared, was Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in Shropshire (elder brother of the amiable George Herbert, the well-known English poet), who figured conspicuously in the political world in the time of Charles I., and wrote several works in disproof of the truth or necessity of revealed religion. His most important publication, entitled *De Veritate*, was originally printed at Paris in 1624, in consequence, as the author solemnly declares, of the direct sanction of Heaven to that effect, but was afterwards republished in London, and obtained very general circulation. Mr. Halyburton applied himself zealously to refute the doctrines contained in these works and others of similar tendency from the pens of different other writers, and produced his *Natural Religion Insufficient, and Revealed Necessary to Man's Happiness*—a most able and elaborate performance—in which he demonstrates with great clearness and force the defective nature of reason, even in judging of the character of a Deity—the kind of worship which ought to be accorded him, &c. Dr. Leland, in his letters entitled *View of Deistical Writers*, expresses great admiration of this performance, and regrets that the narrowness and illiberality of the writer's opinions on some points operated prejudicially against it in the minds of many persons. Neither this nor any other of Mr. Halyburton's works were given to the world during his life, which unfortunately terminated in September, 1712, being

then only in his thirty-eighth year. Besides the above work, which was published in 1714, the two others by which he is best known in Scotland are *The Great Concern of Salvation*, published in 1721, and *Ten Sermons preached before and after the Celebration of the Lord's Supper*, published in 1722. A complete edition of his works, in one vol. 8vo, was some years ago published at Glasgow.

HAMILTON, COUNT ANTHONY, a pleasing describer of manners and writer of fiction, was born about the year 1646. Although a native of Ireland, and in after-life more connected with France and England than with Scotland, the parentage of this eminent writer warrants us in considering him a proper person to fill a place in a biography of eminent Scotsmen. The father of Anthony Hamilton was a cadet of the ducal house of Hamilton, and his mother was sister to the celebrated Duke of Ormond, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The course of politics pursued by the father and his connections compelled him, on the execution of Charles I., to take refuge on the Continent, and the subject of our memoir, then an infant, accompanied his parents and the royal family in their exile in France. The long residence of the exiles in a country where their cause was respected produced interchanges of social manners, feelings, and pursuits unknown to the rival nations since the days of the Crusades, and the young writer obtained by early habit that colloquial knowledge of the language, and familiar acquaintance with the magnificent court of France, which enabled him to draw a finished picture of French life as it existed in its native purity, and as it became gradually ingrafted in English society. At the age of fourteen he returned with the restored monarch to England; but in assuming the station and duties of a British subject he is said to have felt a reluctance to abandon the levities of a gayer-minded people, which were to him native feelings. The return of the court brought with it Englishmen who had assimilated their manners to those of the French, and Frenchmen, anxious to see the country which had beheaded its king, and not averse to bestow the polish of their own elegant court on the rough framework of the reconstructed kingdom. Of these polished foreigners, the circumstances under which one celebrated individual visited the British court are too much interwoven with the literary fame of Anthony Hamilton to be here omitted. The chevalier, afterwards Count de Grammont, one of the gayest ornaments of the court of Louis, found it inconvenient to remain in France after having disputed with his master the heart of a favourite mistress. High born, personally courageous, enthusiastic in the acquisition of "glory," handsome, extravagant, an inveterate gambler, a victor in war and in love, *Volage, et même un peu perfide en amour*, the French emigrant to the court of England was a perfect human being, according to the measure of the time and the place. The admired qualities with which he was gifted by nature were such as control and prudence could not make more agreeable; but the friends of the chevalier seem sometimes to have regretted that the liaisons in which he was frequently engaged were so destructive to the peace of others, and would have prudently suggested the pursuit of intrigues which might have been less dangerous to his personal safety. The chevalier found in his exile a new field rich in objects that engaged his vagrant affections. Tired of alternate conquest and defeat, he is represented as having finally concentrated his affections on the sister of his celebrated biographer, on whom the brother has bestowed poetical charms in one of the most exquisite of his living descriptions

of female beauty, but who has been less charitably treated in the correspondence of some of her female rivals. The attentions of the chevalier towards Miss Hamilton were of that decided cast which admitted of but one interpretation, and justice to his memory requires the admission that he seemed to have fixed on her as firm and honourable an affection as so versatile a heart could form. But constancy was not his characteristic virtue. He forgot for an interval his vows and promises, and prepared to return to France without making any particular explanation with the lady or her brother. When he had just left the city, Anthony Hamilton and his brother George found it absolutely necessary to prepare their pistols, and give chase to the faithless lover. Before he had reached Dover the carriage of the offended brothers had nearly overtaken him. "Chevalier De Grammont," they cried, "have you forgot nothing in London?" "Beg pardon, gentlemen," said the pursued, "I forgot to marry your sister." The marriage was immediately concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, and the inconstant courtier appears to have ever after enjoyed a due share of domestic felicity and tranquillity. The chevalier returned with his wife to his native country, and Hamilton seems to have added to the attraction of early associations a desire to pay frequent visits to a country which contained a sister for whom he seems to have felt much affection. Hamilton and Grammont entertained for each other an esteem which was fostered and preserved by the similarity of their tastes and dispositions. A third person, differing in many respects from both, while he resembled them in his intellect, was the tasteful and unfortunate St. Evremont, and many of the most superb wits of the brilliant court of Louis XIV. added the pleasures, though not always the advantages, of their talents to the distinguished circle. Wit and intellect, however perverted, always meet the due homage of qualities which cannot be very much abused, and generally exercise themselves for the benefit of mankind; but unfortunately the fashion of the age prompted its best ornaments to seek amusement among the most degraded of the species, who were in a manner elevated by the approach which their superiors strove to make towards them, and these men could descend so far in the scale of humanity as to find pleasure even in the company of the notorious Blood. Anthony Hamilton was naturally a favourite at the court of St. Germain, and maintained a prominent figure in many of the gorgeous entertainments of the epicurean monarch. He is said to have performed a part in the celebrated ballet of the *Triumph of Love*. Being by birth and education a professed Roman Catholic, Charles II., who befriended him as a courtier, dared not, and could not by the laws, bestow on him any ostensible situation as a statesman. His brother James, however, was less scrupulous, and under his short reign Hamilton found himself colonel of a regiment of foot and governor of Limerick. Having enjoyed the fruits of the monarch's rashness, Hamilton faithfully bore his share of the consequences, and accompanied his exiled prince to St. Germain; but he was no lover of solitude, seclusion, and the Jesuits, and took little pains to conceal his sense of the disadvantageous change which the palace had experienced since his previous residence within its walls. The company of the brilliant wits of France sometimes exhilarated his retirement, but the playful count frequently found that in the sombre residence of the exiled monarch the talents which had astonished and delighted multitudes must be confined to his own solitary person, or discover some other method of displaying themselves to the world; and it is likely that we may

date to the loyalty of the author the production of one of the most interesting pictures of men and manners that was ever penned. All the works of Count Anthony Hamilton were prepared during his exile, and it was then that he formed of the life and character of his brother-in-law a nucleus round which he span a vivid description of the manners of the day, and of the most distinguished persons of the English court. In the *Memoirs of Grammont*, unlike Le Sage, Cervantes, and Fielding, the author paints the vices, follies, and weaknesses of men, not as a spectator, but as an actor, and he may be suspected of having added many kindred adventures of his own to those partly true and partly imagined of his hero. But the elasticity of a vivid and lively imagination, acute in the observation of frailties and follies, is prominent in his graphic descriptions; and no one who reads his cool pictures of vice and sophism can avoid the conviction that the author looked on the whole with the eye of a satirist, and had a mind fitted for better things, while at the same time the spirit of the age had accustomed his mind, in the words of La Harpe, *ne connoître d'autre vice que le ridicule*. The picture of the English court drawn by Hamilton is highly instructive as matter of history; it represents an aspect of society which may never recur, and the characters of many individuals whose talents and adventures are interesting to the student of human nature; nor will the interest of these sketches be diminished when they are compared with the characters of the same individuals portrayed by the graver pencils of Hyde and Burnet. That the picture is fascinating with all its deformity has been well objected to the narrative of the witty philosopher, but few who read the work in this certainly more proper and becoming age will find much inducement to follow the morals of its heroes; and those who wish a graver history of the times may refer to the *Atlantis* of Mrs. Manley, where, if the details are more unvarnished, they are neither so likely to gratify a well-regulated taste, nor to leave the morals so slightly affected. The other works written by Count Anthony Hamilton in his solitude were *Le Belier*, *Fleur d'Épine*—*Les quatre Facardins et Teneyde*. Many persons accused him of extravagance in his Eastern tales—a proof that his refined wit had not allowed him to indulge sufficiently in real English grotesqueness when he wished to caricature the French out of a ravenous appetite for the wonders of the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*. Count Anthony Hamilton died at St. Germain in 1720, in his sixty-fourth year, and on his death-bed exhibited feelings of religion, which Voltaire and others have taken pains to exhibit as inconsistent with his professions and the conduct of his life. His works have been highly esteemed in France; and whether from an amalgamation of the feelings of the two nations, or its intrinsic merits, Englishmen have professed to find in one of them the best picture of the habits and feelings of that brilliant and versatile nation. Grammont himself is maintained by St. Simon to have been active in bringing before the world the work in which his own probity is so prominently described, and to have appealed to the chancellor against the decision of Fontenelle, who, as censor of the work, considered it a very improper attack on so eminent a person as the Count de Grammont. The first complete collection of Hamilton's works was published in six vols. 12mo, along with his correspondence, in 1749. A fine impression of Grammont was prepared by Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill in 1772, in 4to, with notes and portraits—a rare edition, less tastefully republished in 1783. In 1792 Edwards published a quarto edition, with correct notes, numerous portraits,

and an English translation, which has been twice republished. Two fine editions of the author's whole works were published at Paris, 1812, four vols. 8vo, and 1813, five vols. 18mo, accompanied with an extract from a translation into French of Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, by the count, said still to exist in manuscript.

HAMILTON, DAVID. This architect, who ornamented his native country with many excellent buildings, was born in Glasgow, May 11, 1768. Of his early education and training for his profession little if anything is known, so that his entire history is to be read in the edifices he erected. Of these, the first place is due to the works he constructed in his native city. In Glasgow, he erected in 1804 the theatre in Queen Street, by far the largest in Scotland, which shared the usual fate of such buildings, by being destroyed by fire. Besides this, he erected the Western Club-house, and the Glasgow, the British, and several other banks. But his chief work in that city was the Glasgow Exchange, built about 1837-40, one of its noblest architectural ornaments. It stands isolated in an area of 300 by 200 feet, and measures 200 by 76 feet, while the hall is one of the largest and finest in the British island, measuring 100 feet by 65, and divided into three spaces by a range of seven columns on each side. On the completion of this stately and commodious temple of our Scottish merchandise, he was honoured with a public dinner, and the present of a service of plate, and a gold snuff-box, &c., by the citizens of Glasgow.

Of the country mansions in the west of Scotland, several of the most distinguished were also erected by Mr. David Hamilton. The chief of these were Hamilton Palace, the almost regal residence of the princely family of the Duke of Hamilton; Toward Castle, that of the late Kirkman Finlay, Esq., M.P.; Dunlop House, Ayrshire, for Sir John Dunlop; and Lennox Castle, judged one of the best of his works, for John Kincaid, Esq., of Kincaid.

When a competition for the new Houses of Parliament was advertised, Mr. Hamilton was one of those candidates remote from the metropolis whose emulation was stirred by the architectural challenge, and the plan which he submitted for this august fabric was one of the four to which the premium of £500 was awarded for superior excellence. The architect, after a long and active life, in which he was universally esteemed for the excellence of his character and integrity, as well as his professional superiority, died at Glasgow on the 5th of December, 1843, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

HAMILTON, GAVIN, a distinguished painter, was descended from the ancient family of the Hamiltons of Murdieston, originally of Fife, but latterly of Lanarkshire, and he was born in the town of Lanark. From a very early period of his life he entertained a strong love for historic painting. It cannot be traced with any degree of certainty under what master he first studied in his native country, as there was no fixed school of painting established in Britain at the time; but being sent to Rome while yet very young, he became a scholar of the celebrated Augustine Mossuchi. On his return to Scotland after many years absence, his friends wished him to apply himself to portrait-painting, but having imbibed in Italy higher ideas of the art, after a few successful attempts, he abandoned that line and attached himself entirely to historic composition. Few of his portraits are to be found in Britain, and of these, two full lengths of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton are considered the best. The figure of the duchess with a greyhound

leaping upon her is well known by the mezzotinto prints taken from it, to be found in almost every good collector's hands. There is said to be another unfinished portrait of the same duchess by him, in which the Duke of Hamilton thought the likeness so very striking, that he took it from the painter, and would never allow it to be finished, lest the resemblance should be lost. He remained but a few months in his native country, and returned to Rome, where he resided for the principal part of his life. From the advantages of a liberal education, being perfectly familiar with the works of the great masters of Grecian and Roman literature, he displayed a highly classic taste in the choice of his subjects; and the style at which he always and successfully aimed, made him at least equal to his most celebrated contemporaries. The most capital collection of Mr. Hamilton's paintings that can be seen in any one place was, and if we mistake not is at present, in a saloon in the Villa Borghese, which was wholly painted by him, and represents in different compartments the story of Paris. These were painted on the ceiling, and other scenes form a series of pictures round the alcove on a smaller scale. This work, though its position be not what an artist would choose as the most advantageous for exhibiting his finest efforts, has long been accounted a performance of very high excellence. The Prince Borghese, as if with a view to do honour to Scottish artists, had the adjoining apartment painted by Jacob More, who excelled as much in landscape as Hamilton in historical painting. He had another saloon in the same palace painted by Mengs, the most celebrated German artist, and these three apartments were conceived to exhibit the finest specimens of modern painting then to be found in Italy.

In his historical pictures, some of which have come to Britain, Mr. Hamilton plainly discovers that he studied the chaste models of antiquity with more attention than the living figures around him; which has given his paintings of ancient histories that propriety with regard to costume, which distinguished them at the time from most modern compositions.

One of his greatest works was his Homer, consisting of a series of pictures, representing scenes taken from the *Iliad*; these have been dispersed into various parts of Europe, and can now only be seen in one continued series in the excellent engravings made of them by Cunego, under the eye of Mr. Hamilton himself. Several of these paintings came to Britain, but only three reached Scotland. One of these, the parting of Hector and Andromache, was in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton. Another represents the death of Lucretia, in the collection of the Earl of Hopetoun, and was deemed by all judges a capital performance. The third was in the house of a Mrs. Scott, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. It represents Achilles dragging the body of Hector round the walls of Troy—a sublime picture, which if not the *chef d'œuvre* of Mr. Hamilton, would alone have been sufficient to have transmitted his name to posterity as one of the greatest artists. It was painted for the Duke of Bedford, and had been in his possession some time before the unfortunate accident which deprived him of his son the Marquis of Tavistock, whose disastrous fate had some resemblance to the story of the picture, being thrown from his horse and dragged to death, his foot having stuck in the stirrup. After this, none of the family being able to endure the picture, it was ordered to be put away, and General Scott became the purchaser of it at a very moderate price. The figure of Achilles in this picture is painted with surprising characteristic justness, spirit, and fire, and might stand the test of

the severest criticism. It was in the grand and terrible that Mr. Hamilton chiefly excelled. His female characters had more of the dignity of Juno, or the coldness of Diana, than the soft inviting playfulness of the goddess of love.

He published at Rome, in 1773, a folio volume, entitled *Schola Pictura Italiae*, or the *Italian School of Painting*, composed of a number of fine engravings by Cunego, making part of the collection of Piranesi. He there traces the different styles from Leonardo da Vinci to the Carraccis. All the drawings were made by Mr. Hamilton himself, and this admirable collection now forms one of the principal treasures in the first libraries in Europe. All his best pictures were likewise engraved under his own eye by artists of the first ability, so that the world at large has been enabled to form a judgment of the style and merit of his works. In reference to the original pictures from whence the engravings were taken, many contradictory opinions have been expressed; some have considered his figures as wanting in the characteristic purity and correctness of form so strictly observed in the antique—others have said he was no colourist, though that was a point of his art after which he was most solicitous. But setting all contending opinions apart, had Mr. Hamilton never painted a picture, the service he otherwise rendered to the fine arts would be sufficient to exalt his name in the eyes of posterity. From being profoundly acquainted with the history of the ancient state of Italy, he was enabled to bring to light many of the long-buried treasures of antiquity, and to this noble object he devoted almost the whole of the latter part of his life. He was permitted by the government of the Roman states to open scavos in various places; at Centumcellæ, Velletri, Ostia, and above all at Tivoli, among the ruins of Adrian's villa; and it must be owned that the success which crowned his researches made ample amends for the loss which painting may have suffered by the intermission of his practice and example. Many of the first collections in Germany and Russia are enriched by statues, busts, and bas-reliefs of his discovery.

In the collection of the Museo Clementino, next to the treasures of Belvidere, the contributions of Hamilton were by far the most important. The Apollo, with six of the nine Muses, were all of his finding. At the ruins of ancient Gabii (celebrated by Virgil in his sixth book of the *Æneid*, and by Horace, epistle xi. b. 1) he was also very fortunate, particularly in the discovery of a Diana, a Germanicus, a Pan, and several rich columns of verd antique and marmo fiortio. The paintings in fresco, preserved also by his great care and research, are admitted to surpass all others found in Italy.

He visited Scotland several times in the decline of his life, and had serious thoughts of settling altogether in Lanark; where he at one time gave orders for a painting-room to be built for him; but finding the climate unsuitable to his constitution, he abandoned the idea and returned to Rome, where he died, according to Bryan's account in his *History of Painting*, about 1775 or 1776.

All accounts of this artist agree in stating that, however exalted his genius might be, it was far surpassed by the benevolence and liberality of his character.

HAMILTON, JAMES, third Marquis, and first Duke of Hamilton, was born in the palace at Hamilton, on the 19th of June, 1606. His father, James, Marquis of Hamilton, was held in high favour by James I., who, amongst other honours which he bestowed on him, created him Earl of Cambridge,

a title which was at an after-period a fatal one to the unfortunate nobleman who is the subject of this memoir. Before the marquis had attained his fourteenth year his father, who was then at St. James's court, sent for him for the purpose of betrothing him to the lady Margaret Fielding, daughter to the Earl of Denbigh, and niece of the Duke of Buckingham, and then only in the seventh year of her age. After this ceremony had taken place, the marquis was sent to Oxford to complete those studies which he had begun in Scotland, but which had been seriously interrupted by his coming to court. He succeeded his father as Marquis of Hamilton, March 2, 1625, while as yet considerably under age.

An early and fond intimacy seems to have taken place between Prince Charles and the marquis. That it was sincere and abiding on the part of the latter the whole tenor of his life and his melancholy and tragical death bear testimony. On Charles succeeding to the throne, one of his first cares was to mark the esteem in which he held his young friend, by heaping upon him favours and distinctions. Soon after the coronation of the king, however, in which ceremony he carried the sword of state in the procession, he returned to Scotland for the purpose of superintending in person his family affairs, which had been much deranged by the munificence of his father. The marquis, who does not seem to have ever been much captivated by the life of a courtier, soon became warmly attached to the quiet and retirement of the country, and spent the greater part of his time at Brodick Castle, a beautiful and romantic residence in the island of Arran. The king, however, whose attachment to him seems to have gained strength by his absence, wrote to him repeatedly, and with his own hand, in the most pressing terms, to return. All these flattering invitations he for some time resisted, until his father-in-law, the Earl of Denbigh, came expressly to Scotland with another earnest request from the king that he would come up to London, and at the same time offering him the appointment of master of the horse, then vacant by the death of the Duke of Buckingham. Unable longer to resist the entreaties of his sovereign, now seconded by the earl, the marquis complied, and proceeded with his father-in-law to court, where he arrived in the year 1628. The promised appointment was immediately bestowed on him, with that of gentleman of the bed-chamber, and privy-councillor in both kingdoms. The amiable and unassuming manners of the marquis saved him at this part of his career from all that hostility and jealousy which usually attend the favourite of a sovereign, and he was permitted to receive and enjoy all his offices and honours without a grudge, and without the cost of creating an enemy.

At the baptism of Prince Charles in 1630, he represented the King of Bohemia as one of the sponsors, and on this occasion the order of the Garter was conferred upon him, together with a grant of the office of chief steward of the house and manor of Hampton Court. A more active life, however, was now about to open upon the favourite courtier. King Charles, having in the duke's name entered into a treaty with the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, to furnish him with 6000 men for his intended invasion of Germany, with the view of thus enabling his brother-in-law, the elector palatine, to regain his hereditary territories from which he had been driven, the marquis was empowered to raise the stipulated force. These he soon collected, and was on the point of embarking with them himself, when he found that a charge of high treason had been preferred against him by Lord Ochiltree, son of that Captain

James Stewart who had usurped the Hamilton estates and dignities in the time of his grandfather. The king himself was the first to inform the duke of the absurd charge which had been brought against him, and which consisted in the ridiculous assertion that the marquis intended, in place of proceeding to Germany with the forces he had raised, to employ them in asserting a right to the Scottish crown. Although the accusation was too absurd to be credited, yet the marquis insisted that his innocence should be established by a public trial. To this proposal, however, the king would not listen, and to show his confidence in the marquis's fidelity, he invited him to sleep in the same bed-chamber with him on the very night on which the charge was brought against him by Lord Ochiltree. The forgeries of the latter in support of his accusation having been proven, he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and thrown into the castle of Blackness, where he remained a captive for twenty years, when he was liberated by one of Cromwell's officers.

On the 16th of July the marquis sailed from Yarmouth Roads with his army and forty ships, and arrived at Elsinore on the 27th of the same month. On the 29th he sailed again for the Oder, which he reached on the 30th. Here he landed his men, and having previously received a general's commission from the King of Sweden, marched into Silesia, and distinguished himself on all occasions by his bravery and judicious conduct. After much severe service, however, during which his army was reduced to two incomplete regiments, and, conceiving himself slighted by the King of Sweden, he wrote to his own sovereign, requesting his advice as to his future proceedings. Charles immediately replied "that if he could not be serviceable to the palatinate he should take the first civil excuse to come home." This he soon afterwards did, still parting, however, on good terms with the Swedish king, who expressed his esteem for him by saying at his departure, "in whatever part of the world he were, he would ever look upon him as one of his own." The marquis, on his return to the English court, was received with unabated kindness, and again took his place amongst the foremost in the esteem of his sovereign.

In 1633 he accompanied the king to Scotland, when he came down to receive the crown of that kingdom; but from this period until the year 1638 he meddled no further with public affairs. The troubles, however, of that memorable year again brought him on the stage. To put an end to the religious distractions in Scotland, the marquis was despatched thither with instructions, and a power to grant further concessions on some important points. The demands of the Covenanters were, however, greater than was expected, and this attempt at mediation was unsuccessful. He was a second time sent down to Scotland with enlarged powers; but as these embraced no concession regarding the covenant, this journey was equally fruitless with the other. In the beginning of winter he was a third time despatched, with instructions to act as commissioner at the General Assembly which had been appointed to meet for the settlement of differences, and which sat down at Glasgow in November. The concessions, however, which he was authorized to make were not considered at all sufficient. The opponents of the court in the assembly proceeded from measure to measure, in despite of all the marquis's efforts to stem the tide of disaffection. Finding this impossible, he dissolved the court. The Covenanters, however, continuing their sittings, went on subscribing the covenant, and decreed the abrogation of bishops in

the Scottish church. Having been able to render the king little more service than the gain of time which his negotiations had secured, the marquis returned to London. Indeed, more success could not have been expected from an interference where the covenant, the principal subject of contention, was thus spoken of by the opposite parties: the king, writing to his commissioner, "So long as this damnable covenant is in force, I have no more power in Scotland than a Duke of Venice;" and the Covenanters again replying to some overtures about its renunciation, that "they would sooner renounce their baptism." The king, who had long anticipated a violent issue with the Scottish malcontents, had in the meantime been actively employed in collecting a force to subdue them; and the marquis, soon after his arrival in England, was appointed to a command in this armament. Whilst the king himself proceeded overland with an army of 25,000 foot and 3000 horse, the marquis sailed from Yarmouth with a fleet, having on board a further force of 5000 men, and arrived in Leith Roads on the 1st of May. On his arrival he required the leaders of the Covenanters to acknowledge the king's authority, and seemed disposed to proceed to hostilities. But the king, in the meantime, having entered into a pacific arrangement with the Covenanters, his military command ceased, and he proceeded to join his majesty at his camp near Berwick. Soon after this the marquis once more retired from public employment, and did not again interfere in national affairs for several years. In 1642 he was once more sent to Edinburgh by the king to resume negotiations with the Covenanters; and on this occasion was so successful as to alarm Pickering, the agent of the English parliament at Edinburgh, who wrote to his employers recommending them to bring Hamilton immediately to trial as a disturber of the harmony between the two kingdoms. This representation of Pickering's, however, was attended with no immediate result, whatever effect it might have on his ultimate fate; and it is not improbable that it was then recollected to his prejudice. As a reward for his faithful and zealous services, the king now bestowed upon the marquis by patent, dated at Oxford, 12th April, 1643, the title of duke. The same patent invests him also with the title of Marquis of Clydesdale, Earl of Arran and Cambridge, and Lord Avon and Innerdale. By one of those strange and sudden reverses, however, to which the favourites of kings are so subject, the duke was thrown into prison by that very sovereign who but a short while since had loaded him with titles and honours. Various misrepresentations of the duke's conduct in Scotland had reached the king's ears. He was charged with unfaithfulness to the trust reposed in him; of speaking disrespectfully of the king; and of still entertaining views upon the Scottish crown. These accusations, absurd, incredible, and contradictory to facts as they were, had been so often repeated, and so urgently pressed on the unfortunate and distracted monarch, that they at length shook his faith in his early friend. Deserted, opposed, and harassed upon all hands, he was prepared to believe in any instance of treachery that might occur; and clinging to every hope, however slender, which presented itself, was too apt to imagine that the accusation of others was a proof of friendship to himself on the part of the accuser.

The king's altered opinion regarding him having reached the ears of the duke, he instantly hastened, accompanied by his brother the Earl of Lanark, who was also involved in the accusation, to Oxford, where his majesty then was. Conscious of his

innocence, the duke, on his arrival, sought an audience of the king, that he might, at a personal interview, disabuse him of the unfavourable reports which he had heard regarding him. An order, however, had been left at the gates to stop him until the governor should have notice of his arrival. Through a mistake of the captain of the guard, the carriage which contained the duke was allowed to pass unchallenged, but was immediately followed with a command directly from the king himself, that the duke and his brother should confine themselves to their apartments. This intimation of the king's disposition towards him was soon followed by still more unequivocal indications. Next day a guard was placed on his lodgings, with orders that no one should speak with him but in presence of one of the secretaries; and finally, notwithstanding all his protestations of innocence, and earnest requests to be confronted with his accusers, he was sent a prisoner, first to Exeter, and afterwards to Pendennis Castle in Cornwall. His brother, who had also been ordered into confinement in Ludlow Castle, contrived to make his escape before his removal, and returned to Scotland; a circumstance which increased the severity with which the duke was treated. Whilst a prisoner in Pendennis Castle, the duke's gentle manners so far won upon the governor, that he not only gave him more liberty than his instructions warranted, but offered to allow him to escape. The duke, however, refused to avail himself of a kindness which would involve his generous keeper in ruin, and he remained a close prisoner till the month of April, 1646, when he was released, after an unmerited confinement of eight and twenty months, on the surrender of the place to the parliamentary forces. Feeling now that disgust with the world which the treatment he had met with was so well calculated to inspire, the duke resolved to retire from public business for ever; but the exigencies of Charles were daily multiplying, and when that unhappy monarch, driven from England, sought protection from the Scottish army at Newcastle, the Duke of Hamilton was among the first to wait upon him there, with offers of assistance and consolation. When the king and the duke first met on this occasion, both blushed; and the latter in the confusion of the moment, after saluting his majesty, was about to retire into the crowd which filled the apartment, when the king asked him "If he was afraid to come near him." The duke returned, and a long and earnest conversation ensued between them. The king apologized for his treatment of him, and concluded by requesting that he would not now leave him in the midst of his distresses. The appeal was not made in vain. The duke once more embarked with all his former zeal in the cause of his beloved master, and made every effort to retrieve his desperate fortunes. These efforts were vain, but they have secured for him who made them a lasting and an honourable fame.

When the question, whether the king, now in the hands of the Scottish malcontents, should be delivered up to his English subjects, was discussed in the Scottish parliament, the duke exerted his utmost influence to prevent its being carried in the affirmative. "Was this," he exclaimed, "the effect of their protestations of duty and affection to his majesty? Was this the keeping of their covenant, wherein they had sworn to defend the king's majesty, person, and authority? Was this a suitable return to the king's goodness, both in his consenting to all the desires of that kingdom in the year 1641, and in his late trusting his person to them? What censure would be passed upon this through the whole world?"

What a stain would it be to the whole Reformed religion? What danger might be apprehended in consequence of it, both to the king's person and to Scotland from the party that was now prevalent in England?" The duke's brother, the Earl of Lanark, was not less earnest in his opposition to the disgraceful proposal, and when his vote was asked, he exclaimed with much energy, "As God shall have mercy upon my soul at the great day, I would choose rather to have my head struck off at the market-cross of Edinburgh than give my consent to this vote." These generous efforts of the noble brothers, however, as is well known, were unavailing; the measure was carried, and the unfortunate monarch was delivered into the hands of the English parliament.

Defeated in his attempts to prevent the king's being given up to his English subjects, the duke, still hoping to avert this consummation, entertained the idea of relieving him by force of arms. Encouraged by something like a reaction of public feeling, he proceeded to raise an army to march into England, where he expected to meet with an active and powerful co-operation from the royalists of that kingdom. He hastily collected a force of 10,000 foot and 4000 cavalry, and with this army, which was indifferently appointed, ill-disciplined, and unaccompanied by artillery, he marched into England. Passing Carlisle, where he was received with welcome, he continued his march by Penrith, Appleby, and Kendal, driving before him detached bodies of Cromwell's troops, and finally reached Preston on the 17th of August, where he was opposed by Cromwell in person with his veteran battalions; and notwithstanding that the duke had been reinforced since he entered England by 3000 to 4000 loyalists under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and afterwards by 2000 foot and 1000 horse, commanded by Sir George Munro, the result of various skirmishes which here took place, was the total defeat of his army. The duke himself, accompanied by a few officers and cavalry, proceeded on to Uttoxeter in Staffordshire, where he surrendered to General Lambert, on assurance of personal safety to himself and his followers. The unfortunate duke was now carried to Derby, thence to Ashby-de-la-Zouche, where he remained till December, when he was removed to Windsor, and placed under a strong guard. On the second night of his confinement here, while taking a turn after supper in the court-yard, a sergeant made up to him, and, with the utmost insolence of manner, ordered him to his apartment: the duke obeyed, but remarked to Lord Bargeny, who was then a prisoner also, that what had just happened was a singular instance of the mutability of worldly things—that he who, but a short while since, had the command of many thousand men, was now commanded by a common sergeant.

A few days after the duke's arrival at Windsor his ill-fated master, who was then also a prisoner there, was ordered for trials. Having learned when the king was to proceed to the tribunal, the duke prevailed upon his keepers to allow him to see his majesty as he passed. On the approach of the king he threw himself at his feet, exclaiming in an agony of sorrow, his eyes suffused with tears, "My dear master!" The king, not less affected, stooped down and embraced him, replying, with a melancholy play upon the word *dear*, "I have indeed been so to you." The guards would permit no further conversation, but, by the order of their commander, instantly hurried off the king. The duke followed his beloved master, with his eyes still swimming in tears, so long as he could see him, impressed with

VOL. II.

the belief that they would never meet on earth again. Aware from the king's execution, which soon after took place, that a similar fate awaited himself, the duke, with the assistance of a faithful servant, effected his escape from Windsor. Two horses waited at a convenient place to carry him and his servant to London, where he hoped to conceal himself until an opportunity occurred of getting to a place of greater safety; but he was instructed not on any account to enter the city till seven o'clock in the morning, when the night patrols, who prowled about the town and suburbs, should have retired from duty. By an unaccountable fatality, the unfortunate duke neglected to attend to this most important injunction, and entered the city at four o'clock in the morning. As if everything had resolved to concur in the destruction of the unfortunate nobleman, besides the risk which he ran as a matter of course from the patrol, it happened that there was a party of horse and foot in Southwark, where the duke entered, searching for Sir Lewis Dives and another gentleman, who had also escaped from confinement the night before. By these the duke was taken while in the act of knocking at a door where he had been long seeking admittance. At first he imposed upon the soldiers by a plausible story, and as they did not know him personally, they were disposed to allow him to depart; but some suspicious circumstances attracting their notice, they searched him, and found in his pockets some papers which at once discovered him. He was now carried to St. James's, where he was kept a close prisoner till the 6th February, 1648, when he was brought to trial before the High Court of Justice, and arraigned as Earl of Cambridge, for having "traitorously invaded this nation (England) in a hostile manner, and levied war to assist the king against the kingdom and people of England," &c. The duke pleaded that he was an alien, and that his life besides was secured by the articles of his capitulation to Lambert. To the first it was replied that he always sat as a peer of England, and as such had taken the covenant and negative oath. With regard to the second objection, it was affirmed by two witnesses, Lords Grey and Lilburn, that he was taken prisoner before the treaty was signed. After a lengthened trial, in which none of his objections availed him, the unfortunate nobleman was sentenced to be beheaded on the 9th of March. The whole tenor of the duke's conduct after sentence of death was passed upon him, evinced the greatest magnanimity and resignation. He wrote to his brother in favour of his servants, and on the morning before his execution addressed a letter to his children, recommending them to the protection of their heavenly Father, now that they were about to be deprived of their earthly parent. He slept soundly on the night previous to his death, until half-past three in the morning, when he was attended by his faithful servant Cole, the person who had assisted him in his attempted escape. To him he now, with the utmost composure, gave a variety of directions to be carried to his brother. The remainder of the morning, up to nine o'clock, he spent in devotion. At this hour he was desired to prepare for the scaffold, which he soon after ascended with a cheerful countenance, attended by Dr. Sibbald. After again spending some time in secret prayer, he arose, and embracing Dr. Sibbald, said, laying his hand upon his heart, "I bless God I do not fear—I have an assurance that is grounded here;" he next embraced his servants severally, saying to each of them, "You have been very faithful to me; the Lord bless you."

Turning now to the executioner, he desired to know how he should place himself to receive the

fatal stroke. Having been satisfied regarding this, he told the executioner, that after he had placed himself in the necessary position, he would say a short prayer, and that he would extend his right hand as the signal for his doing his duty. He now stretched himself along, and placed his neck ready for the blow, prayed a short while with much appearance of fervour, then gave the fatal signal, and with one stroke his head was severed from his body.

The head of the unfortunate nobleman was received in a crimson taffeta scarf by two of his servants, who knelt beside him for the purpose of performing this last act of duty for their kind master. The duke's head and body were placed in a coffin which lay ready on the scaffold, and conveyed to a house in the Mews, and afterwards, agreeably to his own directions before his death, conveyed to Scotland, and interred in the family burying-ground.

Thus perished James Duke of Hamilton, a nobleman whose fortune at his death gives but little countenance to the charge of timidity which has been insinuated against him, and whose zeal for, and adherence to, the royal cause, in the most desperate and trying circumstances, afford less encouragement to the accusation of infidelity to his sovereign with which he has been also assailed.

HAMILTON, JAMES, fourth Duke of Hamilton, was the eldest son of William Earl of Selkirk and Anne Duchess of Hamilton. He was born in 1657, educated in Scotland, being by the courtesy of his country entitled Earl of Arran, and after spending some time in foreign travel, repaired to the court of England, where he mixed in the gallantries of the time. As it was with a duel that his life closed, so a duel is the first remarkable circumstance to be noticed in the account of his youthful years. In consequence of a quarrel with Lord Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Peterborough, he met that nobleman on foot in Greenwich Park with sword and pistol. Arran fired first and missed; his antagonist discharged his ball in the air, but nevertheless insisted that the combat should proceed. They accordingly engaged with their swords, and Mordaunt, having first received a slight wound about the groin, pierced Arran's thigh, and broke his own sword. The earl had now in turn an opportunity to display his generosity, and sparing the life which was at his mercy, the two young noblemen parted good friends.

Arran enjoyed the favour of Charles II., who made him one of the knights of his bed-chamber, and sent him envoy-extraordinary to the court of France, to offer congratulations on the birth of Philip, Duke of Anjou, afterwards King of Spain. Whilst upon this embassy, he was one day hunting with the king, and taking offence at some part of the conduct of an ecclesiastical dignitary, who also rode in the company, he disregarded equally the profession of his opponent and the royal presence, and pulling the reverend gentleman from his horse, and grasping his sword, he was prevented from exacting a bloody vengeance only by the interposition of his majesty. The particulars of this affair are not related with that distinctness which would enable us to decide who was in the wrong; but the earl's contemporaries, provided they saw a display of spirit, did not often stop to inquire whether it were borne out by prudence; and accordingly, a writer of the time tells us his lordship came off upon this occasion, in the opinion of the world, "with high commendations of his courage and audacity."

When James II. ascended the throne, the Earl of Arran suffered no diminution of court favour. Indeed he seems to have earned it by readily yielding

to James's designs. He was one of the privy-council who, in 1687, signed the letter of the Scottish government concurring with the proclamation to repeal the laws made against Papists. In reward of his acquiescence he was installed a knight of the Thistle, when that order—which, according to the king's party, was instituted about the year of our Lord 809, by Achaius, King of Scots, and never disused till the intestine troubles which happened in the reign of Mary—was "restored to its full lustre, glory, and magnificence." The writers whose politics were different maintain that, however honourable this badge might be, it was never worn as such before. Burnet says it was "set up in Scotland in imitation of the order of the Garter in England;" and Lord Dartmouth adds that "all the pretence for antiquity is some old pictures of kings of Scotland with medals of St. Andrew hung in gold chains about their necks." Whether old or new, it was conferred as a mark of James's esteem, and in farther proof of his confidence he intrusted the Earl of Arran with the command of a regiment of horse, when the new levies took place on the descent of the Duke of Monmouth. At a period of greater disaster to James's fortunes, when Lord Churchill, afterwards the great Marlborough, went over to the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Berwick was advanced to the station he had occupied as colonel of the 3d troop of horse-guards, and in the room of his grace, Arran was made colonel of Oxford's regiment. From the course which events took, however, the earl had no opportunity of signaling his bravery in the cause of his master; but he carried his fidelity as far as any man in the kingdom, having been one of the four lords who accompanied James to Gravesend, when the fallen monarch repaired thither on his way into foreign exile. Returning to London, Arran complied with the general example, and waited on the Prince of Orange. Being one of the last that came, he offered an excuse which partook more of the bluntness of the soldier than of political or courtlike dexterity: "If the king had not withdrawn out of the country," he said, "he should not have come at all." The next day the prince intimated to him that he had bestowed his regiment upon its old colonel, the Earl of Oxford.

Nor was Arran solicitous to appease by subsequent compliance the displeasure incurred in his first interview with the prince. On the 7th January William assembled the Scottish nobles and gentlemen then in London, and told them that he wanted their advice "what was to be done for securing the Protestant religion, and restoring their laws and liberties, according to his declaration." His highness withdrew after making this request, and the Duke of Hamilton¹ was chosen to preside. The politics of his grace were quite different from those of his son; and the fact of his being selected to preside over their deliberations was an intimation of the course which the assembly intended to pursue. But Arran either did not perceive, or did not regard this circumstance; he proposed, that as the prince had desired their advice, they should move him to invite the king to return, and call a free parliament, "which, in my humble opinion," he added, "will at last be found the best way to heal all our breaches." Nobody seconded this proposal; but it seems to have astounded the deliberators a good deal: they dispersed, and did not reassemble till the second day after, when their resolution to stand by the Prince of Orange and to exclude the exiled James, having been

¹ The Earl of Selkirk bore this title in right of marriage to the duchess.

strengthened by some remarks from the Duke of Hamilton, they recommended the measures which the emergency seemed to them to require.

A short time after the settlement of the throne upon William and Mary, as the Earl of Arran was passing along the streets in a chair, about eleven at night, he was set upon by four or five people with drawn swords. He defended himself courageously, and being vigorously seconded by his footman and chairmen, came off with only a few slight hurts in the hand. This incident was charged against the new monarch, as if he had sought to rid himself by assassination of one who had so very coolly, if not resolutely, opposed his reception in England. But there was neither any disposition nor any necessity for resorting to such means for weakening the ranks of the adherents of James. The attack upon the earl is believed to have proceeded from another cause; namely, the involvement of his lordship's pecuniary affairs, and to have been the act of an exasperated creditor. The earl, however, certainly was obnoxious to government at this period. He was shortly after committed to the Tower, with Sir Robert Hamilton and two others of his countrymen; but was soon liberated upon bail; upon which he judged it prudent, both on account of the suspicion to which his political opinions exposed him, and of embarrassments in his private fortune, to retire to Scotland. There his father enjoyed the full confidence of government; his services in the convention of the states, of which he was president, having mainly contributed to the settlement of the crown upon William. Here Arran lived in retirement, the progress of affairs and the paternal authority tending to reconcile him to the Revolution. At his father's death in 1695 the Earl of Arran was not advanced in rank and not very much in fortune. The title of duke had been conferred upon its late possessor to be held during his lifetime, by consent of the heiress, whom he had married; and at his death it remained with her, together with the bulk of the estate. It was not till the marriage of Arran, in 1698, with Lord Gerrard of Bromley's daughter, that his mother consented that her eldest son should assume the honours of the family. Upon this William, willing to gratify the family, signed a patent creating him Duke of Hamilton, with precedence in the same manner as if he had succeeded to the title by the decease of his mother.

The events hitherto recorded in this nobleman's life were not of great moment: he was a young man, acting in a great measure from personal bias, and his opinions had little weight or influence beyond the sphere of the private friends with whom he associated. We now approach a period when his conduct in the legislative assembly of his country determined more than that of any other of its members the fate of the two most momentous political measures that ever were debated in it—the act of security and the act of union. The events of William's reign had been highly exasperating to the Scottish nation. Not only had commercial enterprise been repressed, but this had been done in the most base and most cruel manner. The same monarch who sanctioned the massacre of Glencoe, first granted a charter to the Darien company, and then exerted his influence with foreign nations in order to withhold from their colony the necessary supplies, and sent instructions to the governor of the English colonies to the same effect. Many perished of famine, "murdered," says Sir Walter Scott, "by King William's government, no less than if they had been shot in the snows of Glencoe." The spirit of an ancient people, never tolerant of contumely, far less of cruelties so atro-

cious as these, did not burst out into immediate and open defiance of their more powerful neighbour, but reserved itself for a period more favourable for the vindication of its insulted rights. During the rest of his life William could draw no subsidies from Scotland, nor a single recruit for his continental wars. The instability of a new reign afforded a fitting opportunity for the assertion of independence. An act had been passed in the time of King William, empowering the parliament in being at his death to continue, and take the steps necessary for securing the Protestant succession. In virtue of this act Queen Anne thought proper not to call a new parliament: but a party, at the head of whom was the Duke of Hamilton, maintained that the purposes contemplated by that provision were sufficiently satisfied by the settlement of her majesty on the throne. Accordingly, before the royal commission was read, the duke took a protest against it, and retiring with twenty-nine who adhered to him, their retreat was greeted with shouts of applause by the people assembled without. This proceeding may be considered the germ of that opposition which ripened in the two following years into the formidable act of security.

The parliament of 1703, instead of proceeding, in conformity with the wishes of government, to settle the crown of Scotland on the same person for whom that of England was destined, resolved that this was the time to obtain an equality of commercial privileges, and to rescue the country from the state of a degraded and oppressed province of England. They accordingly passed an act stipulating that the two crowns should not be held by the same monarch, unless the Scottish people were admitted by the English to the full benefit of trade and navigation: to make good the separation of the countries if it should be necessary, every man capable of bearing arms was to be regularly drilled, and all commissions, civil and military, were to lose effect at the moment of the queen's demise, in order that the states of Scotland might then appoint an entirely new set of magistrates and officers, faithful maintainers of the independence of the kingdom. The Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Tweeddale headed the country party, by whom this measure was passed. It was debated with the utmost fierceness by the speakers on both sides, with their hands on their swords. The queen's commissioner refused his assent, and was obliged to dismiss the assembly without obtaining supplies, every demand of that kind being answered with shouts of "Liberty before subsidy!"

At this time the duke was involved in the accusations of Fraser of Lovat, who detailed to the government a plot, in which he alleged that he had engaged several Scottish noblemen for the restoration of the son of James II. The parliament of England took up the matter, and passed a resolution, declaring that a dangerous conspiracy had been formed in Scotland to overthrow the Protestant succession. Hamilton, and the others named with him, defended themselves by maintaining that the whole affair was nothing but a malicious attempt of the court, in consequence of the decided part they had taken in behalf of their country's rights, to destroy their reputation, and weaken the patriotic party to which they belonged. Their countrymen were in no mood to take part against them: on the contrary, they considered the vote of the English legislature as a fresh encroachment upon their liberties, another unwarrantable interference with matters beyond their jurisdiction. When the states met in 1704, therefore, there was no alteration in their tone—the act

of security was insisted upon with the same determination; and it was now wisely acceded to.

Scotland was thus legally disjoined from England, and the military preparations provided for in the act of security were immediately commenced. This measure, however threatening it might appear, produced ultimately the most beneficial effects, having had the effect of rousing the English government to the danger of a rupture with Scotland. Should that nation make choice of a separate sovereign, it was likely to be one who had claims to the throne of England; and thus not only might the old hostilities between the two countries be rekindled, not only might a Scottish alliance be resorted to by foreign courts, to strengthen them in their designs against England; but the prince who held his court at Edinburgh would have numerous adherents in the southern part of the island, as well as in Ireland, by whose assistance long and harassing wars might be maintained, with too probable a chance of the ultimate establishment of the exiled family on the British throne.

The prospect of dangers such as these induced the English government to devote all their influence to the formation of a treaty, by which the two countries might be incorporated, and all causes of dissension, at least in a national point of view, removed. During the discussion of this measure, the details of which proved extremely unsatisfactory to the Scottish people, they looked up to the Duke of Hamilton as the political leader on whom the fate of the country entirely depended. That nobleman seems in his heart to have been hostile to the union. In the earlier stages of the proceedings he displayed considerable firmness in his opposition, and out of doors he was greeted with the most enthusiastic plaudits.

The Duke of Queensberry, who acted as royal commissioner, had his lodging in Holyrood House; so had the Duke of Hamilton. The queen's representative could only pass to his coach through lanes of armed soldiery, and be hurried home amidst volleys of stones and roars of execration; while the popular favourite was attended all the way from the Parliament Close by crowds, who encouraged him with loud huzzas to stand by the cause of national independence. A plan was devised, with the duke's consent, for interrupting the progress of this odious treaty by a general insurrection. But when the agents had arranged matters for the rising of the Cameronians in the west country, either doubting the practicability of the scheme, or reluctant to involve the country in civil war, he despatched messengers to countermand the rising, and was so far successful, that only an inconsiderable number repaired to the place of rendezvous. It was next resolved that a remonstrance should be presented by the nobles, barons, and gentry hostile to the union; and about four hundred of them assembled in Edinburgh, for the purpose of waiting upon the lord-commissioner, with this expression of the national opinion. The address was drawn up with the understanding that it should be presented by the Duke of Hamilton; but that nobleman again thwarted the measures of his party by refusing to appear, unless a clause were inserted in the address, expressive of the willingness of the subscribers to settle the crown on the house of Hanover. To this proposal the Jacobites, who formed a large portion of the opponents of the union, would not listen for a moment; and while discussions and disputes were protracted between the Dukes of Athol and Hamilton, the gentlemen who had attended their summons to swell the ranks of the remonstrants, dispersed to their homes, chagrined and disappointed.

Hamilton next assembled the leaders of the opposition, recommended that they should forget former jarrings, and endeavour to repair previous mismanagement by a vigorous and united effort for the defeat of the obnoxious treaty. He proposed that a motion formerly made for settling the succession in the house of Hanover should be renewed, in conjunction with a proposal fatal to the union; and that, on its being rejected, as it was sure to be in such circumstances, a strong protest should be taken, and the whole of their party should publicly secede from parliament. The consequence of this step, he argued, must be, that the government would abandon further proceedings, as they could not pretend to carry through a measure of such importance with a mere handful of the national representatives, whose opinions were so conspicuously at variance with the wishes of the great mass of the people. The Jacobites objected to the preliminary motion, but the duke overcame their scruples by representing, that as it must necessarily be rejected, it could not entangle them in any obligation inconsistent with their principles. Finally, he assured them, that if this plan failed of its effect, and the English should still press on the union, he would join them to recall the son of James II. The purpose of the anti-unionists having come to the knowledge of the Duke of Queensberry, he sought an interview, it is said, with the leader of the popular party, and assured him that if the measure miscarried, his grace should be held accountable for its failure, and be made to suffer for it in his English estates. Whether intimidated by this threat, or that his own understanding did not approve of the course which his feelings prompted, Hamilton was the first to fail in the performance of the scheme which he had taken so much pains to persuade his coadjutors to consent to. "On the morning appointed for the execution of their plan," says Sir Walter Scott, "when the members of opposition had mustered all their forces, and were about to go to parliament, attended by great numbers of gentlemen and citizens, prepared to assist them if there should be an attempt to arrest any of their number, they learned that the Duke of Hamilton was so much afflicted with the toothache that he could not attend the house that morning. His friends hastened to his chambers, and remonstrated with him so bitterly on this conduct, that he at length came down to the house; but it was only to astonish them by asking whom they had pitched upon to present their protestation. They answered with extreme surprise that they had reckoned on his grace as the person of the first rank in Scotland, taking the lead in the measure which he had himself proposed. The duke persisted, however, in refusing to expose himself to the displeasure of the court, by being foremost in breaking their favourite measure, but offered to second any one whom the party might appoint to offer the protest. During this altercation the business of the day was so far advanced, that the vote was put and carried on the disputed article respecting the representation, and the opportunity of carrying the scheme into effect was totally lost. The members who had hitherto opposed the union, being thus three times disappointed in their measures by the unexpected conduct of the Duke of Hamilton, now felt themselves deserted and betrayed. Shortly afterwards most of them retired altogether from their attendance on parliament, and those who favoured the treaty were suffered to proceed in their own way, little encumbered either by remonstrance or opposition."

Such is the story of the Duke of Hamilton's share in these two great measures. It presents a curious

view of perseverance and firmness of purpose at one time, and of the utmost instability at another in the same person, both concurring to produce a great and important change in the feelings and interests of two nations powerful in old times from their hardihood and valour, rendered more powerful in later times by the union of these qualities with intelligence and enlightened enterprise. The conspicuous and decided manner in which the Duke of Hamilton stood forward as the advocate of the act of security carried it through a stormy opposition, and placed the kingdom in a state of declared but legalized defiance of England; while the unsteadiness of his opposition to the union paved the way for the reconciliation of the two nations. Had the Scottish people never asserted their independence with that determination which forced the English government to sanction the act of security—had the duke's resolution failed him here, the terms of equality subsequently offered by England would not have been granted:—had the states persevered in the same intractable spirit when the union was proposed to them—had the duke manifested any portion of his former firmness, the mutual interests of England and Scotland might have been barred, the two kindred people might have been thrown back into interminable hostilities, and the glory and happiness which Great Britain has attained might never have been known.

Though the consequences of the union have been so beneficial to Scotland, yet the treaty was urged forward by means which no friend of his country could approve. The body of the nation regarded it as disgraceful and ruinous; its supporters were purchased with bribes—one nobleman sold himself for the miserable sum of eleven pounds sterling; and its opponents were awed to silence by threats. No wonder that men of honourable minds were fired with indignation, and many of them prepared to resort to desperate measures to wipe away the national disgrace. The opportunity seemed favourable for a movement among the Jacobites, and an agent from France engaged a number of the nobles to join the Chevalier if he should land on the Scottish shores. Among these was the Duke of Hamilton, who, although pressed to declare himself prematurely, adhered to the letter of his agreement, and by his prudence saved his large estates from confiscation. Whilst the French ships were on the seas, with the design of an invasion, his grace was taken into custody as a disaffected person, but suffered a very short restraint. This did not prevent his being named among the sixteen Scottish peers who took their place in the first British parliament, in which he attached himself to the Tory party, and "stickled as much," to use the words of a biographer of that period, "for Dr. Sacheverell and the high-church interest, as he had done about three years before for the security of the Scottish kirk." The Whigs losing their influence in the councils of Queen Anne, the opposite party began to be received into favour; and in June, 1711, Hamilton was created Duke of Brandon. He was at that time one of the representatives of the Scottish nobility, but claimed to take his seat as a British peer. In this he was vehemently opposed, notwithstanding the precedent afforded by the admission of Queensberry in virtue of the title of Duke of Dover. After a long debate, in which a motion to take the opinion of the judges was rejected, it was decided, that since the union no Scottish peer could take his place in the British parliament in any other character than as one of the sixteen representatives. This decision so highly incensed the Scottish lords that they seceded from the house: they were appeased and prevailed on to

return, but the point was not conceded at that time, although the queen interested herself in behalf of the Duke of Hamilton. Nor was it till so late as the year 1782, when his descendant again preferred his claim, that, the judges having given an unanimous opinion in his favour, the eligibility of Scottish noblemen to the full privileges of peers of Great Britain was established.

The duke had married to his second wife, Anne, daughter of Lord Digby Gerrard, by Elizabeth, sister to the Earl of Macclesfield. Lady Gerrard was left by her husband's will guardian to her daughter, whose fortune amounted to about £60,000; and while the duke courted her, he offered to content himself with that dowry, and bound himself in a bond of £10,000 to give her mother a relief of her guardianship two days after the marriage. This engagement, however, he not only declined to perform, but sought relief of his bond in chancery, which was so highly resented by Lady Gerrard that she left all she had to her brother, and bequeathed to her child a legacy of five shillings, and a diamond necklace in case the duke should consent to give the release in question. This his grace persisted in withholding, and the Earl of Macclesfield settled his estate, to the prejudice of the Duchess of Hamilton, on another niece, who had married the Lord Mohun. The lawsuit to compel that nobleman, as executor of Lady Gerrard, to give an account of his guardianship, was continued; and the feelings of the two parties were mutually much embittered in the course of the proceedings. Mohun was a man of violent temper, and in his youth accustomed himself to the most depraved society. When he was about twenty years of age, one of his companions murdered Mountford, a comedian in Drury Lane; and, the principal having absconded, Mohun was tried by the house of peers. Fourteen voices pronounced him guilty, but sixty-nine cleared him. So far, however, was the shameful situation in which he had been placed from reclaiming him, that he plunged again into the same courses, and seven years after was arraigned at the same bar on a similar accusation. This time, indeed, it was proved that his lordship had no participation in the crime, but had used some endeavours to prevent it. Thereafter he abstained, indeed, from dissolute and lawless brawls, but he carried into the pursuits of politics no small share of the heat which marked his early career. "It is true," says a contemporary writer, who seems to have been willing to excuse his faults, "he still loved a glass of wine with his friends; but he was exemplarily temperate when he had any business of moment to attend." His quarrelsome disposition was notorious, and the duke's friends had been long apprehensive that a collision would take place, and repeatedly warned his grace to be on his guard. On the 11th of November the two noblemen had a meeting at the chambers of Mr. Orlebar, a master in chancery, in relation to the lawsuit, when everything passed off quietly. Two days after, on the examination of a person of the name of Whitwoth, who had been a steward to Lady Gerrard, the duke was so provoked by the substance of his deposition, as openly to declare, "He had neither truth nor justice in him." To this Lord Mohun rejoined, "He had as much truth as his grace." No further recrimination passed; another meeting was arranged for the Saturday following, and the duke, on retiring, made a low bow to Mohun, who returned it. There were eleven persons present, and none of them suspected any ill consequence from what had just taken place. His lordship, however, immediately sent a challenge to the duke, which was accepted. On the 15th of

November, 1713, the day that had been fixed for a resumption of their amicable conference, they repaired to the ring in Hyde Park, and, being both greatly exasperated, they fought with peculiar determination and ferocity. This is attested by the number and deadliness of the wounds on both sides. Lord Mohun fell and died on the spot. He had one wound mortal, but not immediately so, entering by the right side, penetrating through the belly, and going out by the iliac bone on the left side. Another dreadful gash, in which the surgeon's hands met from opposite sides, ran from the groin on the left side down through the great vessels of the thigh. This was the cause of immediate death. There were some slighter incisions, and two or three fingers of the left hand were cut off. The duke's body suffered an equal havoc, partly inflicted, it was alleged, by foul play. A cut in the elbow of the sword-arm severed the small tendons, and occasioned so much loss of blood as to be fatal. A wound in the left breast, between the third and fourth upper ribs, pierced downwards through the midriff and caul sufficient to produce death, but not immediately. He had also a dangerous slash in the right leg. It is believed that the duke, after his right arm was disabled, being ambidexter, shifted his weapon, and killed Mohun with his left hand. The wound in his own breast was the last that was inflicted, and Colonel Hamilton gave his oath that it was the sword of General Macartney, Mohun's second, which dealt it. So strong was the presumption of the truth of this that the general absconded, and when brought to trial in the ensuing reign, the evidence upon which he was acquitted still left the matter doubtful.

The death of two men of rank in so bloody a encounter, was in itself enough to produce a strong feeling of horror in the public mind. The unfair play by which it was believed one of them had been sacrificed filled every honourable bosom with indignation; and the agitation was increased by reports that the duke had fallen a victim to assassination instigated by political hatred. Immediately before the duel took place, he had been named ambassador extraordinary to Paris, with powers to effect an arrangement for the restoration of the exiled family on the death of the queen; and the party who were desirous of such a consummation openly alleged that his death had been conspired by the Whigs with a view to prevent it. This does not appear to have been the case, however true it may be that Mohun was a zealot in politics, and disreputable in his private character.¹ The duke's body was con-

¹ The following curious anecdote respecting the fifth Duke of Hamilton, son of the above, occurs in a manuscript account of the ducal family, in the possession of Mr. Chancellor of Shieldhill:—

"Upon the 31st of October, 1726, he was, at the palace of Holyrood House, installed knight of the most noble order of the Thistle, by James, Earl of Findlater and Seafield, appointed for that effect representative of King George I.

"The regalia, now after the union being locked up in the castle, they wanted the sword of state for that purpose, and, as the story went, they had recourse to the Earle of Rothes's, which was not only gifted by General M^cKertney to him, but the same with which he should have so basely stabbed the duke his father. And the guards, who drew up about the Earle of Findlater, as king's commissioner, chanced also to be the Scots Fuzeliers, then under the command of the said M^cKertney; which occasioned the following verses:—

"Ye sons of old Scotland, come hither and look
On Rothes's sword that knighted the duke.
Dispell all your thoughts, your cares, and your fears,
Being noble guarded by your own fuzeliers.

"Yet
The peers and the heralds were in a strange bustle,
How they could install a knight of the Thistle;
For, wanting the sword and honours of state,
What shame could they get to lay on his pate?

veyed to Scotland for burial. The deplorable death of so amiable a nobleman spread a very general regret; a bill to prevent duelling was in consequence introduced into the House of Commons, but it was dropped after the first reading.

HAMILTON, REV. JAMES, D.D. In mentioning the name of this eminent minister of the Scottish church, Regent Square, London, our thoughts revert to his distinguished father, the Rev. William Hamilton, D.D., minister of Strathblane, to whom we must devote a brief notice. This worthy clergyman was born in the parish of Stonehouse, Lanarkshire, in 1780. Although born in comparatively affluent circumstances, his parents destined him for the office of the ministry, a choice that was in full accordance with his own wishes. In 1796 William Hamilton became a student of the university of Edinburgh, and such was his enlarged desire for knowledge, that in addition to the routine of study prescribed by the church, he attended the classes of anatomy, chemistry, and *materia medica*. On being licensed to preach he officiated as assistant first at Broughton, and afterwards at New Kilpatrick, until he was elected to be minister of St. Andrew's Chapel, Dundee; and although this charge was only a chapel of ease, so that it gave him no place in church courts, his popularity as a preacher and the affection of his people were more than a compensation for this inferior clerical standing. After continuing in this place for a little more than a year and a half, he was presented to Strathblane in the county of Stirling, and inducted into that parish in 1809. Here he found his permanent resting-place, and soon became distinguished by his zeal for the improvement of his people, who constituted a population of about a thousand souls. With this view he distributed religious books, visited his flock, prepared them for the sacrament by instituting weekly addresses in the church, established Sabbath-schools, and formed a parish library. He also established Bible and missionary societies, meetings for intellectual conversation, and a temperance society. All this was much for a parish minister in addition to his round of weekly clerical duty, but to these he superadded the cares of authorship, which he undertook in the first instance for the improvement of his own parishioners, but which procured him in return a greater reward than he sought—for his works were widely circulated over Scotland, and obtained for him an intellectual and literary reputation which no author can regard with indifference. His principal productions were a *Treatise on Assurance*, the *Young Communicant's Remembrancer*, and his *Mourner in Zion Comforted*. After a distinguished, useful, and well-spent life, he died in the close of March, 1835.

Of this excellent clergyman James Hamilton was the eldest son. He was born in Paisley, on the 27th of November, 1814—and it was his playful boast that his birth-place was a town of such intelligence and comfort, that Rowland Hill had called it "the paradise of Scotland." To this commendation he also added the following statement in his biography of James Wilson of Woodville:—"In the days of his [the biographer's] youth he had a venerable relative (proprietor of the oldest spinning-mill in Scotland) who used to say that, when he was young, he knew every reeking lum in Paisley, and

"Some voted a cane and others a mace,
But true-hearted Seafield spoke thus to his grace:
My lord, upon honour, the regalia are fled,
Which were basely sold off by me and your dade,—
But—here's Rothes's sword—so down on your knee!
Now, rise up a knight and a brave lyke me."

that there was a time every morning when, passing almost any door, you were sure to hear the voice of prayer and psalms." As a zealous Scot and Presbyterian, the thoughts of Dr. Hamilton loved to dwell amidst the recollections of his country's piety in the olden time, and its devotedness in the days of the covenant—delightful visions, among the pictures of which he was apt to lose sight of modern changes under which so much of the old life has passed away. Having at an early period resolved to devote himself to the ministry, he prosecuted his studies at the university of Glasgow, and afterwards at that of Edinburgh. At the first of these colleges he was the principal connecting link of a little society of seven students who met regularly once a fortnight at his lodgings for social and intellectual exercise and conversation. Among the members of this little association were Sir William Hooker, Dr. Andrew Thomson of Broughton Place Church, Dr. Campbell of Bradford, the Rev. W. Arnot, and the late James Halley; and the high place they held in the university was indicated by the fact, that on one season they carried off nearly all the college prizes. During the whole of his student life both in Glasgow and Edinburgh James Hamilton was noted for the purity of his character and his religious earnestness, qualities which were recommended to his fellow-students by his intellectual character and the variety of his attainments. Like his father, he was unwilling to be confined within the ordinary routine of those studies which the church required in its candidates for the ministry, but carried his incursions into natural science, especially chemistry and botany; and such was his love of these departments, and the attainments he secured in them, that at one time he thought of making them his profession, instead of the clerical office. But his path was marked out by a higher power, and to this he was shut up let him long and resolve as he might. These studies also were of important use to him in his sacred vocation; and his sermons were enriched with such illustrations from the vegetable kingdom, and the science of zoology, as charmed his hearers by their novelty and beauty, and made the religious lessons they conveyed all the better understood, and permanently remembered. But amidst so much hard reading that required a relaxing change—and such multifarious studies that were calculated to create new cravings of the intellectual appetite, as well as greater power of digestion—James Hamilton had never been a novel reader. The assertion will appear incredible; but enthusiastic and imaginative as he was, he had only read one novel in the whole course of his life. This confession he made to the writer of the present notice, who heard it with no little amazement. The novel in question was one of Sir Walter Scott's; and that he might obtain some idea of that wondrous power by which the modern reading world is enthralled, Hamilton ventured upon the perusal. No sooner had he entered the charmed circle than the spell of the mighty magician was upon him, and every object that had hitherto appeared commonplace and tame was invested with fresh beauty and grandeur. He saw the old world flooded with a new sunshine, and beheld its inhabitants as he had never seen them before. But when he recovered breath, which he did only at the close of the work, and found himself restored to the world of every-day life, he asked himself if all this was right, but found himself obliged to answer in the negative. His delight had resembled the intoxication of an opium dream, and was therefore sinful, and worthy of condemnation. Such was his conclusion after a close and severe retrospection, in consequence of which he never

perused another novel. It is well when an imagination so ardent can condemn itself to such total abstinence, where indulgence would be attended with more than ordinary danger. It was fortunate also for Hamilton that he had already found his own ideal world, the exuberance of which was more than sufficient for all his desires. The beauty of nature, which to his scientific eye disclosed charms unseen by the common observer, and the writings of our poets of the highest class, especially of Milton and those of the Puritan period, furnished materials for his thoughts, as well as illustrations for his speech, which mere novel-reading could not have improved, and might possibly have deteriorated.

On finishing his college studies, Mr. Hamilton commenced his clerical life as assistant minister in the small secluded parish of Abernethy, in Perthshire; but as a preacher his excellence did not at first meet with popular recognition. His popularity, instead of springing into full growth at once, at the risk of undergoing as sudden a decay, increased by progressive stages, so that its full-grown maturity was the effect of years. In 1840 he was inducted to the pastoral charge of Roxburgh Chapel, Edinburgh, but even here also he obtained little distinction as a pulpit orator. Modern Athens was the great mart of eloquent preachers, among whom a novice of modest retiring habits was not likely to attract general notice. None as yet but his personal friends and a discerning few were aware of his talents, and hopeful of his ultimate success. He was not doomed to a long obscurity in Roxburgh Chapel. The National Scotch Church in Regent Square, London, originally built for the Rev. Edward Irving, but from which he was excluded in consequence of his startling doctrines, had since that period been struggling under the disadvantage of a heavy debt and empty pews; and unless a minister could be found to fill it the edifice was likely to be brought to the hammer. In 1841 its pulpit was vacant, but the difficulty was to find a minister who would encounter the toil and the risk of collecting a congregation round it. It was then that Mr. Hamilton's friends in Scotland judged him the likeliest person to surmount the difficulty, and they persuaded the trustees of Regent Square Church to be of the same opinion, so that after the usual public trial of his qualifications as a preacher, he was appointed to the hazardous charge.

With his removal to London the public life of Mr. Hamilton properly commenced. His excellence as a preacher grew into general recognition, and brought persons to listen, while his personal worth secured the hold which his eloquence had won, and induced these casual hearers to become permanent members of his flock. In this way a handful grew into a numerous congregation. His eloquence, indeed, did not take London by storm, in which case he might have been only a nine days' wonder; but better still, it was of that progressive character which gives the best promise of stability and duration to its influence. His sermons were always pregnant with thought, and always new; and all who listened were eager to hear him again, and yet again, while their satisfaction was increased by every repetition. One great charm of his preaching was the richness and originality of his illustrations, which were drawn from the sciences he had cultivated in early life, or from the poetry of his imaginative mind and extensive reading—illustrations not usually brought into the pulpit, but in his case sanctioned by the subjects which they beautified and illustrated. Nor did these Sabbath ministrations, carefully though they were studied, form the only, or even the principal, objects of his

labours, as the following account from an obituary will testify:—"It was not alone the cares of a numerous and widely scattered congregation which fell upon him, but his prominent position in London, which brought upon him, in a measure, the care of all the churches of the English Presbyterian body. He was convener of several committees of the synod to which he belonged, and especially of that China mission scheme of the English Presbyterian church which has been blessed beyond almost any Protestant mission in Asia. It is to Dr. Hamilton also that the English Presbyterian church is indebted for the formation and successful prosecution of its most useful church-extension and debt-extinction funds, on behalf of which he traversed the whole country, to stimulate the zeal and liberality of the people. His methodical habits greatly aided him in the despatch of the multiplicity of affairs committed to him, and his business tact appeared in the facility he had of catching the general mind of a deliberative assembly, and bringing the business to a conclusion by a well-expressed resolution."¹

Successful although Dr. Hamilton was as a preacher, it was still more as an author that his reputation was diffused throughout the Christian world at large. But even in this capacity he was prevented from doing full justice to his talents in consequence of his preparations for Sabbath duties—the cares of the several religious institutions of which he was the animating spirit—and more than all, by the numerous demands upon his time, in consequence of the publicity of his character. But notwithstanding these drawbacks, his writings were numerous, and by their superior excellence have given him a higher and more permanent reputation than his pulpit popularity could achieve. A considerable number of them consisted of tracts written upon the spur of the moment, or for a passing occasion; but these became so popular that they won for him the character of the best of our religious tract writers. Of these smaller productions the following is a list:—*The Church in the House; Thankfulness; The Dew of Hermon; The Harp on the Willows, or the Captivity of the Church of Scotland; Farewell to Egypt, or the Departure of the Free Church of Scotland out of the Erastian Establishment;* and *Remembering Zion, To Scotchmen in London.*

Besides these writings, which were issued as small pamphlets, Dr. Hamilton published several tracts of a more ample character, and in separate volumes, of which the following are the titles:—"Life in Earnest; Six Lectures on Christian Activity and Ardour," 16mo. *The Mount of Olives, and other Lectures on Prayer*, 16mo. *A Morning beside the Lake of Galilee*, 16mo. *The Light to the Path; or the Lamp and the Lantern*, 16mo. *The Happy Home; Illustrations*, 16mo. *The Plant of Renown, and other Emblems from Eden*, 16mo. *The Mount of Olives, and a Morning beside the Lake of Galilee*, 16mo.

Of Dr. Hamilton's largest works, in which the tract form was abandoned for a higher style of writing, we give the following enumeration:—*Life of Bishop Hall*. This biography, which was prefixed to a new edition of the writings of that eminent prelate, was, as far as can be ascertained, the first attempt of Dr. Hamilton in authorship.—"*The Parable of the Prodigal Son, Expounded and Illustrated*," 8vo.—"*The Royal Preacher, being Lectures on Ecclesiastes*," 8vo.—"*Lessons from the Great Biography*," 8vo.—"*Our Christian Classics; Readings from the best Divines, with Notices Biographical and Critical*," 4 vols. 8vo.—"*Excelsior;*

Helps to Progress in Religion, Science, and Literature," 6 vols. 8vo.—"*Memoirs of the Life of James Wilson, Esq., F.R.S.E., of Woodville*," 8vo.—"*Memoirs of Lady Colquhoun of Luss*," 8vo.—"*Memoirs of Richard Williams, Surgeon, Catechist in the Mission to Patagonia, Terra-del-Fuego*," 8vo.

Independently of this numerous list, the most voluminous and scientific of all Dr. Hamilton's writings remains still to be noticed. This consisted of the numerous articles on the plants of the Bible inserted in the *Imperial Bible-Dictionary*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Fairbairn, and published by the Messrs. Blackie, Glasgow. These contributions, furnished by Dr. Hamilton on subjects so congenial to his own tastes and favourite studies, are characterized by more than his wonted ardour, eloquence, and geniality, and are prized by the scientific readers as the best and most interesting portion of that voluminous Scripture dictionary.

Although he had accomplished so much during the period of his ministry in London, Dr. Hamilton was of a delicate constitution, and the weight and multiplicity of his toils may be said to have exhausted him before the evening of his day had arrived. Towards the end of June, feeling his health impaired, he had retired to the country, and felt himself so invigorated by the change that he was encouraged to return to London; but the hopes entertained by his friends of a complete recovery proved fallacious, and he died of paralysis of the brain on the 24th of November, 1867, just three days before the completion of the fifty-third year of his age. Seldom has London and England at large so bewailed the death of a Presbyterian minister: the deep and general sensation of sorrow was an attestation more expressive than any laboured eulogium of the worth of the deceased, and his Christian catholicity of spirit, which all were equally compelled to love and admire. This was especially manifested at his funeral, where the vast concourse who attended was composed of mourners of all persuasions, and the reverend representatives of almost every Protestant communion in our island, and where every distinction was lost in the sadness of a universal bereavement. Justly did Dr. Candlish exclaim, in the funeral sermon preached on the occasion of Hamilton's death, "All Christendom laments him. You have the whole family of God's people with you in your sorrow." In the evening discourse by the Rev. Henry Allan of Islington, the same fact was thus impressively stated, "Who of us ever thought of his presbytery, or felt that he was of another section of the church than his own? In our pulpits he was seen as naturally, and loved as familiarly, if not as fully, as in his own." Of his intellectual character, and the effect of his writings, the following verses by a Congregationalist will form an appropriate end to this notice:—

"The dream-like murmur of the bee,
As low it bent the tiny flower,
The stillness of the twilight hour,
The headland brave that fronts the sea:

"All nature's sights and sounds to him
Had ever been a source of joy;
He knew her haunts, while yet a boy,
In dewy glades and woodlands dim.

"His little books, like winged seed
Blown by the winds o'er land and sea,
A blessing in the world shall be
To broken hearts that pine and bleed.

"O happy death, O holy life,
Thou hast a portion and a name
Worth more to thee than earthly fame,
And far removed from mortal strife."

HAMILTON, JOHN, a secular priest, made himself remarkable in the sixteenth century by his furious

¹ Edinburgh Daily Review.

zeal in behalf of the Church of Rome; leaving all the Scottish ecclesiastics of that period far behind by the boldness and energy with which he defended the tenets of the Romish church, and assailed those of the Reformed religion. There is nothing known of the earlier part of his life; but there is some ground for believing that his violence and activity rendered him obnoxious to the Scottish government, and that he was in consequence compelled to leave the kingdom. Whatever may have been the cause of his departure from Scotland, he established himself at Paris in the year 1573. Here he applied to the study of theology, and with such success, that he was soon afterwards appointed professor of philosophy in the Royal College of Navarre.

In 1576 he became tutor to the Cardinal de Bourbon, and in 1578 to Francis de Jayeuse, afterwards promoted to a similar dignity. Besides these, there were many other young persons of quality intrusted to him, in consequence of the high opinion entertained of his talents and learning. In 1581, still burning with zeal, he published a work entitled "*An Catholic and Facile Traicteise drawin out of the Halie Scriptures*, treulie exponit be the Ancient Doctrines to confirm the Reall and Corporell Praesence of Christis Pretious Bodie and Blude in the Sacrament of the Altar." This work he dedicated to "His Sovereane Marie, the Quenis Majestie of Scotland." To this book were appended twenty-four "Orthodox and Catholic Conclusions," dedicated to James VI., whom, by the aid of some reasoning of his own, he termed King of Scotland. These "Conclusions" he prefaced with prolixity equal to the work itself, but more characteristically—"testimonies for antiquitie of religion and succession of pastors in the catholick kirk, and certane questionis to the quhillkis we desire the ministers mak resolute answer at their next Generall Assemblie, and send the same imprentit to us with diligence, utherwise we protest that their pretendit religion is altogidder antichristian and repugnant to God and his halie kirk." What fortune attended this bold challenge does not appear, but his own in the meantime was steadily advancing. In 1584 he was chosen rector of the university of Paris, and in 1585, while yet a licentiate in theology, he was elected to the cure of St. Cosmus and Damian by that part of the students of the university of Paris called the German nation. His election on this occasion was disputed, but finally confirmed by a decree of parliament.

Still amongst the foremost and most violent in all religious discords, Hamilton became a furious zealot for the Catholic League of 1566, which it is well known had for its object the extermination of Protestants, without regard to the means, and figured during that celebrated era under the title of Curé de S. Cosine. In the same spirit he again distinguished himself when Henry IV. of France besieged Paris in the year 1590.

On that occasion he mustered the Parisian ecclesiastics, drew them up in battle array, and led them on against the forces of the heretics under Henry, making them halt occasionally to sing hymns as they advanced. As the King of France was compelled to abandon the blockade of Paris before he finally carried the city, by the Duke of Parma, who, despatched by Philip, King of Spain, now arrived with an army to assist the leaguers who defended it, Hamilton not only escaped the fate which would certainly have awaited him had Henry succeeded in the siege, but became more active and turbulent than ever, and soon after was one of the celebrated "council de Seize quartier," who took upon them,

with an effrontery which has no parallel in history, to dispose of the crown of France; and actually went the length of offering it to Philip II. of Spain, to be bestowed on whomsoever he thought fit. Of all the bigoted and merciless fanatics who composed the fraternity of the "Seize," Hamilton was the most bigoted and relentless; and when those wretches had resolved on the murder of Brissot, president of the parliament of Paris, together with L'Archer and Tardif, two obnoxious councillors, it was Hamilton who arrested the latter, and dragged him from a sick-bed to the scaffold; and although the Duke of Mayenne came immediately to Paris on hearing of these atrocities, and hanged four of the ringleaders of the infamous fraternity by which they had been perpetrated, yet Hamilton by some means or other contrived to escape sharing in their punishment. In 1594 his unextinguishable zeal again placed him in an extraordinary and conspicuous position. On the day on which Henry IV. entered Paris, after embracing the Catholic religion, and while *Te Deum* was celebrating for the restoration of peace and good government, Hamilton, with some of his frantic associates, flew to arms, with the desperate design of still expelling the king, in whose conversion they had no faith. The attempt, however, as might have been expected, was a total failure, and Hamilton was taken into custody, but was afterwards allowed to leave France without farther punishment. The parliament, however, some time after his departure, sentenced him to be broken on the wheel for the murder of Tardif, and as he was not then forthcoming in person, ordered that their decree should be carried into execution on his effigy. Hamilton in the meantime had retired to the Low Countries, and was now residing at Brussels, under the Spanish government.

In 1600 he published another work on religious matters, entitled *A Catalogue of One Hundred and Sixty-seven Heresies, Lies, and Calumnies, Teachit and Practisit be the Ministers of Calvin's Sect, and Corruptions of Twenty-three Passages of the Scripture be the Ministeris Adulterate Translations thereof*. This work he dedicated to the Scottish king. In 1601 Hamilton returned to his native country, after an absence of above thirty years. He was there joined by one Edmond Hay, an eminent Jesuit, equally turbulent and factious with himself. The arrival of these two dangerous men, whose characters were well known, especially that of Hamilton, having reached the ears of the king, he immediately issued a proclamation, enjoining their instant departure from the kingdom under pain of treason, and declared all guilty of the like crime who harboured them.

Notwithstanding this edict, Hamilton contrived to find shelter in the north, and to elude for some time the vigilance of the government. Amongst others who contravened the king's proclamation on this occasion was the Lord Ogilvie, who afforded him a temporary residence at his house of Airly. At length the Scottish privy-council, determined to have possession of so dangerous a person, despatched a party of life-guards to apprehend him. When found and desired to surrender, this indomitable and factious spirit, who had bearded the King of France in his might, and treated the orders of a Scottish privy-council with contempt, endeavoured to resist them, but in vain. His life, however, was afterwards spared by the king, who, by a very slight stretch of certain laws then existing, might have deprived him of it. This clemency is said to have arisen from James' regard for Hamilton's nephew, then Sir Thomas Hamilton, afterwards Earl of

Haddington. The former, after his capture, spent the remainder of his days in the Tower, where he was sent at once for his own safety and that of the kingdom.

Amongst other peculiarities of Hamilton, it is recorded that he entertained a strong aversion to the introduction of English words into the Scottish language, a practice which was then becoming fashionable; and in the abuse which he was constantly heaping on the Protestant preachers, he frequently charges them with "knapping Suddrone" (aiming at English), and still greater enormity, with having it "imprentit at London in contempt of our native language;" and in proof at once of his abhorrence of all innovation in this particular, and of his partiality for the native unadulterated language of his own country, he always wrote in a style somewhat more uncouth than was warranted by the period in which he lived.

HAMILTON, JOHN, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the last Scottish primate of the Roman Catholic faith, was the natural son of James Earl of Arran, by a gentlewoman of Ayrshire. No nearer approximation seems to have been made to the period of his birth than that it must have happened some time during the reign of James V. The early education of a person so situated is not likely to have attracted much attention, and we may, with a pretty equal chance of arriving at the truth, either receive or reject the statement of M'Kenzie,¹ made with the laudible desire of biographers to afford complete and minute information, that he studied the belles-lettres and philosophy at Glasgow, and theology in France, where he entered into holy orders. It is, however, sufficiently ascertained, that he returned in the year 1543 from some residence or journey in France, and found himself abbot of Paisley, a situation within the limits of the extensive church patronage of his father, to which the son was nominated in 1541.² The circumstance of his journey through England in his return from France introduced this ambitious man to the commencement of his restless career. He was graciously received by Henry VIII., and either in duplicity or ignorance of the scene of action about to open to him, he entered into the views of the English monarch with regard to a matrimonial alliance with Scotland, which he was afterwards to use his best endeavours to frustrate. On his arrival in Scotland he found the path of distinction just opened to his view, by the recent advancement of his vacillating brother to the regency of the kingdom, and may have conceived those high projects which the weakness of his unhappy relative

fostered, while it interfered with their consummation. He joined Cardinal Beaton in that opposition which the primate's fears for the safety of the church prompted him to exhibit towards the matrimonial alliance with England, and the enemies of Hamilton have not been backward in attributing to him an unhesitating application to the most ungenerous and infamous means for the achievement of his ends, throughout the heart-burning and unfortunate progress of that renowned conference. The change produced in the regent's policy by the persuasion of the abbot, and the something more than persuasion of the cardinal, assisted by the insults of the English monarch, is well known, with all its calamitous consequences. The perseverance of Hamilton was rewarded by the offices of privy-seal and of high-treasurer, in which latter he succeeded Kirkcaldy of Grange. In 1545 he was further rewarded by the wealthy bishopric of Dunkeld. With unscrupulous greed he wished to retain, after his elevation, both the dignity and emolument of his abbacy, but was prompted to resign them on his brother James being nominated his successor, with the moderate reservation of the fruits of the benefice during his lifetime, and the power to re-enter, in the event of surviving his brother. On the death of Cardinal Beaton Hamilton was translated to the archbishopric of St. Andrews. Unmindful of the fate of his predecessor, he commenced his inauspicious career with blood. A man of the name of Adam Wallace was tried before him in a synod in the Blackfriars' Church of Edinburgh, and being found guilty of acting as a vagrant preacher, baptizing his own children, and of inability to discover the term "mass" in the Holy Scriptures, he was delivered over to the civil judge, and burned at the stake. But the archbishop was not one of those who welcomed the rising strength of the Reformation with fire and sword. He was a strong-thinking and acute man, with a mind conversant in the weaknesses and prejudices of men, and well adapted to hold the balance firmly and cautiously between contending parties. He was not of those spirits framed to be the scourges of the earth; but fate had cast him in evil days on an unhappy land, where men were not accustomed to scruple at the measures by which they gratified their passions or prejudices, and the minds formed in more peaceful times for better things burst the regulating power which might have restrained them in a period of less temptation.

Hamilton saw the coming enemy, and the moderation and firmness with which he defended the church protracted for a short period the fall of the crumbling fabric. He used his utmost endeavours to put to rest a fiery controversy which inflamed his district, on the subject of addressing the Lord's prayer to the saints; a heterodox English priest having maintained that it should be addressed to the Deity alone, while an orthodox friar of St. Andrews proved, by a syllogistic examination of each department of the prayer, that there were good reasons why it ought to be addressed to the saints, because there were no references in it which would not apply to their situation, excepting towards the end, where requests were made which it was entirely beyond the power of saints to grant, and in which their intercession only should be presumed to be requested. Out of the discussions on this matter arose disputes on the exact mental value of the appeal to the saints, some maintaining it to be made to the saints *materialiter*, while it was made to the Deity *formaliter*—others, that while it was addressed to the Deity *principaliter*, it came before the saints *minus princi-*

¹ M'Kenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*, iii. 102.

² The accurate authors of the *History of the Senators of the College of Justice* have referred this presentation to so early a period as 1545. These authors are usually extremely minute in their references, but here the authority is omitted. We presume it to be that of Crawford, who in his *Officers of State* refers the event to the same period. The latter is certainly the more veracious authority of the two, yet, admitting that we have not undergone the labour of an investigation among the original records which might clear up so wide a divergence, we are inclined in this instance to believe the dictum of M'Kenzie. The authors of the late work alluded to falsify the statement of M'Kenzie that Hamilton was on the Continent for some years previously to 1543, by a reference to the records of parliament, in which the abbot of Paisley is mentioned in two seditious, that of 1534, and that of 1540. If Hamilton was not appointed till 1541, this must have been the previous abbot. If he was appointed in 1545, we can only accede to M'Kenzie's statement of his absence on the Continent on the supposition that he had taken advantage of the act 3d, James I. chap. 52, which entitled prelates, earls, &c., to appear by their procurators, on producing proof of a necessary cause of absence—a privilege which, if it was ever taken advantage of, fell soon after into disuse.

paliter: and the grades of distinction being too numerous for the consideration of the primate, who was never a casuist without having some purpose in view, he remitted them to a provincial synod, which duly attended to the interest of the saints. At this synod the archbishop performed one of those prudent acts of reconciliation by which he sought to avert the fall of his order. He had prepared a catechism containing an exposition in English of the commandments, the creed, and the Lord's prayer, which was formally approved of by the synod, and ordered to be read to the people on Sundays and holidays by the curates of the respective churches, and which was afterwards circulated through the country at such a small price as might remunerate the hawkers by whom it was vended. In the year 1551 the days of this ambitious priest appeared to be nearly ended by a stubborn asthmatic complaint, which defied the skill of the Scottish physicians, who pronounced his recovery as hopeless. The celebrated Cardan was induced, by a magnificent remuneration, to visit him, and the disease yielded either to the medicines of the empyric or to nature. M'Kenzie has taken much pains to prove that, in calling for the assistance of this singular individual, the primate did not appeal to the powers of magic, as Buchanan and others have accused him of having done; but it is much to be doubted whether, from the character of both parties, the patient did not suppose he was receiving, and the physician that he was administering, the aid of unholy powers. The influence of Hamilton's mind over that of his brother is shown by the advantage taken of his sickness. The queen-mother seized the opportunity which her own ambitious views and the instigations of her family had prepared her to use, and extracted from the feeble regent a resignation of his authority into her own hands. The archbishop on his recovery felt the indignation natural to a fierce and ambitious spirit, compelled by his situation to depend on a person whose facile mind required to be kept at its purpose by the firmness of his own. According to Sir James Melville, the convalescent priest received the intelligence with a burst of rage; "he cursed, and cried out that the governor was a very beast for quitting the government to her," bestowing an epithet not very decorous on the princess who stood between his brother and the throne. But Sir James Melville mentions the intelligence as having been received by him when abroad, and from the information of Captain Ninian Cockburn, "a busy meddler,"—and however certainly we may judge of the ambitious prospects of the archbishop, it is not likely that he would have uttered them in a situation which would have admitted their being reported to such a person. The effect of his recovery is a farther evidence of his powerful mind. The resignation not duly and formally completed was revoked, and with all the advantage of possessing the dignity, the powerful princess was compelled to submit for a time. After a protracted conference, the queen-mother, aided by the influence of those whom her polished manners had secured, and of the Protestant party in general, whom she affected to protect, seconded by the will of her daughter, no longer an infant, obtained her end; but the advantages stipulated for by the archbishop on the part of his brother were the same as those which had been held out to him as a bait at the commencement of the contract, acknowledging, as a principal article, the ex-regent's right of succession, failing the young queen, which seems to have presented to the archbishop golden views of ambition which it were difficult to fathom. Hitherto the primacy of Hamilton had been marked

by but one act of persecution, with which he was but indirectly connected; but just after the period of the last incident described, he appalled the nation by the perpetration of an act for which neither religious bigotry, opposition to the regent, nor the alleged influence of the abbot of Kilwinning, are sufficient satisfactorily to account, in a man who knew so well the advantage of moderate counsels. Walter Mill, an aged Protestant minister, was tried at St. Andrews before the archbishop, found guilty of heresy, and condemned to death by the flames. Men looked with such deep horror on the act, that an individual possessing the requisite powers could hardly be found to add the supplementary authority of the civil judge—no one would furnish a rope to bind the martyr to the stake, and the archbishop had to provide with his own sacred hands the necessary implement. The people of the country marked the spot of Mill's death by rearing over it a heap of stones, and so often as these were removed, the sullen memorial was restored by the patient and unyielding people. This was one of the marked acts which either terrify or give impulse to a slowly approaching enemy—it had the latter effect. Knox preached soon after in the pulpit of his cathedral church, and the usual destruction attended his presence. The archbishop, who, whatever he might be in politics, was no bigot in religion, strove to compromise with the arch-reformer, admitting that there were many evils in the church which should be remedied, but that "he should do wisely to retain the old policy, which had been the work of many ages, or then put a better in its place, which his new model was far from,"—but the proffer was unnoticed. He made a last and daring effort in the committee of estates in 1560, which gave the sanction of law to the doctrines and government of the Protestant faith. He there objected to his own brother, the Bishop of Argyle, and to the Bishop of Galloway being admitted as lords of the articles, to prepare the measure for the adoption of the house, according to the constitution of the parliament of Scotland, because they had embraced Presbyterianism, and were therefore disqualified by the constitution they were about to alter: and, along with the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, gave an unavailing opposition to the measures.

Three years after this convention he became amenable to one of its provisions, which prohibited the celebration of mass, and was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, whence he was released through the reiterated tears and intercessions of Queen Mary. Royal favour still beamed on the archbishop, but it was clouded by popular hatred. In 1566, at the imprudent request of the queen, he baptized the young prince with the ceremonies of the Church of Rome; and with still more imprudence, if not with a design of aiding the perpetration of deep wickedness, he was, on the 23d of September, of the same year, personally reinvested by the queen's signature, in the consistorial jurisdiction, of which the clergy in general had been deprived by the legislature. Whitaker, with the purposes of a special pleader before him, maintains this not to have been a revival of the jurisdiction, but the special gift of an authority which had not been discontinued. Not to argue on the improbability that a jurisdiction belonging to the body of right should be bestowed on one particular member by favour, the act of parliament which transfers to the commissaries the consistorial authority of the church, is as plain as a Scottish act usually is. The dangerous and invidious jurisdiction thus bestowed was used on one great occasion, and history has preserved no other instance of its application: he

granted a commission to judges, who severed the inconvenient bonds betwixt Earl Bothwell and his wife, which interfered in some respects with the formality of a marriage with the queen, and this act, coupled with the circumstance that the archbishop was one of those who prepared the account of the murder of Darnley, so hastily transmitted to the French court, originated in the minds of his enemies suspicions of deep guilt, the justice of which we do not pretend to judge.

The fidelity of the archbishop towards the queen, however much party spirit may account for it on ambitious grounds, is, by a charitable interpretation, a pleasing part of his character. He was the heart and head of the party which associated for her cause during her confinement in Lochleven. He aided her escape, and boldly urged on the battle, so unfortunate to the queen, which followed. He now bid a perpetual adieu to the state and pomp he had so long sustained, and seems to have for more than a year wandered through the country in search of a roof to protect him. On the capture of Dumbarton Castle, in 1571, the governor of which had bestowed on him temporary protection, he was tried on an accusation of four several acts of treason. 1st, "That he knew, and was participand or accomplice in the murdering of King Henry, the queen's husband. 2d, That he conspired against the king's person at the murdering of the first regent, intending to have surprised the castle of Stirling, and to have been master thereof at his pleasure. 3d, That he knew, or was participand in the murder of James Earl of Murray, the late regent. 4th, That he lay in wait at the wood of Calendar for the slaughter of Matthew Earl of Lennox, the present regent." With a candour which ought to weigh much with the world in the consideration of the other atrocities of which he has been accused, he confessed with contrition a participation in the third crime laid to his charge. Much confusion and mystery attend the accounts of this trial which have reached our time; but it would appear that some difficulties, either in form or evidence attending the proof of the crimes laid to his charge, prompted recourse to a fiction convenient on such occasions, and disgraceful to the law in which it found a place—an act of *forefauture in absence* had been passed against the archbishop in the first parliament of Regent Murray, and in terms of that act he was hanged on the common gibbet of Stirling, in his pontifical robes, on the 5th April, 1571. The ignominy gratuitously bestowed on the reverend head of their party and religion was not soon forgot by the adherents of the Hamiltons, and long after his haughty indomitable spirit had ceased to oppose the progress of the Reformation, his name, and the memory of his fate, were bonds of union to the Papists, and dreaded by the Protestants. Like that of all violent partisans, the memory of Hamilton has been coloured with much blame and with much praise. Buchanan has wasted good Latin both in prose and verse in ascribing to him all the vices of which poor human nature is susceptible—"Archiepiscopus etiam in omnium rerum licentia suis cupiditatibus obsequabatur;"—nor does he hesitate to charge him with accession to two deliberate murders, from the punishment consequent on one of which, his influence protected the principal perpetrator, the father of his mistress. His incontinence is a charge which circumstances have, to a considerable extent, justified.

HAMILTON, PATRICK, one of the first martyrs to the doctrines of the Reformed religion, was born about the year 1503. He was nephew to the Earl

of Arran by his father, and to the Duke of Albany by his mother; and was besides related to King James V. of Scotland. And by this illustrious connection there stands forth another proof of the erroneousness of the commonly received opinion, that the first Reformers were generally men of inferior birth. He was early educated for the church, with high views of preferment from his powerful connections, and, in order that he might prosecute his studies undisturbed by any cares for his present subsistence, had the abbacy of Ferme bestowed upon him. While yet but a very young man he travelled into Germany, with the view of completing those studies which he had begun at home, and to which he had applied himself with great assiduity. Attracted by the fame of the university of Würtemberg, he repaired thither, and after remaining some time, removed to that of Marburg, where he was the first who introduced public disputations on theological questions. Here he formed an intimacy with the celebrated reformers Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon, who finding in Hamilton an apt scholar, and one already celebrated for superior talent, soon and successfully instructed him in the new views of religion which they themselves entertained. His rapid progress in these studies delighted his instructors, and not only they themselves, but all who were of their way of thinking, soon perceived that in their young pupil they had found one who would make a distinguished figure in propagating the new faith. Accordingly he became an object of great interest to all the disciples of Luther and Melancthon, who waited with much anxiety to see what part the youthful reformer would take in the enterprise of at once overthrowing the Church of Rome and establishing that of the true religion; a task which not only required talents of the highest order to combat the learned men who were of the opposite faith, but also the most determined courage to face the dangers which were certain to accompany their hostility. In the meantime, Hamilton had come to the resolution of beginning his perilous career in his native country, and with this view returned to Scotland, being yet little more than twenty-three years of age. The gallant young soldier of the true church had no sooner arrived, than, although he knew it was at the hazard of his life, for Huss and Jerome in Germany, and Resby and Craw in Scotland, had already perished by the flames for holding tenets opposed to those of Rome—he began publicly to expose the corruptions of the Romish church, and to point out the errors which had crept into its religion as professed in Scotland. Hamilton's gentle demeanour and powerful eloquence soon procured him many followers, and these were every day increasing in number. The Romish ecclesiastics became alarmed at this progress of heresy, and determined to put an immediate stop to it. Not choosing, however, at first to proceed openly against him, Beaton, then Archbishop of St. Andrews, under pretence of desiring a friendly conference with him on religious matters, invited him to that city, then the headquarters of the Romish church in Scotland. Deceived by the terms of the invitation, Hamilton repaired to St. Andrews. All that Beaton desired was now attained; the young Reformer was within his grasp. One Campbell, a prior of the Black Friars, was employed to confer with him, and to ascertain what his doctrines really were. This duty Campbell performed by means of the most profound treachery. He affected to be persuaded by Hamilton's reasoning, acknowledged that his objections against the Romish religion were well founded, and, in short, seemed a convert to the doctrines of his

unsuspecting victim; and thus obtained from him acknowledgments of opinions which brought him immediately under the power of the church. Campbell having from time to time reported the conversations which took place, Hamilton was at length apprehended in the middle of the night, and thrown into prison. On the day after he was brought before the archbishop and his convention, charged with entertaining sundry heretical opinions, Campbell being his accuser, and as a matter of course Hamilton being found guilty, was sentenced to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices in the church; and furthermore, to be delivered over to the secular arm for corporeal punishment, a result which soon followed. On the afternoon of the same day he was hurried to the stake, lest the king should interfere in his behalf. A quantity of timber, coals, and other combustibles having been collected into a pile in the area before the gate of St. Salvator's College, the young martyr was bound to a stake in the middle of it. A train of powder had been laid to kindle the fire, but the effect of its explosion was only to add to the victim's sufferings, for it failed to ignite the pile, but scorched his face and hands severely. In this dreadful situation he remained, praying fervently the while, and maintaining his faith with unshaken fortitude, until more powder was brought from the castle. The fire was now kindled, and the intrepid sufferer perished, recommending his soul to his God, and calling upon him to dispel the darkness which overshadowed the land.

The infamous and most active agent in his destruction, Campbell, was soon after Hamilton's death seized with a remorse of conscience for the part he had acted in bringing about that tragedy, which drove him to distraction, and he died a year after, under the most dreadful apprehensions of eternal wrath.

HAMILTON, ROBERT, LL.D., a mathematician and political economist, was born in June, 1743. He was the eighth son of Gavin Hamilton,¹ a bookseller and publisher in Edinburgh, whose father was at one time professor of divinity in, and afterwards principal of, the university of Edinburgh. In the life of a student, who has hardly ever left his books to engage even in literary controversy, there is seldom much to attract the attention of the ordinary reader: but when perusing the annals of one of the most feverish periods of the history of the world, posterity may show a wish to know something about the man who discovered the fallacy of the celebrated sinking fund, and checked a nation in the career of extravagance by displaying to it the unpalliated truth of its situation. Holding this in mind, we will be excused for giving to the world some minutæ of this remarkable man, whom neither the events of his life in general, nor his connection with the literary history of the age, would have rendered an object of much biographical interest. Like many men who have signalized themselves for the originality or abstractness of their views, Hamilton in his early years suffered much from constitutional debility, an affliction from which his many after-years were signally exempt, till his last illness his only complaint being a frequent recurrence of lumbago, which gave him a characteristic stoop in walking. He is described as having shown, in the progress of his education, an appetite

for almost every description of knowledge, and to have added to the species of information for which he has been celebrated, a minute acquaintance with classical and general philosophical subjects. A respected friend, long belonging to the circle of Hamilton's literary acquaintance, has described his mind as having less quickness in sudden apprehension of his subject, than power in grappling with all its bearings, and comprehending it thoroughly after it had been sometime submitted to his comprehension; it was exactly of that steady, strong, and trustworthy order on which teachers of sense and zeal love to bestow their labour. He was, in consequence, a general favourite with his instructors, and more especially with the celebrated Matthew Stewart, professor of mathematics in Edinburgh, who looked on the progress and prospects of his future scholar with pride and friendly satisfaction. The partiality of Mr. Hamilton for a literary life he was compelled to yield to circumstances, which rendered it expedient that he should spend some time in the banking establishment of Messrs. William Hogg & Son, as a preparatory introduction to a commercial or banking profession; but this was the less to be regretted, as, if it did not give him the first introduction to the kind of speculation in which he afterwards indulged, it must have early provided him with that practical information on the general money system of the country which his works so strikingly exhibit. Soon after this Mr. Hamilton began to form the literary acquaintance of young men of his own standing and pursuits, some of whom gathered themselves into that knot of confidential literary communication which afterwards expanded into a nursery of orators, statesmen, and philosophers of the highest grade, now well known by the name of the Speculative Society. The manner in which the young political economist became acquainted with Lord Kames, has something in it of the simplicity of that literary free-masonry which generally forms a chain of friendly intercourse between the celebrated men of any particular period, and those who are just rising to replace them in the regard and admiration of the world. His lordship's attention having been attracted by the views on one of his own works, expressed in a criticism which had been anonymously supplied by Mr. Hamilton to one of the periodicals of the day—he conveyed through the same paper a wish that the author of the critique, if already known, might become better known to him, and if a stranger, would communicate to him the pleasure of his acquaintance. The diffident critic was with difficulty prevailed on to accept the flattering offer; the elegant judge expressed considerable surprise at the youth of the writer, when compared with the justness and profundity of his views, and communicated to him, by a general invitation to his house, the advantages of an intercourse with his refined and gifted circle of visitors. In 1766 Mr. Hamilton, then only twenty-three years of age, was prevailed on by his friends to offer himself as a candidate for the mathematical chair of Marischal College in Aberdeen, then vacant by the death of Mr. Stewart, and though unsuccessful, the appointment being in favour of Mr. Trail, he left behind him a very high sense of his abilities in the minds of the judges of the competition, one of whom, in a letter to Dr. Gregory, states that "he discovered a remarkable genius for mathematics, and a justness of apprehension and perspicuity that is rarely to be met with."—"He is," continues the same individual, "an excellent demonstrator; always planned out his demonstration with judgment, and apprised his audience where the stress lay, so that he brought it to a conclusion in a most perspicuous manner, and in such

¹ Gavin Hamilton executed an ingenious and accurate model of Edinburgh, which cost him some years' labour, and was exhibited in a room in the Royal Infirmary in 1753 and 1754; after his death it was neglected and broken up for firewood. It represented a scheme for an access to the High Street by a sloping road from the West Church; precisely the idea subsequently acted upon in the improvement of the city.

a way that no person of common understanding could miss it." After this unsuccessful attempt to acquire a situation more congenial to his pursuits, Mr. Hamilton became a partner in the conducting of a paper-mill which had been established by his father—a concern which, in 1769, he relinquished to the care of a manager on his appointment to the rectorship of the academy at Perth. In 1771 he married Miss Anne Mitchell of Ladath, whom he had the misfortune of losing seven years afterwards. In 1779 the chair of natural philosophy in Marischal College, in the gift of the crown, was presented to Dr. Hamilton. From this chair Dr. Copeland—a gentleman whose high scientific knowledge and private worth rendered him, to all who had the means of knowing his attainments (of which he has unfortunately left behind him no specimen), as highly respected for his knowledge of natural philosophy and history as his colleague was for that of the studies he more particularly followed—had been removed to the mathematical chair in the same university. The natural inclination and studies of each led him to prefer the situation of the other to his own, and after teaching the natural philosophy class for one year, Dr. Hamilton effected an exchange with his colleague, satisfactory to both. He was not, however, formally presented to the mathematical chair till several years afterwards.

A short time previous to this period Dr. Hamilton had commenced the series of useful works which have so deservedly raised his name. In 1777 appeared the practical work so well known by the name of *Hamilton's Merchandise*; he published in 1790 a short essay on *Peace and War*, full of those benevolent doctrines which even a civilized age so seldom opposes to the progress of licensed destruction. In 1796 Dr. Hamilton published his *Arithmetic*—a work which has been frequently reprinted; and in 1800 another work of a similar elementary description, called *Heads of a Course of Mathematics*, intended for the use of his own students: but the great work so generally attached to his name did not appear till he had passed his seventieth year. The *Inquiry concerning the Rise and Progress, the Redemption and Present State of the National Debt of Great Britain* was published at Edinburgh in 1813. It created in every quarter, except that which might have best profited by the warning voice, a sudden consciousness of the folly of the system under which the national income was in many respects conducted, but it was not till his discoveries had made their silent progress through the medium of public opinion that they began gradually to affect the measures of the government. The principal part of this inquiry is devoted to the consideration of the measures which have at different periods been adopted for attempting the reduction of the national debt. The earliest attempt at a sinking fund was made in the year 1716, under the auspices of Sir Robert Walpole—a measure of which that acute minister may not improbably have seen the inutility—as in the year 1733 he applied five millions of the then sinking fund to the public exigencies. The principle always nominally existed, although it was not maintained with constant regularity and zeal, until the year 1786, when the celebrated sinking fund of Mr. Pitt was formed, by the disposal of part of the income of the nation to commissioners for the redemption of the debt—a measure which was modified in 1792 by the assignment of one per cent. annually on the nominal capital of each loan contracted during the war, as a sinking fund appropriated for the redemption of the particular loan to which it was attached. It underwent several other modifications, particularly in 1802 and 1807. The great prophet and propounder

of this system, the celebrated Dr. Price, unfolded his views on the subject in his treatise *Of Reversionary Annuities*, published in 1771. It is a general opinion that an application to studies strictly numerical will abstract the mind from the prejudice and enthusiasm of theory. Dr. Price has proved the fallacy of such a principle by supporting his tables of calculations with all the virulence and impatience of a vindicator of the authenticity of Ossian's poems or of the honour of Queen Mary. Dr. Price has given us a glowing example of his theory, the often-repeated instance of the state of a penny set aside and allowed to accumulate from the time of Christ: if allowed to remain at compound interest, it will accumulate to (we forget exactly how many million globes of gold, each the size of our own earth), if it accumulate at simple interest, the golden vision shrinks to the compass of a few shillings; and if not put out at interest at all, it will continue throughout all ages the pitiful penny it was at the commencement. The application of the principle to an easy and cheap method of liquidating the national debt was so obvious to Dr. Price, that he treated the comparative coldness with which his advice was received as a man who considered that his neighbours are deficient in comprehending the first rules of arithmetic; and it certainly is a singular instance of the indolence of the national mind, and the readiness with which government grasped at any illusive theory which showed a healing alternative to the extravagance of its measures, that no one appeared to propose the converse of the simile, and to remind the visionary financier that in applying it to national borrowing, the borrower, by allowing one of the pennies he has borrowed to accumulate in his favour at compound interest, is in just the same situation as if he had deducted the penny from the sum he borrowed, and thus prevented the penny and its compound interest from accumulating against him. The practical results of Dr. Price's theories were, the proposal of a plan by which a nation might borrow at simple interest, and accumulate at compound interest a fund for its repayment: boldly pushing his theory to its extremities, and maintaining that it is better to borrow at high than at low interest, because the debt will be more speedily repaid; and, as a corollary, that a sinking fund during war is more efficient than at any other time, and that to terminate it *then* is "the madness of giving it a mortal blow." The supposition maintained by Dr. Hamilton, in opposition to these golden visions of eternal borrowing for the purpose of increasing national riches, did not require the aid of much rhetoric for its support—it is, that if a person borrows money, and assigns a part of it to accumulate at compound interest for the repayment of the whole, he is just in the same situation as if he had deducted that part from his loan—and hence the general scope of his argument goes to prove the utter uselessness of a borrowed sinking fund, and the fallacy of continuing its operation during war, or when the expenditure of the nation overbalances the income. The absurdity of setting aside a portion of the sum borrowed for this purpose (and generally borrowed at more disadvantageous terms as the loan is to any degree increased) was partially prevented by a suggestion of Mr. Fox; but the sinking fund was strictly a borrowed one, in as far as money was laid aside for it, while the nation was obliged to borrow for the support of its expenditure. The evil of the system is found by Dr. Hamilton to consist not only in the fallacy it imposes on the public, but in its positive loss of resources. The loans are raised at a rate more disadvantageous to the borrower than that at which the creditor afterwards receives payment of them, and the management of the

system is expensive. If a man who is in debt borrows merely for the purpose of paying his debt, and transacts the business himself, he merely exposes himself to more trouble than he would have encountered by continuing debtor to his former creditor; if he employ an agent to transact the business, he is a loser by the amount of fees paid to that agent.

These truths Dr. Hamilton is not content with proving argumentatively; he has coupled them with a minute history of the various financial proceedings of the country, and tables of practical calculation, giving on the one hand historical information, and on the other showing the exact sums which the government has at different periods misapplied. Along with Mr. Pitt's system of finance he has given an account of that of Lord Henry Petty, established in 1807—a complicated scheme, the operation of which seems not to have been perceived by its inventor, and which, had it continued for any length of time, might have produced effects more ruinous than those of any system which has been devised. The summary of his proofs and discussions on the subject, as expressed in his own words, is not very flattering to the principle which has been in general followed. "The excess of revenue above expenditure is the only real sinking fund by which the public debt can be discharged. The increase of the revenue, or the diminution of expense, are the only means by which a sinking fund can be enlarged, and its operations rendered more effectual; and all schemes for discharging the national debt by sinking funds, operating by compound interest, or in any other manner, unless so far as they are founded upon this principle, are illusory." But it cannot be said that Dr. Hamilton has looked with a feeling of anything resembling enmity on the object of his attack; he has allowed the sinking fund all that its chief supporters now pretend to arrogate to it, although the admission comes more in the form of palliation than of approbation. "If the nation," he says, "impressed with a conviction of the importance of a system established by a popular minister, has, in order to adhere to it, adopted measures either of frugality in expenditure, or exertion in raising taxes, which it would not otherwise have done, the sinking fund ought not to be considered inefficient: and its effects may be of great importance."—"The sinking fund," says an illustrious commentator on Dr. Hamilton's work, in the Supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, following up the same train of reasoning, "is therefore useful as an engine of taxation;" and now that the glorious vision of the great financial dreamer has vanished, and left nothing behind it but the operation of the ordinary dull machinery by which debts are paid off through industry and economy, one can hardly suppose that the great minister who set the engine in motion was himself ignorant (however much he might have chosen others to remain so) of its real powerlessness. The discovery made by Dr. Hamilton was one of those few triumphant achievements which, founded on the indisputable ground of practical calculation, can never be controverted or doubted: and although a few individuals, from a love of system, while apparently admitting the truths demonstrated by Dr. Hamilton in attempting to vindicate the system on separate grounds, have fallen, *mutato nomine*, into the same fallacy,¹ the Edinburgh reviewers, Ricardo, Say, and all the eminent political economists of the age, have supported his doctrine, while the venerable Lord Grenville—a member of the administration which devised the sinking fund, and for some

time first lord of the treasury—has, in a pamphlet which affords a striking and noble specimen of political candour, admitted that the treatise of Dr. Hamilton opened his eyes to the fallacy of his once favourite measure.

A year after the publication of this great work the laborious services of the venerable philosopher were considered as well entitling him to leave the laborious duties of his three mathematical classes to the care of an assistant, who was at the same time appointed his future successor. The person chosen was Mr. John Cruickshank, a gentleman who, whether or not he proved fruitful in the talents which distinguished his predecessor, must be allowed to have been more successful in preserving the discipline of his class—a task for which the absent habits of Dr. Hamilton rendered him rather unfit. In 1825 Dr. Hamilton's declining years were saddened by the death of his second wife, a daughter of Mr. Morison of Elswick, whom he had married in 1782; and on the 14th day of July, 1829, he died in the bosom of his family, and in that retirement which his unobtrusive mind always courted, and which he had never for any considerable period relinquished. Dr. Hamilton left three daughters, of whom the second was married to Mr. Thomson of Banchory in Kincardineshire, and the youngest to the Rev. Robert Swan of Abercrombie in Fife. He had no family by his second wife.

Dr. Hamilton was remarkable for his absence—not that he mingled subjects with each other, and mistook what he was thinking about, the error of a weak mind—but he was frequently engaged in his mathematical studies when other persons were differently employed. As with other absent men, numberless are the anecdotes which are preserved of his abstractions—many of them doubtless unfounded, while, at the same time, it must be allowed that he frequently afforded amusement to inferior wits. He possessed a singular diffidence of manner, which in a less remarkable man might have been looked upon as humility. Taking advantage of this feeling, and of his frequent abstractions, his class gave him perpetual annoyance, and in the latter days of his tuition, the spirit of mischief and trickery, natural when it can be followed up in classes the greater portion of which consisted of mere boys, created scenes of perfect anarchy and juvenile mischief. The author of this memoir recollects distinctly his stooping shadowy figure as he glided through the rest of his colleagues in the university, with his good-humoured small round face, and his minute but keenly twinkling eyes, surrounded by a thousand wrinkles, having in his manner so little of that pedagogical importance so apt to distinguish the teachers of youth, especially in spots where the assumption of scientific knowledge is not held in curb by intercourse with an extensive body of men of learning. It is not by any means to be presumed, however, that the subject of our memoir, though retired, and occasionally abstracted in his habits, excluded himself from his due share in the business of the world. He led a generally active life. He maintained a correspondence with various British statesmen on important subjects, and with Say and Fahrenberg, the latter of whom requested permission to translate the work on the national debt into German. He frequently represented his college in the General Assembly. On the bursary funds of the university, and on the decision of a very important prize intrusted to him and his colleagues, he bestowed much time and attention; and he gave assistance in the management of the clergymen's widows' fund of Scotland, and in plans for the maintenance of the poor of Aberdeen.

It was once proposed among some influential in-

¹ Vide "A Letter to Lord Grenville on the Sinking Fund," by Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, Esq., M.P. London, 1828.

habitants of Aberdeen that a public monument should be erected to the memory of this, one of the most eminent of its citizens. Strangers have remarked, not much to the credit of that flourishing town, that while it has produced many great men, few have been so fortunate as to procure from its citizens any mark of posthumous respect. We sincerely hope the project may not be deserted, and that such a testimony of respect will yet appear to a man on whom the city of Aberdeen may with more propriety bestow such an honour than on any stranger, however illustrious.

HAMILTON, THOMAS, R.S.A. This distinguished architect, of whose professional talents some of the noblest modern buildings of Edinburgh are the abiding monuments, was the son of David Hamilton, architect, of whom a brief notice has been given in our pages. The subject of the present memoir was not merely by birth, but also innate genius, an architect; and as such his reputation in his own particular department has outstripped that of his father. He might have risen to higher eminence still, had it not been for his taciturnity and bashfulness, the result in a great measure of a constitutional deafness, which prevented him from showing what he was worth, and advocating his proper claims to general attention. A beautiful structure might rise in his imagination, which he could afterwards realize in stone; but it was like the silent rising of Solomon's temple: he could not talk of the plan in detail, point out its beauties, and refute every objection, so that men might be convinced of its superior excellence; and thus some of his noblest subjects shared the fate of castles in the air. From the same diffident silence there is nothing to record of his life, except the edifices he raised in Edinburgh, of which city he was a taciturn inhabitant.

During a long period the architectural achievements by which Mr. Thomas Hamilton co-operated in raising the homely "Auld Reekie" into the "Modern Athens," are too numerous to particularize; and to the chief of them we can only bestow a passing notice. First in order may be mentioned the High-school, that most classical of buildings on the most picturesque and appropriate of sites—externally, a noble Grecian temple worthy of the days of Pericles, and internally an academy of commodious class-rooms, upon which the eye of the stranger rests with more than ordinary admiration. Another of his works equally classical in its character, although more limited, is the façade of the Physicians' Hall, Queen Street. A third, and one not unworthy of his reputation, is the Burns' monument upon the Calton Hill. The new approaches to Edinburgh by the South, and that by George IV. Bridge, the head of Bow Street, and the Castle Road were designed by Mr. Hamilton. He also submitted a magnificent set of designs for the galleries of the Royal Scottish Academy; but these, greatly to the regret of his admirers, were set aside in favour of the building planned by the late Mr. Playfair. His taste and professional skill were also attested in those church buildings which he planned when the Disruption of the Church of Scotland created a sudden demand for such erections.

For a long period Mr. Thomas Hamilton was treasurer to the Royal Scottish Academy, of which he was one of the original founders, and on all occasions he was a vigorous supporter of the independence and dignity of national art. His knowledge of ancient and modern art was extensive, and he enjoyed the friendships of most of the leading artists both at home and abroad. At the Exhibition of the Fine

Arts in Paris in 1855, the gold medal was awarded to him, and in the Exhibition of the Scottish Academy in 1858, his drawing of the high-school, Edinburgh, fully attested how worthily that honour was bestowed. Such is the brief record of a highly-talented but silent meditative man, who died in February, 1858. The eulogy accompanying the intimation of his demise in the public print from which we have chiefly derived this sketch, is just and appropriate: "In all his works there is a bold originality of design, combined with a masterly knowledge of the elements of his art which could render his ideas most effective, and it must ever be regretted that a mind so cultivated and so original had not an opportunity of having its resources more amply developed."

HAMILTON, WILLIAM, of Bangour, a poet of considerable merit, was the second son of James Hamilton, Esq., of Bangour, advocate, and was born at Bangour in 1704. He was descended from the Hamiltons of Little Earnock in Ayrshire; his great-grandfather James Hamilton (second son of John Hamilton of Little Earnock) being the founder of the family of Bangour. On the death of his brother (who married Elizabeth Dalrymple) without issue, in 1750, the subject of this memoir succeeded to the estate. Born in elevated circumstances and in polished society, Mr. Hamilton received all the accomplishments which a liberal education, with these advantages, could afford; and although exposed, as all young persons of his rank usually are, to the light dissipations of gay life, he resisted every temptation, and in a great measure dedicated his time to the improvement of his mind. The state of his health, which was always delicate, and his natural temperament, leading him to prefer privacy and study to mixing frequently in society, he early acquired a taste for literature, and he soon obtained a thorough and extensive acquaintance with the best authors, ancient and modern. The leaning of his mind was towards poetry, and he early composed many pieces of distinguished merit. Encouraged by the approbation of his friends, as well as conscious of his own powers, he was easily induced to persevere in the cultivation of his poetic tendencies. Many of his songs breathe the true spirit of Scottish melody, especially his far-famed *Braes of Yarrow*.

Thus in calm retirement, and in the pursuit of knowledge, his life might have passed serenely, undisturbed by the calls of ambition, or the toils and alarms of war, had it not been for the ill-judged attempt of an adventurous prince to recover the throne of his ancestors. At the commencement of the insurrection of 1745 Mr. Hamilton, undeterred by the attainder and exile of his brother-in-law the Earl of Carnwath,¹ for his share in the rebellion in 1715, joined the standard of Prince Charles, and celebrated his first success at Prestonpans in the well-known Jacobite ode of *Gladsmuir*. After the battle of Culloden, so disastrous to the prince and his followers, he fled to the mountain and the glen; and there for a time endured much wandering and many hardships. Finally, however, he succeeded, with some others in the same proscribed situation, in escaping into France. But his exile was short. He had many friends and admirers among the adherents of King George, and through their intercession his pardon was speedily procured from government. He accordingly returned home, and resumed possession of his paternal estate. His health, however, at all times weak, by the hardships he had endured, as well as from his anxiety of mind, had now become

¹ The earl married, as his third wife, Margaret, the poet's sister.

doubly so, and required the benefit of a warmer climate. He therefore soon afterwards returned to the Continent, and for the latter years of his life took up his residence at Lyons, where a slow consumption carried him off on the 25th March, 1754, in the fiftieth year of his age. His corpse was brought to Scotland, and interred in the abbey church of Holyrood.

Mr. Hamilton was twice married, into families of distinction, and by his first lady, a daughter of Sir James Hall of Dunglass, baronet, he had issue one son, James, who succeeded him.

Though Mr. Hamilton's works do not place him among the highest class of Scottish poets, he is fully entitled to rank among those of a secondary order. What was much in his favour, certainly not in furtherance of his facility of composition, but as an advantage to his fame, is, that for a whole century previous to the time he began to write, few names of any consequence were known in Scottish poetry. From 1615 till 1715 no poet of any note—except only Drummond and Stirling—had appeared.

From the days of Buchanan, the only other poets we could then boast of, following the example of that leading intellect, had composed in a language utterly opposite to their own, in construction, copiousness, and facility—we mean the Latin: and inferior poets as well as inferior scholars to Hamilton, in compliance to the reigning fashion, continued to use that didactic and difficult language for the expression of their sentiments. Hamilton, therefore, had much to overcome in entering the lists as an original writer in his own language, the elegance, the purity, and the freedom, though perhaps not the force nor the energy of which he understood so well. He was convinced that the greater part, if not the whole, of those authors who preferred composing in a dead language would be utterly unknown to posterity, except perhaps to a few of the literati and the learned. But at the dawn of the eighteenth century the scholastic spell was at length broken, and Hamilton and Ramsay were among the first who gave utterance to their feelings, the one in English and the other in his native Scottish dialect; and this perhaps even to the present day constitutes the principal cause of their fame. It may safely be asserted that, in the works of Hamilton and Ramsay, there is more genuine poetry than in the works of the whole century of Latin poets who preceded them; though this may be denied by those classic readers who are still in the habit of poring into the lucubrations of those authors, the greater part of whom have long ceased to be known to the general reader, while the works of Hamilton and Ramsay are still read and admired.

Mr. Hamilton's poems were first published by Foulis at Glasgow in 1748, 12mo, and afterwards reprinted; but this volume was a pirated publication, and appeared not only without his name, but without his consent, and even without his knowledge; and, as might have been expected, it abounded in errors. He was then abroad, and it was thought the appearance of that collection would have produced from him a more perfect edition: but though on his return he corrected many errors, and considerably enlarged some of the poems, he did not live to furnish a new and complete edition. It remained therefore for his friends after his death to publish from his original manuscripts the first genuine and correct collection of his works. It appeared in one volume small 8vo, at Edinburgh in 1760, with a head by Strange, who had been a fellow-adventurer with him in the cause of Prince Charles.

This volume did not at first attract any particular notice, and his poems were rapidly fading from

public remembrance, when an attempt was made by Professor Richardson of Glasgow to direct the attention of the public to his merits. In a very able criticism from the pen of that gentleman which appeared in the *Lounger*, among other observations no less just, the following formed one of his principal remarks: "The poems of Hamilton display regular design, just sentiments, fanciful invention, pleasing sensibility, elegant diction, and smooth versification." Mr. Richardson then enters into an analysis of Hamilton's principal poem of *Contemplation, or The Triumph of Love*. He descants chiefly on the quality of fanciful invention as being the principal characteristic of poetical composition. He says "that Mr. Hamilton's imagination is employed among beautiful and engaging, rather than among awful and magnificent images, and even when he presents us with dignified objects he is more grave than lofty, more solemn than sublime."—"It is not asserted," continues Mr. Richardson, in illustrating the 'pleasing sensibility' he ascribes to Hamilton, "that he displays those vehement tumults and ecstasies of passion that belong to the higher kind of lyric and dramatic composition. He is not shaken with excessive rage, nor melted with overwhelming sorrow; yet when he treats of grave or affecting subjects, he expresses a plaintive and engaging softness. He is never violent and abrupt, and is more tender than pathetic. Perhaps the *Braes of Yarrow*, one of the finest ballads ever written, may put in a claim to superior distinction. But even with this exception, I should think our poet more remarkable for engaging tenderness than for deep and affecting pathos. In like manner, when he expresses the joyful sentiments, or describes scenes and objects of festivity, which he does very often, he displays good humour and easy cheerfulness, rather than the transports of mirth or the brilliancy of wit."

Mr. Richardson, in illustration of these characteristics, quotes some passages which convey the most favourable impression of Mr. Hamilton's poetical powers.

Mr. M'Kenzie, the ingenious editor of the *Lounger*, enforced the judgment pronounced by Mr. Richardson in a note, in which he not only fully agrees with him, but even goes farther in Mr. Hamilton's praise. Lord Woodhouselee was also among the first to acknowledge his excellence and vindicate his fame. He thus speaks of Mr. Hamilton in his life of Lord Kames, "Mr. Hamilton's mind is pictured in his verses. They are the easy and careless effusions of an elegant fancy and a chastened taste; and the sentiments they convey are the genuine feelings of a tender and susceptible heart, which perpetually owned the dominion of some favourite mistress: but whose passion generally evaporated in song, and made no serious or permanent impression. His poems had an additional charm to his contemporaries from being commonly addressed to his familiar friends of either sex by name. There are few minds insensible to the soothing flattery of a poet's record."

The only poem which Mr. Hamilton wrote in his native dialect was the *Braes of Yarrow*, which has been almost universally acknowledged to be one of the finest ballads ever written. But Mr. Pinkerton, whose opinion of the ancient ballad poetry of Scotland has always had considerable weight, has passed a different judgment on it. "It is," says he, "in very bad taste, and quite unlike the ancient Scottish manner, being even inferior to the poorest of the old ballads with this title. His repeated words and lines causing an eternal jingle, his confused narration and affected pathos, throw this piece among the rubbish of poetry." The jingle and affected pathos

of which he complains are sometimes indeed sickening.

"Lang maun she weep, lang maun she, mann she weep,
Lang maun she weep with dule and sorrow," &c.

"Then build, then build, ye sisters, sisters sad,
Ye sisters sad, his tomb with sorrow," &c.

On the other hand, the isolated condemnation of Mr. Pinkerton must be allowed to have little weight against the interest with which this poem so signally impressed Mr. Wordsworth, as appears from his beautiful poems of *Yarrow Unvisited* and *Yarrow Visited*.

The measure which Mr. Hamilton was most partial to is the *octo-syllabic*; and certainly this being the smoothest and most euphonious, it best suited the refinement of his mind. He sometimes, however, attempted the *deca-syllabic* measure; but here, as in his soaring to a greater height in his subjects, he did not succeed so well. His blank verse, like his conception, is without grandeur—without ease—without dignity: it is surcharged, rugged, and verbose. Of this he was himself aware, for he seldom attempted to clothe his sentiments in the style which was perfected by Milton and Shakspeare.

Mr. Hamilton of *Bangour* is sometimes mistaken for and identified with another poet of the same name, William Hamilton of *Gilbertfield* in Lanarkshire, a lieutenant in the navy, who was the friend and correspondent of Allan Ramsay, and the modernizer of Blind Harry's poem of *Wallace*. The compositions of this gentleman display much beauty, simplicity, and sweetness; but he is neither so well known, nor entitled to be so, as the "Bard of Yarrow."

Mr. Hamilton's private virtues were no less eminent than his poetical abilities. His piety, though fervent, was of that quiet and subdued cast that "does good by stealth, and blushes to find it fame." His manners were accomplished—indeed so much so, as to earn for him the title of "the elegant and amiable William Hamilton of Bangour."¹

HAMILTON, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM, British ambassador at the court of Naples, and celebrated for his patronage of the fine arts, and his investigations on the subject of volcanoes, was born in 1730. Neither biographers nor contemporary periodical writers have furnished any account of his education or early habits; all that is commemorated regarding him previous to the commencement of his public life, is, that his family, a branch of the noble house of Hamilton, was in very reduced circumstances. He was in the most difficult of all situations—poor, high-born, and a Scotsman. "I was condemned," to use his own words, "to make my way in the world, with an illustrious name and a thousand pounds." Like many of his countrymen so situated, he had a choice betwixt semi-starvation in the army, and an affluent marriage—he prudently preferred the latter; and in 1755 he found himself most happily settled in life, with a young lady of beauty, connections, amiable qualifications, and £5000 a year. It is very probable that Mr. Hamilton spent his hours in philosophical ease, until his acquisition of that situation in which he afterwards distinguished himself. In 1764 he was appointed ambassador to the court of Naples, where he continued till the year 1800. If his appointment as a resident ambassador for so long a period is to be considered as but a method of expressing in more

consequential terms the employment of an agent for advancing the study of the arts, the person was well chosen for the purpose, and the interests of the public were well attended to; but if Mr. Hamilton's claims to national respect are to be judged by his merely diplomatic duties, the debt, in addition to the salary he received, will be very small. The reason why a permanent representative of the British government should have been found requisite in Sicily is in reality one of those circumstances which a diplomatist only could explain. The fame acquired in other departments by the subject of our memoir has prompted his biographers to drag to light his diplomatic exertions, yet, although nothing has been discovered which can throw a blot on his good name, the amount of service performed in thirty-six years is truly ludicrous. He entered into explanations with the Marquis Tanucci, first minister of Sicily, regarding some improper expressions used by a gentleman of the press of the name of Torcia, in his *Political Sketch of Europe*. He managed to keep his Sicilian majesty neuter during the American war. He acted with prudence during the family misunderstandings between Spain and Naples in 1784; and finally, he exerted himself in preventing any mischief from being perpetrated by "an eccentric character among our nobility," who had made attempts to give much trouble to prudent people, by his conduct at Naples. But the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was but the shadow of a European power, and was only regarded as it followed one or other of the great nations whose contests shook the world. It afforded in its active existence no arena for the statesman or the soldier. It was in the dust of buried ages that was hid beneath its soil that the active mind found employment in that feeble kingdom, and these were the only objects worthy to absorb the attention of the distinguished person whom we are commemorating.

On his arrival at the interesting country of his mission, Mr. Hamilton repeatedly visited Vesuvius and Etna, and from a minute examination of the whole surrounding country, collected numerous important geological observations, which were from time to time, between the years 1766 and 1779, transmitted to the Royal Society, and afterwards made their appearance in the *Transactions* of that body, and in the *Annual Register*. It was the design of Sir William Hamilton to point out in these observations such evidence as might lead geologists to a better comprehension of the influence of subterranean fires on the structure of the earth, and to display the first links of a chain of reasoning which it was his hope future industry might make complete. It was his opinion that the land for many miles round Naples was not, as it was generally supposed, a district of fruitful land, subject to the ravages of flame; but a part of the surface of the globe which owed its very existence to the internal conflagrations by which it was shaken. In illustration of this he considered Etna to have been formed by a series of eruptions, at protracted periods, as the smaller eminence of Monte Nuovo, near Puzzuoli, had been formed by one eruption of forty-eight hours' continuance. Among other minute circumstances he discovered that the streets of Pompeii were paved with the lava of a former age, and that there was a deep stratum of lava and burned matter under the foundations of the town, showing that the earliest eruption of history was not the first of nature, and that the labours of man might have been more than once buried beneath such coverings. As illustrations of these valuable remarks, the author collected a magnificent assortment of the various descriptions of lava,

¹ A manuscript, containing many poems by Hamilton which never saw the light, was in the possession of George Chalmers, Esq., author of *Caledonia*. A list of them is given in the *Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland*, vol. iii., where a portrait of Mr. Hamilton has also been given.

which he lodged in our national museum, that naturalists might be able to trace a connection betwixt these immediate productions of the volcano, and other portions of the crust of the globe. These remarks were afterwards digested and systematized, and produced, first, *Observations on Mount Vesuvius, Mount Etna, and other Volcanoes of the Two Sicilies*, published in London in 1772. The next, a more aspiring work, was published at Naples in 1776, in two folio volumes, and called "*Campi Phlegrai, Observations on the Volcanoes of the Two Sicilies*, as they have been communicated to the Royal Society of London, by Sir William Hamilton." The numerous plates in this magnificent work of art, from views taken on the spot by Mr. Valris, a British artist, are faintly engraved in little more than outline, and coloured with so much depth and truth, that they assume the appearance of original water-colour drawings of a very superior order. They are illustrative of his favourite theory, and represent those geological aspects of the country which he considered peculiarly applicable as illustrations. It is to be remarked, that neither in his communications to the Royal Society, nor in his larger works, does this author trace any complete exclusive system. He merely points out the facts on which others may work, acknowledging that he is disposed to pay more respect to the share which fire has had in the formation of the crust of the earth, than Buffon and others are disposed to admit. "By the help of drawings," he says, "in this new edition of my communications to the society, which so clearly point out the volcanic origin of this country, it is to be hoped that farther discoveries of the same nature may be made, and that subterraneous fires will be allowed to have had a greater share in the formation of mountains, islands, and even tracts of land, than has hitherto been suspected." Many men of eminence at that time visited Sir William Hamilton, and marked the progress of his discoveries, and among the rest Monsieur Saussure, professor of natural history at Geneva, who accompanied him in his investigations, and acceded to the arguments he derived from them. During the course of his communications to the Royal Society, it was the fortune of the author to have an opportunity of witnessing Vesuvius in eruption.

In October, 1767, occurred the eruption which is considered to have been the twenty-seventh from that which in the days of Titus destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii. The mountain was visited by Hamilton and a party of his friends during this interesting scene, which has afforded material for one of the most graphic of his communications. But a grander scene of devastation attracted his attention in October, 1779, when the unfortunate inhabitants of Ottaiano had reason to dread the fate described by Pliny. Of this memorable eruption our author transmitted an account to Sir Joseph Banks, which he afterwards published as a supplement to his *Campi Phlegrai*.

Previously to the period of the last event we have mentioned, the subject of our memoir was connected with the preparation of another great work, for which the world has incurred to him a debt of gratitude. He had made a vast collection of Etruscan antiquities—vases, statues, and fresco paintings, partly dug from the earth, and partly purchased from the museums of the decayed nobility, among which was that great collection now deposited in the British Museum, which had belonged to the senatorial house of Porcinari. Of the most precious of these remains of antiquity, Hamilton allowed the adventurer D'Hancarville to publish illustrated plates, liberally allowing the artist to appropriate the whole profits of the

work. "Long since," he says, "Mr. Hamilton had taken pleasure in collecting those precious monuments, and had afterwards trusted them to him for publication, requiring only some elegance in the execution, and the condition that the work should appear under the auspices of his Britannic majesty." The work accordingly was published at Naples, under the title of *Antiquités Etrusques, Grecques, et Romaines*. The Abbé Winckelman mentions that two volumes of this work were published in 1765, and two others the year following. Along with the author of a notice of Sir William Hamilton's life, which appeared in *Baldwin's Literary Journal*, we have been unable to discover a copy of the two former volumes of this work, or to find any reference to them on which we can repose trust; nor do we perceive that the two latter volumes bear the marks of being a continuation, and neither of the after editions of Paris, 1787, and Florence, 1801 and 1808, which might have informed us on this subject, are at present accessible to us. The two volumes we have mentioned as having seen contain general remarks on the subjects of the plates, in English and French, which both the imaginative matter and the language show to have been translated from the latter language into the former. The plates, by far the most valuable part of the work, introduced a new spirit into the depiction of the useful remains of antiquity, which enabled the artist who wished to imitate them to have as correct an idea of the labours of the ancients as if the originals were before him. The terra-cotta vases predominate; some of these are votive offerings, others have been adapted for use. A general view of the form of each is given, with a measurement, along with which there is a distinct fac-simile of the paintings which so frequently occur on these beautiful pieces of pottery; the engraving is bold and accurate, and the colouring true to the original. This work has been the means of adding the bold genius of classic taste to modern accuracy and skill in workmanship. From the painter and statuary to the fabricator of the most grotesque drinking cup, it has afforded models to artists, and is confidently asserted to have gone far in altering and improving the general taste of the age. During the exertions we have been commemorating, Hamilton was in the year 1772 created a knight of the Bath—a circumstance which will account for our sometimes varying his designation, as the events mentioned happened previously to, or after his elevation. The retired philosophical habits of Sir William Hamilton prevented him in the earliest years of his mission from forming intimacies with persons similarly situated, and he lived a life of domestic privacy, study, and observation of nature. But fame soon forced friends on his retirement, and all the eminent persons who visited his interesting neighbourhood became his guests. One of his friends, the French ambassador at the court of Naples, has told us that he protected the arts because the arts protected him and enriched him. The motives of the character may be doubted. A love of art fascinates even mercenary men into generosity, and the whole of Sir William Hamilton's conduct shows a love of art, and a carelessness of personal profit by his knowledge, not often exhibited. Duclos, secretary of the French Academy, on visiting Naples, has drawn an enthusiastic picture of the felicity then enjoyed by Sir William Hamilton—his lady and himself in the prime of life, his daughter just opening to womanhood, beauty, and accomplishments; the public respect paid to his merits, and the internal peace of his amiable family; but this state of things was doomed to be sadly reversed. In 1775 Sir William lost his

only daughter, and in 1782 he had to deplore the death of a wife who had brought him competence and domestic peace. After an absence of twenty years he revisited Britain in 1784. The purpose of this visit is whispered to have been that he might interfere with an intended marriage of his nephew, Mr. Greville, to Miss Emma Hart. If such was his view, it was fulfilled in a rather unexpected manner. It is at all times painful to make written reference to those private vices, generally suspected and seldom proved, the allusion to which usually receives the name of "scandal;" but in the case of the second Lady Hamilton they have been so unhesitatingly and amply detailed by those who have chosen to record such events, and so complacently received by the lady herself and her friends, that they must be considered matters of history, which no man will be found chivalrous enough to contradict. This second Theodosia passed the earlier part of her life in obscurity and great indigence, but soon showed that she had various ways in which she might make an independent livelihood. Some one who has written her memoirs has given testimony to the rather doubtful circumstance, that her first act of infamy was the consequence of charitable feeling, which prompted her to give her virtue in exchange for the release of a friend who had been impressed. Be this as it may, she afterwards discovered more profitable means of using her charms. At one time she was a comic actress—at another, under the protection of some generous man of fashion; but her chief source of fame and emolument seems to have been her connection with Romney and the other great artists of the day, to whom she seems to have furnished the models of more goddesses than classic poets ever invented. Mr. Greville, a man of accurate taste, had chosen her as his companion, and the same principles of correct judgment which regulated his choice probably suggested a transference of his charge to the care of Sir William Hamilton. His own good opinion of her merits, and the character she had received from his friend, prompted Sir William soon after to marry this woman, and she took the title of Lady Hamilton in 1791. At that time both returned to Britain, where Sir William attempted in vain to procure for his fair but frail bride an introduction to the British court, which might authorize, according to royal etiquette, her presentation at the court of Naples. But this latter was found not so difficult a barrier as that which it was considered necessary to surmount before attempting it. The beauty, and perhaps the engaging talents, of Lady Hamilton procured for her notoriety, and notoriety brings friends. She contrived to be essentially useful, and very agreeable, to the King and Queen of the Sicilies; and procured for herself their friendship, and for her husband additional honours. Her connection with Lord Nelson, and the manner in which she did the state service, are too well known; but justice, on passing speedily over the unwelcome subject, cannot help acknowledging that she seems here to have felt something like real attachment. The latter days of this woman restored her to the gloom and obscurity of her origin. She made ineffectual attempts after the death of her husband to procure a pension from government. Probably urged by necessity, she insulted the ashes of the great departed, by publishing her correspondence with Lord Nelson, followed by a denial of her accession to the act, which did not deceive the public. She died at Calais in February, 1815, in miserable obscurity and debt, without a friend to follow her to the grave, and those who took an interest in the youthful daughter of Nelson, with difficulty

prevented her from being seized, according to a barbarous law, for the debts of her mother.

But we return with pleasure to the more legitimate object of our details. There was one subject of importance on which some prejudices on the part of the Sicilian government prevented Sir William Hamilton from acquiring that knowledge which he thought might be interesting and useful to his country. A chamber in the royal museum of Portici had been set aside for containing the manuscripts, of which a small collection had been found in an edifice in Pompeii; and on the discovery that these calcined masses were genuine manuscripts of the days of Pliny, the greatest curiosity was manifested to acquire a knowledge of their contents. The government was assailed by strangers for the watchfulness with which these were kept from their view, and the little exertion which had been bestowed in divulging their contents: the latter accusation was perhaps scarcely just; some venerable adherents of the Church of Rome did not hesitate to spend months of their own labour in exposing to the world the sentences which an ancient Roman had taken a few minutes to compose. The public were soon made sufficiently acquainted with the subject to be disappointed at the exposure of a few sentences of the vilest of scholastic stuff; and the narrow-mindedness of which Sir William Hamilton had to complain has been since discontinued, and England has had an opportunity of showing her skill in the art of unrolling papyrus. To acquire the information, for which he found the usual means unavailing, Sir William Hamilton entered into an agreement with Father Anthony Piaggi, a Piarist monk, the most diligent of the decipherers, by which, in consideration of a salary of £100, the latter was to furnish the former with a weekly sheet of original information, which, to avoid ministerial detection, was to be written in cipher. The contract seems to have been executed to the satisfaction of both parties, and Sir William procured for Father Anthony an addition to his salary equal to the sum at which it was originally fixed; and on the death of the father in 1798 he bequeathed all his manuscripts and papers to his patron. Sir William Hamilton, on his visit to Britain in 1791, was created a privy-councillor. The circumstances which in 1798 compelled him to accompany the Sicilian court to Palermo are matter of history, and need not be here repeated. Sir William Hamilton died in April, 1803, in the seventy-second year of his age. His death deprived the world of two great works which he hoped to have lived to prepare on the subject of the museum of Portici.

HAMILTON, WILLIAM, a celebrated surgeon and lecturer on anatomy and chemistry in the university of Glasgow. This meritorious individual was unfortunately cut off from the world too early in life, and too suddenly, to be enabled to give to the world those works on his favourite science on which he might have founded his fame, and the circle of his influence and renown was hardly so extensive as to attract the attention of posterity; but a tribute to his memory in the form of a memoir of his life, and remarks on his professional acquirements, read by his friend Professor Cleghorn to the Royal Society of Edinburgh,¹ and inserted in the *Transactions* of that eminent body, justifies us in enumerating him among distinguished Scotsmen. William Hamilton was born in Glasgow on the 31st July, 1758. His father was Thomas Hamilton, a respectable surgeon in Glasgow, and professor of anatomy and botany in

¹ Vol. iv. p. 35, read 6th November, 1792.

that university; and his mother, daughter to Mr. Anderson, professor of church history in the same institution. He followed the usual course of instruction in the grammar-school and college of his native city, from which latter he took the degree of Master of Arts in 1775, at the age of seventeen. Being supposed to show an early predilection for the medical profession, he proceeded to Edinburgh, then at the height of its fame as a school for that science, where he studied under Cullen and Black, the early friends of his father. The bad health of his father recalled the young physician after two sessions spent in Edinburgh, and both proceeded on a tour to Bath, and thence to London, where the son was left to pursue his studies, with such an introduction to the notice of Dr. William Hunter as a schoolfellow acquaintanceship between his father and that distinguished man warranted. The prudence, carefulness, and regularity of the young man's conduct while surrounded by the splendour and temptation of the metropolis have been commended by his friends; these praiseworthy qualities, joined to a quick perception on professional subjects, and an anxiety to perfect himself in that branch of his profession which calls for the greatest zeal and enthusiasm on the part of the medical student, attracted the attention of his observing friend. He was requested to take up his residence in Dr. Hunter's house, and finally was trusted with the important charge of the dissecting room—a valuable and probably a delightful duty. He seems to have secured the good opinion he had gained by his performance of this arduous and important function. "I see and hear much of him," says Dr. Hunter in his correspondence with the young man's father, "and everybody regards him as sensible, diligent, sober, and of amiable dispositions."—"From being a favourite with everybody, he has commanded every opportunity for improvement which this great town afforded during his stay here; for everybody has been eager to oblige and encourage him. I can depend so much on him, in every way, that if any opportunity should offer of serving him, whatever may be in my power I shall consider as doing a real pleasure to myself." Such were the character and prospects of one who, it is to be feared, was then nourishing by too intense study the seeds of dissolution in a naturally feeble constitution. Soon after, the father's state of health imperiously requiring an assistant in his lectures, the son undertook that duty, and in 1781, on his father's final resignation, was nominated his successor—a circumstance which enabled his kind friend Dr. Hunter to fulfil his former promise by stating to the Marquis of Graham that he considered it "the interest of Glasgow to give him, rather than his to solicit, the appointment." The father died in 1782, and the son was then left the successor to his lucrative and extensive practice, in addition to the duties of the university. During the short period of his enjoyment of these desirable situations he received from the poorer people of Glasgow the character, seldom improperly conferred, of extending to them the assistance which a physician of talent can so well bestow. He kept for the purpose of his lectures, and for his own improvement, a regular note-book of cases, which he summed up in a tabular digest at the termination of each year. Of these notes he had before his death commenced such an arrangement as would enable him to form from them a system of surgery which he intended to have published. Some extracts from this collection are preserved by the biographer we have mentioned, as characteristics of the style of his composition, and the extent of his observation. In 1783 he married Miss Elizabeth Stirling, a lady

accomplished, and of good connections in Glasgow. Within a very few years after this event, the marked decay of his constitution alarmed his friends, and his knowledge as a physician enabled him to assure himself that death was steadily approaching. He died on the 13th day of March, 1790, in the thirty-second year of his age. Few, even of those who have departed in the pride of life—in the enjoyment of talents, hopes, and prosperity, seem to have caused greater regret, and it cannot be doubted that it was deserved. His style of lectureship as a public instructor is thus described by Mr. Cleghorn:—"As a lecturer, his manner was remarkably free from pomp and affectation. His language was simple and perspicuous, but so artless, that it appeared flat to those who place the beauty of language in the intricacy of arrangement, or the abundance of figures. His manner of speaking corresponded with his style, and was such as might appear uninteresting to those who think it impossible to be eloquent without violent gestures and frequent variations of tone. He used nearly the tone of ordinary conversation, as his preceptor Dr. Hunter did before him, aiming at perspicuity only, and trusting for attention to the importance of the subjects he treated."

HAMILTON, WILLIAM RICHARD, F.R.S., author of the *Egyptiaca*,¹ an elected trustee of the British Museum, and minister at Naples from 1822 to 1825, was born in 1777. His father, the Rev. Anthony Hamilton, archdeacon of Colchester, vicar of St. Martin's, and rector of Hadham, who married a daughter of Terrick, Bishop of London, was grandson of William Hamilton of Wishaw, by his second wife, Mary Erskine, daughter of Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, and grand-daughter of John seventh Earl of Mar. He was cousin to William Gerard Hamilton, commonly known as Single-speech Hamilton, who for twenty-one years was chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland.

Mr. W. R. Hamilton was from an early age distinguished for his taste and learning, and will long be remembered for the active and zealous part which he took in the administration of affairs during a momentous period of our history. At an early age he was sent to Harrow, then in the zenith of its popularity, and was there the companion of many eminent men. An accident, which somewhat impaired his physical activity during a long life, compelled him to leave that seat of learning; for many months he was confined to his bed, but his mind was not idle; with great courage and perseverance he undertook and completed a translation of the works of the great historian of the Peloponnesian war. For a short time he was a member of each of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Mr. Hamilton commenced his public career in 1799, at the age of twenty-two, when the father of the late Lord Elgin was appointed ambassador to Constantinople. On that occasion he accompanied the noble earl as his attaché and private secretary. While filling that post he was sent by him to various places in the Levant, such as Corfu, Rhodes, Athens, Marmorice Bay, Cerigo, &c., with the view to collecting information and procuring transport and provisions for the English troops in the East, and finally, in 1801, he was sent by Lord Elgin on a diplomatic mission to the commander-in-chief of the British forces in Egypt. On the expulsion of the

¹ In the earlier edition of the *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, this work was erroneously attributed to the Right Hon. Sir William Hamilton. The mistake had evidently originated in the similarity in name, office, and literary pursuits of the two distinguished authors.

French from Alexandria in that year, he was employed in negotiating the terms of peace, by which the French agreed to surrender all the works of ancient Egyptian art which they were on the point of carrying off to France. On this occasion Mr. Hamilton rendered a signal service to the lovers of Egyptian chronology in this country, and secured to the British Museum one of its most valuable treasures. Information having been received that the French had concealed in one of their transports the very remarkable trilingual Rosetta Stone, he asked General Hutchinson for an escort of an officer and file of men, with which he went on board the ship, though the plague had broken out in her, and after many difficulties and remonstrances from General Menou, commanding the French army, he obtained and carried off that valuable prize.

After this Mr. Hamilton, accompanied by his friends Captain Leake and Major Hayes of the Royal Engineers, proceeded in the autumn of 1801 and the following year up the Nile, visiting and minutely examining the various remains of Egyptian sculpture and architecture upon its banks, extending his progress to the second cataract. The publication by him in the year 1809 of a work entitled *Egyptiaca, or Some Account of the Ancient and Modern State of Egypt*, proved how well in the intervals of his official duties he had employed his time, having found the opportunity during his journey to collect materials for a work containing a vast amount of new information respecting the antiquities of a country at that time but little known.

From Egypt Mr. Hamilton proceeded in 1802 to Greece, where his time was devoted partly to an examination of the many places of antiquarian interest in that classic land, and partly to superintending for Lord Elgin the removal of those celebrated remains of ancient sculpture from the Parthenon and other works of Greek art, now known in the British Museum under the name of the Elgin Marbles. In 1803, while on his way to England with these sculptures, the vessel conveying them was shipwrecked on entering the port of Cerigo. In a few minutes the ship with its valuable cargo went to the bottom, the passengers and crew only just saving their lives by jumping off the bowsprit on to the rocks. Mr. Hamilton remained for several months in Cerigo, superintending the recovery of these treasures of art, and with the assistance of experienced divers, brought from various Mediterranean ports, he eventually succeeded in recovering them, and causing them to be forwarded to England.

On the 5th April, 1804, he was appointed private secretary to the late Earl of Harrowby, and on the 4th of July following, *provis* writer to Lord Mulgrave. On the 16th October, 1809, he became permanent under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, which post he held during all the remaining years of the war, and until 22d January, 1822, including the period from 1812 to 1822, when Viscount Castlereagh, afterwards Lord Londonderry, was at the head of the foreign affairs of the country. While occupying this post he accompanied Lord Castlereagh to Paris in 1815, and it was chiefly owing to his exertions that the Bourbon government consented to restore to Italy the works of art which the French had on various occasions removed to Paris. The cordial reception which he met with on visiting Italy a few years later, proved how highly the Italians (and especially Canova, with whom he had established a footing of great intimacy and friendship) appreciated his efforts on their behalf.

Mr. Hamilton was one of the three secretaries to the lord-justices in England, during the king's visit

to Hanover in 1821. On the 29th January, 1822, he was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Naples, where he remained till the beginning of 1825.

When the destruction of the houses of parliament in 1834 rendered necessary the building of new houses, Mr. Hamilton was one of the first who energetically raised their voices in favour of a classical style of architecture, in preference to the then fashionable desire for mediæval Gothic. In three letters addressed to Lord Elgin he vigorously, but unsuccessfully, opposed the degenerate taste of the day; and whatever may be said of the intrinsic merits of the buildings which now raise their elaborately ornamented towers in Westminster, there are many persons who now sincerely regret that the opinions which he advocated did not meet with favour and success.

Mr. Hamilton's acknowledged taste in art, sound criticism, and general character and attainments, led to his being appointed, in 1838, one of the elected trustees of the British Museum; for many years he took a leading part in the deliberations and proceedings of that body, until his failing health warned him of the necessity of withdrawing himself from those active duties in which he had till then loved to indulge. He resigned the trusteeship in 1858, after twenty years' official connection with that establishment, to the great regret of his colleagues.

In 1833 Mr. Hamilton was one of those scientific and learned men who established the Royal Geographical Society, of which he was president during several years. He likewise devoted much of his time and thoughts to the Royal Institution, the Royal Society of Literature, and to the Dilettanti Society, of which last he was one of the most zealous and active members till shortly before his death. He was ever ready to afford a hearty patronage to foreign artists and scholars,—the names of Panizzi, Brönsted, and Pistrucci point out the direction of his efforts; and with regard to the last named, it is not too much to say, that without his energetic assistance the world would never have seen the completion of the dies of that work of genius, the great Waterloo medal.

In 1804 Mr. W. R. Hamilton married Juliana Udny, sister of Colonel Udny of Udny in Aberdeenshire. He died in London on the 11th of July, 1859, after an illness of four weeks, in the eighty-third year of his age.

HAMILTON, SIR WILLIAM, of Preston, Bart. This distinguished professor of logic and metaphysics, the most learned and scientific philosopher of the Scottish school, was born in Glasgow on the 8th of March, 1788. Being the head of the Hamiltons of Preston, he inherited the family baronetcy, which had been created in 1673, but had lain dormant, in consequence of Sir Robert Preston, the Covenanter and leader of the insurrection at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, having refused to take the oath of allegiance. Since that time (1688) the title had continued in abeyance, until it was resumed by the subject of the present notice. It was more congenial, however, to the future distinction of Sir William, as an eminent literary scholar and philosopher, that his father Dr. William Hamilton, and his grandfather Dr. Thomas Hamilton, held in succession the chairs of anatomy and botany in the university of Glasgow. It was at this university that Sir William was educated, and there he distinguished himself especially in the philosophical classes, and laid the foundation of those intellectual habits and acquirements which afterwards obtained for him a European reputation. It was in Balliol College, however, that

the superstructure was reared. The Snell foundation of exhibitions to that college has long been a prize fund for the most distinguished students of Glasgow; among other eminent men Adam Smith had been a Snell exhibitor, and the honour of such an appointment was not deteriorated by falling upon Sir William Hamilton. His residence at Balliol College, Oxford, he ever regarded as the most important period of his life. It was amidst the high standard of scholarship established there that he became one of the most illustrious of its classical pupils. It was there also that he prepared himself for those vast acquirements in ancient, mediæval, and modern knowledge by which he stood so superior to his contemporaries. When he left Oxford in 1812 few students had departed from the walls of its university more completely equipped for a long course of independent self-improvement, or more resolute to follow it out to the close.

In 1813 Sir William was admitted a member of the Scottish bar. The study of law, however, with the exception of Roman law, had no interest for him, and he had no practice as an advocate except that which he was obliged to undertake in consequence of being appointed crown-solicitor of the court of teinds. The study of mental philosophy occupied him so exclusively that he had neither time nor inclination for the study of statutes and precedents. At length the death of Dr. Thomas Brown, in 1820, by which the professorship of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh became vacant, seemed a tempting opportunity to Sir William, and he became a candidate for the chair; but on this occasion the successful competitor was John Wilson. On the following year Sir William Hamilton, by the nomination of the Faculty of Advocates, in whom the appointment is vested, was elected professor of universal history in the same university; but this office, both in duties and emoluments, was little more than nominal, attendance on the class not being imperative on students, and in Sir William's case it was nothing better than a literary title. As such, however, it marked him out for college preferment when the fitting opportunity should arrive. In the meantime his studies continued without interruption. They were of a nature that required much time and thought for maturing, and these he could afford to give, for although not rich, his means were so sufficient as to place him beyond the necessity of dependence. It was not indeed until 1829, when he had arrived at the ripe age of forty, that he published anything; and this was a critique, in the *Edinburgh Review*, of Cousin's *Cours de Philosophie*, which that profound inquirer had published the preceding year, developing his doctrine of the infinite. This he only wrote at the urgent request of the editor of the *Review*, and although the subject was of too weighty a character for the general readers of periodical literature, his contribution was appreciated by those for whom it was chiefly intended, and who could estimate its merits. From the chosen few of our country its reputation extended to the Continent, where such subjects of study were better understood, and Cousin himself acknowledged that this Scottish reviewer was by far the most learned, the most intelligent and able of all his critics and antagonists, and best understood the theory he was combating. After this he continued a series of papers in the *Edinburgh Review*, which only terminated in 1839, ranging over a variety of subjects, chiefly philosophical, among which, two, on the "Philosophy of Perception," and on "Recent Publications in Logical Science," are especially celebrated. Several of the articles are also on education and university reform. The choicest of these contributions

of Sir William, besides being republished in Crosse's *Selections from the Edinburgh Review*, were republished upon the Continent, translated into French, German, and Italian. In 1852 they were all edited and republished by Sir William himself, with large notes and appendices, under the title of *Discussions in Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform*. This collection as yet forms by far the larger proportion of his published writings, and while the variety of learning, and depth and originality of thought, are signal proofs of the author's intellectual powers, this conviction of the reader is accompanied with regret that the amount of such publications from Sir William's pen has not been more ample.

While Sir William Hamilton was thus employed in writing only for the initiated, and enjoying a foreign rather than a home reputation—while he was signalized by Brandis in Germany as the great master of the Peripatetic philosophy, and by Cousin in France as the first metaphysician in Europe—an event occurred in 1836 by which he found his right place at last. The professorship of logic and metaphysics in the college of Edinburgh was vacant, and this charge he won after a hard contest in which the town-council were the judges and patrons. That a community chiefly composed of shopkeepers should have been perplexed in judging of the candidates for such an office, and that their choice should finally have been decided at haphazard, was not to be wondered at, for such might also have been the case although the tribunal had been composed of the wise and learned of the community. For Scotland had ceased to be renowned as a country of hard-headed logicians and subtle metaphysicians. When Sir William's first contribution in the *Edinburgh Review* appeared, M. Cousin had justly said that there were probably not fifty persons in the country who would be able to appreciate its value, or even to understand its meaning. And when Sir William took the chair as its representative, philosophy was at the lowest ebb in Britain. An able author, in describing the condition of the period, has thus expressed himself: "Reid was already forgotten, and the knowledge of mental science possessed, even by the best informed, was at most a polite acquaintance with Stewart, or a popular knowledge of Brown. Across the Channel, France and Germany had been recently roused to new speculative efforts, and the leading minds in both countries were full of excitement on philosophic questions; but in England the profoundest apathy prevailed, none cared for these things. If any reference to them found its way into a magazine or review, it elicited only an unexcited stare, or at most an expression of wonder as to what the writer meant. Logic and metaphysics were exploded as the worthless relics of a dark and barbarous age, mental science was obsolete, and all that remained of philosophy, in any shape, was to be found in Bridgewater treatises, essays on population and political economy, with occasional disquisitions on Jeremy Bentham and his greatest-happiness principle." It was only by extraordinary daring that Sir William attempted to break this confirmed apathy, and to recal the public mind into the path from which it had wandered. But the attempt was successful, and the Scottish intellect returned to those legitimate pursuits for which it had shown such a peculiar aptitude, and upon which its best distinctions were founded.

No sooner had Sir William Hamilton entered into office and commenced its duties, than a controversy arose between him and the patrons of the university about his mode of teaching. Logic and metaphysics, instead of being at the end, were placed at the beginning of the curriculum, and from the general youth of the students at this period of their progress, little

more than the mere elements of these sciences had been imparted. An hour a day was generally devoted to lecturing; and in the course of a single session not only these important departments, but several others, were disposed of. If the teaching of logic and metaphysics, however, was to be anything more than an empty form, a more stringent course was necessary. This Sir William had distinctly announced to the patrons, in the following words, when he offered himself as candidate for the chair:—"I have only further to repeat in general what I have formerly more articulately stated, that in the event of my appointment to this chair, I am determined to follow out my convictions of the proper mode of academical tuition; that is, I shall not only endeavour to *instruct*, by communicating on my part the requisite information, but to *educate*, by determining, through every means in my power, a vigorous and independent activity on the part of my pupils." Upon this principle he proceeded to act when he commenced the duties of his professorship. Calculating upon the juvenility of his pupils, and their unpreparedness for abstruse studies—conscious at the same time that his teaching must be something more than science in a rudimentary and diluted form—he thought it better to carry a minority along with him than advance with his whole class a farther than the gate. Instead, therefore, of a single six months' course, he extended it into two, the one comprising a course of logic, and the other of metaphysics. This in the eyes of the town-council of Edinburgh was a monstrous claim upon the time and intellects of his students, and a whimsical squabble arose with them in consequence of their demand for the good old style of teaching. Hamilton, however, in the end prevailed, and was allowed to follow his own devices.

By the course which he adopted the sessions of logic and metaphysics followed each other alternately, and his lectures on these were severely systematic, condensed, and comprehensive. This was to be expected from one who had more completely traversed the whole field of mental philosophy than any man living, and who was more capable of appreciating the comparative value of its different departments. The following brief and general sketch is given of his lectures during the two seasons over which they extended:—"If the subject were metaphysics, for example, the course began with seven or eight introductory lectures on philosophy in general—its nature, its causes, its methods, the dispositions with which it should be studied, and the parts into which it is divided; the latter point naturally leading to the special object of the course—psychology, or the science of mental facts. The nature of consciousness, as the essential ground or condition of the science, being explained, its phenomena were then developed in order from the lowest to the highest—from the simplest facts of perception on through memory, association, imagination, and understanding, up to the highest principles of the regulative faculty, reason, or common sense. In the logical course, after a similar but shorter introduction on the general divisions, in which the place of dialectic in relation to the other branches of mental science was determinately fixed, followed a special introduction, considering rapidly in order the nature, the value, the divisions, and the history of logic as the science of dianoetic laws. To the definition of the science succeeded a detailed statement and criticism of the laws of thought on which it rests; and from these the science was developed so perfectly that the presence of the fundamental laws might be easily traced and recognized in the remotest detail of their application." Of the results of these prelections another author

thus writes:—"There is not evidence indeed that his logical lectures have as yet had much effect on his personal pupils. But the metaphysical lectures excited a keen interest in philosophy among all his students who were qualified for severe abstract thinking, while they guided the thinking of not a few into channels in which it long or always continued to flow."

While Sir William Hamilton thus *instructed* his class by lecturing, he endeavoured to *educate* it by discipline, and in this way he fulfilled the promise made to the patrons when he applied for the chair. The discipline consisted of oral examinations and written exercises. The examinations were conducted on the Tuesday and Thursday of each week, when the students were ranged according to the initial letter of their names, the benches of the class-room being lettered for the purpose. Before the professor was a jar having all the letters of the alphabet from A to Z printed on rounds of millboard, and these being mixed together, Sir William put in his hand, drew out a letter at random, and holding it up to the students, asked if A, B, H, or M (as the case might be), would undertake to pass an examination. On one whose name agreed with the letter standing up, the subject was commenced where the last examination had left off, and a strict searching process of catechizing was followed up by the professor that tested the attention and capacity of the student as well as whetted his intellectual powers, and strengthened him for further progress. The written exercises of the class were short essays upon the subjects connected with the lectures, and were generally prescribed every fortnight or three weeks, while each writer was allowed five minutes, limited by a sand-glass, to read extracts from his production, subject to the critical remarks of the professor. In addition to these regular class exercises, prize-essays were also prescribed, which, like the others, were read in public before the whole class, by whose award the prize was assigned. In this manner emulation of the noblest kind was cherished, and each student made aware of the measure of his class-fellows. The reputation which Sir William had previously acquired as a universal scholar and profound original thinker, the fame of his lectures, and the superiority of his teaching as a professor, attracted students to his class not only from every part of the united empire, but from America and the Continent; and in this manner he either directly formed or indirectly influenced the master intellects of countries he had never visited, and promoted those trains of reflection and inquiry throughout the civilized world which are still in process, and of which after-years will gather the fruits.

Such was the career of Sir William Hamilton as a professor, and while occupied in public teaching: his leisure hours were employed in preparing those writings by which his philosophical opinions, instead of being confined to the class-room, were to be published to the world at large, and not only for the benefit of the present generation, but the latest posterity. It was for this desirable result that the philosophic world had been waiting, while they grudged those daily duties which delayed its realization. But in 1844 his health began to fail, and soon after a paralysis struck the right side of his body, which disabled him from head to foot. When he rallied, his mind was still as clear and vigorous, and his will as resolute for action, as ever; but he could only continue his lectures with frequent assistance, and carry on writing chiefly through an amanuensis. Such a shock was sufficient to affect the progress of the works in which he had been long employed, so that at last they were left incomplete. In 1855, while residing in a country

dwelling, his inability was confirmed by the fracture of a limb, and he died in Edinburgh on the 6th of May, 1856, leaving behind him a widow and family.

Of the published writings of Sir William, besides the articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, of which mention has already been made, his largest and most important was an edition of the works of Reid, with notes and supplementary dissertations. This work, which he had planned at the time of his appointment to the chair of logic and metaphysics, was so accordant with his own system of philosophical inquiry, that he has brought his whole heart to bear on it, and few productions there are which have been so carefully, copiously, and congenially edited. Sir William's philosophy, like that of Reid, had adopted the principle of common sense as the representative of the highest achievements of human speculation, and his editorship was a triumph of genius as well as a labour of love. This edition of the works of Dr. Thomas Reid appeared in 1846, much of it having been printed a long time previous. The latest edition of this work, continued until near his death, indicates also Sir William's long and last illness; for in the foot-notes are references to supplementary dissertations, of which not a word is yet given to us, and a dissertation asserting his own peculiar theory of the association of ideas is broken off abruptly at the end of the volume. Unfortunately also, before this work was finished, his devotedness to the Scottish school of philosophy led him to undertake an edition of the collected works of Dugald Stewart with notes; but this publication, which he commenced in 1854, was never completed, and the biography that was to precede it is wanting. Of his class lectures on logic and metaphysics extensive notes were taken by his students, and numerous copies of them transcribed from short-hand reports were in circulation. These, carefully revised and edited by Professors Mansel and Veitch, were published in four volumes, 1859-1861, but they suffer from the want of his own correcting hand, and are chiefly valuable as introductions to his more profound and elaborate expositions.

Such was Sir William Hamilton—a man of uneventful life, but of world-wide influence and reputation, and whose history cannot well be given without a full detail of those subjects in which his superiority was so strikingly evinced. Such a biography must also be a work of time, and therefore it still remains unwritten. We rejoice, however, to learn that the task has been undertaken, and that a full-length portrait will be given of the man whom the reflective of every country are bound to honour. In the meantime we close this brief account with the following merited testimony by one who could so well appreciate him. Speaking of Sir William's theory of the "conditioned" in a lecture delivered at Magdalen College a few days after Hamilton's death, Professor Mansel thus eloquently added: "But this conception of philosophy, interesting and important as it is, is fraught with painful recollections now. It reminds us that within the last few days we have had to mourn the loss of one, the labour of whose life was devoted to this very object, and whose contributions to the philosophy of the conditioned, fragmentary and incomplete as they are, contain the germ of nearly all that future research can articulately develop, and which none can hope to develop as he, if his life had been longer spared, might have done. For where now, among the philosophers of this or of any other country, shall we find such vast endowments of intellect accompanied by such a just appreciation of their limits? Where shall we find one with a tithe of his attainments who will so consistently, and with such authority, proclaim the duty

of a learned ignorance? Where shall we find one to exhaust, like him, the whole field of philosophical learning, and in the end to proclaim, as the moral and the motto of his whole teaching, 'Magna immo maxima pars sapientiæ est, quædam æquo animo nescire velle?' Above all, in these presumptuous days, when human reason aspires to strip the veil from the hidden things of God, and to proclaim its own speculations as identical with the eternal movements of the divine Mind determining itself in creation, where shall we find a philosopher of such eminence and authority, to announce, as the surest ground of belief in the truth of a philosophical system, that its doctrines are in harmony with those of revelation? It is not now the time to enter upon a fuller examination of the writings of one whose name hereafter will assuredly be reckoned among the greatest in the history of British philosophy:—

'His grave is all too young as yet
To have outgrown the sorrow that consigned
Its charge to it.'

But the place of his early education may be allowed at least a passing tribute to his memory; and if ever the time shall come when the philosophy of the conditioned shall occupy its fitting place as the handmaid and auxiliary of Christian truth, voyaging through the seas of thought with the laws of the human mind for its chart and the word of God for its polestar, among the fathers and teachers of that philosophy, most consulted and most revered, will stand the name of Sir William Hamilton."

HAMILTON, WILLIAM JOHN, Esq., of Holyfield Hall, Essex, and F.G.S. This accomplished scholar, scientific student, and traveller, who pursued knowledge in various departments with disinterested ardour, and won for himself a high name among our most distinguished men of science, was the eldest son of William R. Hamilton, Esq., F.R.S., author of *Egyptiaca*, of whom a memoir has already been given in our pages: his mother was Juliana, daughter of John Udney, Esq., of Udney Castle, Aberdeenshire. He was born in 1805. His education was commenced at the Charterhouse, and subsequently carried on and finished at the university of Göttingen. Being destined for public service in the political department, he connected himself with diplomacy, and in that capacity was successively resident at Madrid, Paris, and Florence. At the foreign office he was *prétis* writer under Lord Aberdeen; but that situation he resigned in 1841, on being elected representative of Newport, Isle of Wight, and this borough he continued to represent in the Conservative interest until 1847.

Contenting ourselves with this brief sketch of his political life, we now proceed to his scientific career. Geology was his favourite department—that science which has been so late in attracting attention, but which so richly rewards investigation, by the revelations of an ancient world which every successive inquiry is bringing more distinctly into view. In 1831 Mr. Hamilton became a member of the Geological Society, and in the following year was elected one of its honorary secretaries; and either this office or that of foreign secretary he continued to occupy with scarcely any interruption until 1854, when he was elected president of the society. His first contribution to geological knowledge was communicated in 1835, from observations he had made in the previous year, and contained proofs of recent elevation of land which he had observed on the coast of Fifeshire. As his love of the science, however, continued to expand, he naturally longed for a wider field of observation, and on this account he formed the plan

of an extensive foreign tour, for the purpose of studying the phenomena of physical geography and geology. He accordingly set off on his enterprise, but was not alone, for he had the good fortune to be accompanied by the late Mr. Hugh Strickland, whose great knowledge in several branches of natural history was of signal use to his enthusiastic fellow-traveller. It was a fortunate combination, the value of which was deeply felt, and is frequently mentioned in the writings of Mr. Hamilton. In their travels the pair commenced, in the summer of 1835, a course of investigations upon the extinct volcanic districts and old lacustrine areas of the Mount Dor and the Vivarais, preparatory to visiting those of Asia Minor; and, passing afterwards by the north of Italy, they visited Trieste, Corfu, Patras, Corinth, Athens, and reached Smyrna by the end of October. In the early part of the following year Mr. Strickland was recalled to England, and Mr. Hamilton had to continue his travels alone; but several papers, the joint observations of their scientific tour, were communicated to the Geological Society. The summer of 1836 was spent by our scientific tourist in the country to the south of the Black Sea, and in November he returned to Smyrna. Resuming his explorations in the following year, he went upon a cruise on board the *Royalist* with Mr. J. Brooke (subsequently Rajah of Sarawak) along the coast of Ionia and Caria, and afterwards he visited for the second time the Catacecaumene, a basin giving proofs of a volcanic character, of which he published a full and detailed account in the *Transactions of the Geological Society*, vol. vi. new series, p. 18. This portion of the ancient kingdom of Lydia was worthy of a repeated investigation, from its geological character, as well as from the remains of great but forgotten cities and classical antiquities which may still be found in that neglected region—and which now found a worthy and interesting exponent in the scientific knowledge and classical learning of Mr. Hamilton. Of his peculiar fitness, indeed, for the field of labour which he had chosen, there could be but one opinion. Independently of his classical scholarship, and knowledge of ancient history and antiquarianism, he was well acquainted with modern languages, French, Italian, German, and Spanish being as familiar to him as his native tongue; he was enthusiastic in research, and observant of every object that met his eye; while his good nature, kindness, and unselfish disposition were a passport that procured him a favourable admission as a traveller into the confidence of those barbarous or churlish communities from which other strangers would have been repelled. All these characteristics can be distinctly read in his "*Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*," with some Account of their Antiquities and Geology," which he published in 1842.

This work, by which he will continue to be best known, is a full record of those travels which we have so briefly enumerated, and which occupy two volumes 8vo, of considerable extent. As we have hinted already, he had frequently communicated the results of his scientific observations to the Geological Society during the course of his journeyings: but the *Transactions* of a scientific society are generally confined to its own members; and he had something else than geology to write of which the intellectual world at large would be glad to know. The result has been these *Researches*, than which we know not a more interesting account of the countries which he visited. It is also a moral and intellectual portrait of the author, and as such cannot be omitted in his memoir, where a likeness of his mind is the principal desideratum.

In reverting to the pages of that work, we have the following statement of the object of his tour:—"In the early part of 1835, while meditating an excursion to the Continent of Europe, I was induced, in preference, to direct my attention to some of the Turkish provinces in Asia, as comparatively unknown, and which could not fail to present discoveries interesting to the antiquary, the geographer, and the geologist. I accordingly arranged a plan, which at the same time promised to gratify my love of travel, and to rekindle those classic associations which are connected with our early habits." Having specified his scientific preparations for such an enterprise, and mentioned the commencement of his travels, he thus affectionately announces his fellow-tourist:—"I consider myself most fortunate in having persuaded Mr. Hugh E. Strickland, of Cracombe House, near Evesham, to accompany me: in proportion to the value of his co-operation, both as a companion and a naturalist, was my regret at our separation, when he was compelled to return to England in the beginning of 1836. The geological investigation of the country has suffered much from this last circumstance: it may be long before a geologist with such an accurate knowledge of conchology will have an opportunity of exploring many parts of the country which I visited. But, in the other branches of natural history, his loss is still more to be regretted. I had some knowledge of geology, but in ornithology, as well as in entomology, Asia Minor would have afforded him an equally abundant harvest." Thus deprived of so efficient a companion, Mr. Hamilton continues to describe his proceedings upon his own resources: "My attention was consequently directed chiefly to the comparative geography of the country, the examination of ancient ruins, and the fixing of positions by astronomical observations. The geology of the country also claimed a large portion of my time; and, considering the difficulty of transport which I had to encounter, I may deem myself fortunate in having made a large collection in rocks and minerals." As these regions in relation to Europe, and for every scientific purpose, were almost entirely *terra incognita*, Mr. Hamilton had an additional labour not always presented by countries that had been great and civilized, and of historical renown, in their day. He therefore adds, "I soon found that the maps of the country were incorrect in the highest degree; in fact, absolutely useless. I therefore spared neither time nor labour in making a careful annotation of time, distances, and directions, by which means, together with astronomical observations for latitude, I hoped to be able to construct a more correct map of those parts of the peninsula through which I had passed. With this object in view, and independently of a very detailed journal, I succeeded in keeping, with a very few exceptions, a minute itinerary of every mile of road, noting the exact time of departure, and, with my compass constantly in hand, the direction of the road, as well as every change, sometimes to the number of twenty or twenty-five in an hour, adding remarks suggested by the physical structure of the country." Of this itinerary Mr. Hamilton has given in the appendix a tabular specimen of the journey of a single day, occupying three closely-printed pages, which is so minute, and withal so exact, that every step of the way is made as familiar to us as any well-known district of our own country. Besides engravings of scenery, and buildings of chief interest, with which he illustrated his publication, it was natural that such care and exactness should be accompanied with a map of the regions he had traversed. This accordingly he constructed on his return to England from

his geographical notes, assisted by his brother, then Commander H. G. Hamilton, R.N.; and the map of Asia Minor illustrative of his journeying is by no means the least useful or interesting part of his *Researches*. After having studied the Turkish character in those provinces where it still presents its best aspects, Mr. Hamilton finds the view so dispiriting, that at the close of his work he thus sums up his experience:—

“There appears to me but one chance, and that, alas! is distant and uncertain, viz. *their conversion* to Christianity. Of this, according to human probabilities, and from what is constantly taking place before our eyes, there is scarcely a hope. The usual result in similar cases would lead us to predict, that even if the faith of the Turks could be shaken; if they could be brought to see the errors and follies with which Mahometanism is charged, and to feel its insufficiency, they would flee from it to infidelity. But why despair? With the favour of God, let us indulge the hope that in his good time he may turn the hearts of this people to himself; that the shackles of the Koran may be unloosed—the religion of Christ be established from Constantinople to the far East; and that the countries which first saw the effects of the Word will no longer be behind the Gentiles in adoring his holy name!”

The later contributions of Mr. Hamilton to geology were connected with the territory of Tuscany; and, from his careful examination of the eocene basin of Mainz, and the collection of fossils he had made there, he was enabled to give the best account of it that had yet appeared. Aware of the importance of conchology in illustrating the tertiary period, he had devoted several years to the study of this department of geological science, and formed a very large collection of shells, the forms and geographical disposition of which threw light upon the tertiary difficulties. It was also with a view of turning this knowledge to account by the aids it furnished to geology, that he joined the Geological Society in its visits to the districts of the faluns of Touraine and the crag of Antwerp. Amidst such labours the Geological Society showed their sense of his scientific services by electing him their president for the second time in 1865. In 1837 he joined the Royal Geographical Society; in 1838 became a member of council, and in 1843 received the founder's medal for his *Researches in Asia Minor*. He was elected vice-president of the same society in 1846, president in May, 1847; was again vice-president in 1849, and member of council in 1851; and till the close of his life was always an active member of the society.

Mr. Hamilton was twice married. The first marriage was in 1832 to Martin, daughter of John Trotter, Esq.; but in the following year he became a widower: his second wife, whom he married in 1838, was the Hon. Margaret, daughter of Henry thirteenth Viscount Dillon, by whom he had three sons. His own death occurred at 23 Chesham Place, S.W., in June 27th, 1867, and he was succeeded in his estates by the only son whom he had by his first wife, Lieutenant-colonel Robert William Hamilton of the Grenadier Guards.

HART, ANDREW, deserves a place in this record, as one of the most distinguished of our early typographers. He flourished in the reign of James VI. Previous to 1600 he was in the habit of importing books from abroad; he was at this time exclusively a bookseller. From a mere bookseller he seems to have gradually become a publisher: several books were printed in Holland about the years 1600 and 1601, “at his expense.” Finally, he added the

business of printing to his other dealings. The productions of his press specify that his shop was in the High Street of Edinburgh, on the north side, opposite the cross; being, by a strange chance, the identical spot from which Mr. Archibald Constable, two hundred years after, issued so many noble efforts of Scottish genius. Hart's edition of the Bible, 1610, has always been admired for its fine typography. He also published a well-known edition of Barbour's *Bruce*. In addition to all other claims upon our praise, Hart was a worthy man. He died in a good old age, December, 1621, as we learn from a notice in Boyd of Trochrig's obituary, quoted below.¹

HAY, DAVID RAMSAY. This eminent house-painter, who exalted his hitherto mechanical profession into the regions of high art, was born in Edinburgh in the year 1798. While still young his father died, leaving a widow and children in destitute circumstances; but the proprietor of the *Edinburgh Courant*, after whom David was named, caused him to be educated for the profession of a printer. The boy, however, had already acquired such a love of drawing as gave him a dislike to printing, and he not only neglected his business as a “reading boy” in the printing-office, but infected the boys of the establishment with his own tastes. His love of colours having thus precluded all inclination for the hue of printer's ink, he at the age of fourteen, and with the consent of his kind patron, apprenticed himself to Mr. Gavin Bengo, a well-known house-painter in Edinburgh, and after learning the rudiments of his future trade, he was set to work in painting, and copying pictures. One of his productions happening to attract the notice of Sir Walter Scott, the latter was so pleased with it that he employed Hay to paint a portrait of his favourite cat. This introduction to the great poet and novelist was the turning-point of Hay's life, and foundation of his future success. Sir Walter, who had often admired his skill in representing dogs and horses, but regretted his ambition of becoming a great artist, from the hardships and failure that might be likely to follow it, called the youth into his room, and expatiated like a father upon the risk of such a venture for life. “You have talents and energy,” he said to Hay, “but who can say whether you have genius? These boyish drawings can never be relied on as proofs of *that*. If you feel within you such a glow of ambition, that you would rather run a hundred chances of obscurity and penury than miss *one* of being a Wilkie—make up your mind, and take the bold plunge; but if your object is merely to raise yourself to a station of worldly comfort and independence—if you would fain look forward with tolerable assurance to the prospect of being a respectable citizen, with your own snug roof over your head, and the happy faces of a wife and children about you,—pause and reflect well.” “I think,” Sir Walter added in conclusion, “profit in Britain is, with very rare exceptions, annexed to departments of obvious and direct utility, in which the mass of the people are concerned; and it has often struck me that some clever fellow might make a good hit, if in place of enrolling himself among the future Raphaels and Vandykes of the Royal Academy, he should resolutely set himself to introducing something of a more elegant style of house-painting.” The advice thus wisely given was as wisely received and adopted, and Hay, by submitting to become the best of house-painters, may have escaped the dis-

¹ Le moy de Dec. 1621, mourut à Edin. le bon homme, Andrew Hart, imprimeur et libraire; décidé en bonne veillesse; homme de bien et notre ancien amy.

appointment, if not the fate, of poor Haydon. Nor did Scott himself go unrewarded for his generous admonition. When in 1824 he had his halls in Abbotsford painted in such a fashion as required taste, skill, and genius for the execution of his gorgeous and original conceptions, the master limner by whom all this was realized was no other than David Ramsay Hay, who addressed himself to the task as a labour of love.

Having now commenced business on his own account, Mr. Hay soon showed not only in practice but by his publications that he was a master of the highest principles of his profession, and could make them available for all the purposes of art. The following is a list of his numerous works connected with the subject:—

In 1828, about which time he also commenced business, he published *The Laws of Harmonious Colouring, &c.*, a work which has gone through six editions. The last of these, which was published in 1847, was almost entirely a new work, with a section on "The Practice of House-painting." This work had the distinguished merit of opening the way to the exposition of much of the science of colour which has been prosecuted by succeeding writers. It also established his business as a house-decorator, as was shown by his rapidly increasing and extensive business, and encouraged him to prosecute his theories on colouring, in which he has made so many discoveries and improvements. In 1842 he published *The Natural Principles and Analogy of the Harmony of Form*. In 1843, *Proportion, or the Geometric Principle of Beauty Analyzed*. In 1844 he published "*An Essay on Ornamental Design, in which its True Principles are Developed and Elucidated*." In 1845 he published *The Principles of Beauty in Colouring Systematized*. In 1846 he published the second edition of *A Nomenclature of Colours*, in which he gave upwards of two hundred examples of colours, and their various hues, tints, and shades. In the same year he also issued from the press *First Principles of Symmetrical Beauty*. In 1849 appeared his work *On the Science of those Proportions by which the Human Head and Countenance, as represented in Ancient Greek Art, are distinguished from those of Ordinary Nature*. In 1851 he published *The Geometric Beauty of the Human Figure Defined*, to which was prefixed "A System of Æsthetic Proportion applicable to Architecture and other Formative Arts." In 1852 he published *The Natural Principles of Beauty as Developed in the Human Figure*. In 1853, *The Orthographic Beauty of the Parthenon referred to a Law of Nature*, to which he prefixed "A Few Observations on the Importance of Æsthetic Science as an Element in Architectural Education." In 1855, *The Harmonic Law of Nature applied to Architectural Design*. In 1856, *The Science of Beauty, as developed in Nature, and applied to Art*.

All these works were extensively illustrated, and have been most favourably received. Their number and variety are a proof of how completely his heart was absorbed in the beauty of form and colour, and how closely he had studied the principles upon which they are founded; and if not an artist in the practical sense of the term, he was at least a distinguished critic in art, and an able instructor of those who prosecuted it. Nor did he the while neglect his business as a house-painter, into which he introduced several important improvements, and the decorations of the meeting-hall of the London Society of Arts were designed and executed by him about the year 1846. Enriched by his success in a profession which he had exalted from a mechanical trade into one of the fine arts, and honoured and esteemed

by artists and men of taste, Mr. David Ramsay Hay continued his labours until they were interrupted by frequent attacks of indisposition during the latter years of his life. He died at his house, Jordan Bank, Morningside, on the 10th of September, 1866, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

HEADRICK, REV. JAMES. Of the life of this talented agriculturist and mineralogist we have very few particulars. He was born in 1758, and having studied for the ministry, was presented in 1809 to the parish of Dunnichen in Forfarshire. But although he had reached the age of fifty-one before this promotion awaited him, his previous life had not been spent in idleness. An enthusiast in natural science, he had travelled over the three kingdoms, studying agriculture and mineralogy; many large and valuable estates were planned by him, and improved under his directions; and he was author of an excellent analysis of lime published in the *Farmer's Magazine*.

These pursuits naturally drew Headrick into friendly intimacy with the Rev. David Ure, afterwards author of the *History of Rutherglen and Kilbride*, and along with Ure he was employed by Sir John Sinclair in the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, for which he drew up the details relating to the county of Forfar. He also wrote a short memoir of Ure, which was published in the *Scots Magazine* for December, 1808. But a still more important work was published by Headrick in 1807, under the title of "*View of the Mineralogy, Agriculture, Manufactures, and Fisheries of the Island of Arran, with Notices of Antiquities, and Suggestions for Improving the Agriculture and Fisheries of the Highlands and Isles of Scotland*." This work, which the author dedicated to Sir Joseph Banks, was, independently of its extensive information on other subjects, the best work extant on the geology of Arran, until it was superseded by the improved science of a later date. Besides this, he published, in *Nicolson's Journal* for 1807, "Some Mineralogical and Geological Observations made in the Isle of Arran." In 1813 another work of Headrick's appeared with the title, "*General View of the Agriculture of the County of Angus or Forfarshire, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*," 1813, 8vo.

This comprises the list of Headrick's authorship, which was probably exchanged for the cares and duties of a country minister, and we learn nothing farther of him except that he died at the manse of Dunnichen, on March 31, 1841, aged eighty-three years.

HEATHFIELD, LORD. See ELLIOT, GEORGE AUGUSTUS.

HENDERSON, ALEXANDER, one of the most eminent of the many eminent men whose names are interwoven with the annals of Scotland at probably the most interesting period of her history (the middle of the seventeenth century), was born about the year 1583. He is supposed to have been descended from the Hendersons of Fordel, "a house," says Wodrow, "of good quality in Fife." Of his early life there is little farther known than that he was distinguished for his assiduity and progress in learning, in which he greatly excelled all his school-fellows. Having been sent to the university of St. Andrews to complete his studies, he there went through the ordinary routine of learning, but with much more than ordinary reputation, a circumstance sufficiently evinced by his having been made Master of Arts, and soon after admitted regent or professor of philosophy.

As this appointment took place previous to the year 1611, when he could not be more than eight-and-twenty years of age, it is evident that Henderson was already considered a man of no common attainments. The situation of professor of philosophy he held for several years, discharging its duties with a zeal and ability which acquired him much reputation.

It is not surprising to find, that at this period of his life he was a strenuous advocate for the dominant or episcopal party in the church. His patrons hitherto were of that party. He had long associated with men who entertained its principles, and, unable to foresee the great changes which were about to take place in the civil and religious polity of the kingdom, as well as that which afterwards happened in his own private sentiments, he naturally enough, while perfectly sincere in the opinions which he then entertained on religious matters, conceived besides, that in the direction of these opinions, and in that direction alone, lay the road to preferment. Inspired by the ambition of a mind conscious of its powers, Henderson, after the lapse of a few years, becoming impatient of the circumscribed sphere to which a professorship of philosophy confined him, turned his attention to divinity, as opening a wider field for the exercise of his talents.

After preparing himself for the ministerial calling, he was appointed to the church of Leuchars, in Fife, through the patronage of Archbishop Gladstones. His appointment, however, was exceedingly unpopular: all his talents and learning could not reconcile his parishioners to a man introduced amongst them by episcopal influence, and who was known to be himself of that detested party. The consequence was, that on the day of his ordination he was received with every mark of popular dislike. The church doors were shut against him and carefully secured in the inside, to prevent all possibility of admittance. Determined, however, in despite of these very manifest tokens of public feeling, to perform the ceremony of ordination, Henderson's party entered the church by a window, and proceeded with the business of the day.

Whatever were Mr. Henderson's other merits, and these were certainly of no ordinary kind, it is known that any extraordinary anxiety about the spiritual interests of his parishioners was not amongst the number. At this period of his life, in short, although not remarkable for the reverse, he seems to have been but slightly impressed with the sacredness of his new calling, and to have taken but little farther interest in matters of religion, than abiding by the general principles in which he had been educated. This conduct, however, and these sentiments were soon to undergo a remarkable change, and that under circumstances in themselves not less remarkable. Having learned that the celebrated Mr. Bruce of Kinnaird was to assist at a communion in the neighbourhood of Leuchars, Henderson, desirous of hearing the preaching of a man who had long been conspicuous as an opponent of the court measures, and whose fame for peculiar gifts in matters of theology was widely spread, repaired to the church where he was officiating. Not choosing, however, to be recognized, he sought to conceal himself in a dark corner of the building. Bruce, nevertheless, seems to have been aware of his presence; or, if not, there was a singular coincidence in the applicability of the text which he chose to the remarkable circumstances which attended Henderson's induction to his charge. Be this as it may, the sermon which followed made such a powerful impression upon him as effected an entire change in his religious conduct

and sentiments; and from being a careless and indifferent pastor over his flock, and an upholder of a system odious in the highest degree to the people, he became a watchful and earnest minister, and a resolute champion in the cause of Presbyterianism.

In three years after his appointment to Leuchars parish, which took place some time previous to the year 1615, Mr. Henderson, though sedulous in the discharge of his ministerial duties since the period of his conversion, made no public appearance on the side of that party whose principles he had embraced. The opportunity, however, which was all that was wanting for his making such an appearance, at length presented itself. In August, 1618, the celebrated five articles of Perth, which occasioned so much clamour in Scotland, from their containing as many points of episcopal worship, which James was desirous of thrusting on the people of that kingdom, having been carried by a packed majority in an assembly held at Perth, Henderson stood among the foremost of those who opposed, though unsuccessfully, the obnoxious measure; and this too, in defiance of the king's utmost wrath, with which all who resisted the adoption of the five articles were threatened. "In case of your refusal," said the Archbishop of St. Andrews, addressing the assembled clergymen, "the whole order and estate of your church will be overthrown, some ministers will be banished, others will be deprived of their stipends and office, and all will be brought under the wrath of authority."

Not at all intimidated by this insolent and indecent threat, Henderson with several of his brethren courageously opposed the intended innovations. For this resistance, to which was added a charge of composing and publishing a book against the validity of the Perth assembly, he was with other two ministers summoned in the month of August, 1619, to appear before the court of high commission in St. Andrews. Obeying the summons, Henderson and his brethren presented themselves before the bishops, when the former conducted himself with such intrepidity, and discussed the various matters charged against him and his colleagues with such talent and force of reasoning, that his judges, though they eagerly sought it, could gain no advantage over him, and were obliged to content themselves with threatening, that if he again offended he should be more hardly dealt with. With this intimation Henderson and his friends were dismissed. From this period to the year 1637 he does not appear to have meddled much with any transactions of a public character. During this long period he lived retired, confining his exertions within the bounds of his own parish, in which he found sufficient employment from a careful and anxious discharge of his pastoral duties. Obscure and sequestered, however, as the place of his ministry was, his fame as a man of singular capacity, and as an eloquent and powerful debater, was already abroad and widely known; and when the hour of trial came, those talents were recollected, and their possessor called upon to employ them in the behalf of his religion.

Before, however, resuming the narrative of Mr. Henderson's public career, it may be necessary to give a brief sketch of the circumstances which induced him to leave his retirement and to mingle once more in the religious distractions of the times. The unfortunate Charles I., inheriting all the religious as well as political prejudices of his father James VI., had, from the moment of his accession to the throne, entertained the design of regulating church worship in Scotland by the forms observed in that of England. In this attempt he was only following out

an idea of his father's; but what the one with timorous caution had little more than contemplated, the other determined to execute. Unfortunately for Charles he found but too zealous an abettor of his dangerous and injudicious designs in his favourite counsellor in church affairs, Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Encouraged in the schemes of violence which he meditated against the religious principles of Scotland, and urged on to their execution by Laud, Charles, after a series of lesser inroads on the Presbyterian mode of worship in Scotland, finally, and with a rash hand, fired the train which he had prepared, and by which he set all Scotland in a blaze. This was the imposition of the liturgy or service-book on the Church of Scotland. This celebrated book, which was principally composed by Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane, and Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and afterwards revised by Laud, and Wren, Bishop of Norwich, was grounded upon the book of common prayer used in England, but contained, besides, some parts of the Catholic ritual, such as the benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints, the use of the cross in baptism and of the ring in the celebration of marriage, the consecration of water at particular times by prayer, with many other ordinances of a similar character. Most of these observances were introduced by Laud when revising the original work. When the book was completed, the king gave instructions to the archbishops and bishops regarding its introduction; and immediately after issued a proclamation requiring his subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, to conform to the mode of worship which it enjoined, concluding with an order that every parish should be furnished with two copies, between the publication of the injunction and Easter. The book itself, a large folio, was prefaced by a charge from the king, denouncing as rebels all who refused it. To complete the measure of Charles' rashness on the subject of the service-book, it was introduced into Scotland without having been submitted to presbyteries, and without the sanction of the General Assembly.

The consequence of the introduction of the liturgy, aggravated as it was by the manner of its introduction, was, as might have been expected, in the last degree serious and important. The country rose nearly to a man against the Popish innovation. In Edinburgh the bishops who presided at the ceremony of its first introduction were mobbed and maltreated, and the ministers everywhere carefully prepared their congregations to resist the obnoxious volume. The whole land, in short, was agitated by one violent commotion, and the minds of men were roused into a state of feverish excitement, which threatened the most serious results. It was at this critical moment that Henderson came again upon the stage. In the same predicament with other clergymen, Henderson was charged to purchase two copies of the liturgy for the use of his parish within fifteen days, under the pain of rebellion. On receiving the charge, Henderson immediately proceeded to Edinburgh and presented a petition to the privy-council, representing that the service-book had not received the sanction of the General Assembly, nor was authorized by any act of parliament; that the Church of Scotland was free and independent, and ought not to be dictated to except through her own pastors, who were the proper and the best judges of what was for her benefit; that the form of worship received at the Reformation was still sanctioned by the legislature and the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, and could not be invaded excepting by the same authority; that some of the ceremonies enjoined by the book had occasioned great divisions, and were extremely

obnoxious to the people, who had been taught to hold them in abhorrence. This bold statement Henderson concluded by soliciting a suspension of the charge. What hope Henderson entertained that this supplication, or rather remonstrance, would be formally listened to by the privy-council, cannot now be ascertained. There is no reason, however, to conclude that he possessed any secret intelligence regarding the real dispositions of that body. The credit, therefore, must be awarded him of having come forward on this perilous occasion trusting to the strength of his cause alone, and fully prepared to meet the consequences, whatever they might be, of the step which he had taken. The result was more favourable than probably either Henderson or the country expected. The council granted the suspension required, until the king's further pleasure should be known; but, for the remuneration of the king's printer, ordained by an express act, as the decision in Henderson's case was of course understood to apply to the whole kingdom, that each parish should provide itself with two copies of the book, but without any injunction to make use of them. The order for reading the liturgy was also suspended, until new instructions on the subject should be received from his majesty. The king's answer, however, to the representations of the privy-council, at once overturned all hopes of concession in the matter of the liturgy. Instead of giving way to the general feeling, he repeated, in a still more peremptory manner than at first, his commands that the service-book should be read, and farther ordered that no burgh should choose a magistrate which did not conform. This uncompromising and decided conduct on the part of the king was confronted by a similar spirit on the part of the people, and the path which Henderson had first taken was soon crowded by the highest and mightiest in the land, all pushing onward with the utmost eagerness and zeal to solicit the recall of the obnoxious liturgy, and discovering on each repulse and on the appearance of each successive obstacle to their wishes, a stronger and stronger disposition to have recourse to violence to accomplish their object, if supplication should fail. On the receipt of the king's last communication on the all-engrossing subject of the service-book, the nobility, barons, ministers, and representatives of burghs presented a supplication to the privy-council, entreating that the matter might be again brought before the king. In this and in all other matters connected with it Henderson took a leading part: he suggested and directed all the proceedings of the nonconformists; drew up their memorials and petitions, and was, in short, at once the head and right hand of his party, the deviser and executor of all their measures.

The result of this second supplication to the king was as unsatisfactory as the first. The infatuated monarch, urged on by Laud, and in some measure by erroneous impressions regarding the real state of matters in Scotland, still maintained his resolutions regarding the liturgy. He, however, now so far acknowledged the appeals which had been made to him, as to have recourse to evasion, instead of direct opposition as at first, a course at all times more dangerous than its opposite; inasmuch as, while it exhibits all the hostility of the latter, it is entirely without its candour, and is destitute of that manfulness and promptitude which, if it does not reconcile, is very apt to subdue. In place of giving any direct answer to the supplication of the nobility and barons, the king instructed his privy-council in Edinburgh to intimate to the people by proclamation, that there should be nothing regarding church matters treated of in the council for some

time, and that, therefore, all persons who had come to Edinburgh on that account should repair to their homes within twenty-four hours, on pain of being denounced rebels, *put to the horn*, and all their movable goods being escheat to the king. This proclamation was immediately followed by another, announcing an intended removal of the court of session from Edinburgh to Linlithgow; and this again by a third, calling in, for the purpose of being burned, a pamphlet lately published against the service-book.

These proclamations, which but too plainly intimated that nothing would be conceded to supplication, and that there was no hope of any change in the sentiments of the king, instantly called forth the most decided expressions of popular resentment and determination. The city was at this moment filled with strangers—noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, and commissioners from the different parishes, besides immense numbers of persons of inferior rank, whom curiosity or interest in the engrossing topic of the day had assembled in the metropolis from all parts of the country. The town, thus surcharged, as it were, with inflammable matter, soon became a scene of violence and insubordination. The leaders of the nonconformists again met in the midst of the storm, and in defiance of the proclamation which enjoined their departure, proceeded to deliberate upon the question of what was next to be done. The result was some farther supplications and petitions to the privy-council and to the king. These, however, being still unsuccessful, were followed up some months afterwards by a determination to appeal to the people, to unite them in one common bond, and to make the cause at once and unequivocally the cause of the whole nation. The leaders resolved to adopt a measure which should involve all in its results, be it for good or for evil; by which, in short, not a leader or leaders, nor a party, but an entire kingdom, should stand or fall, by swearing before their God to peril the alternative.

This measure was a renewal of the national covenant of 1580 and 1581, adapted, by changes and additions, to the existing circumstances. The remodelled document was drawn up by Mr. Henderson, with the assistance of the celebrated Archibald Johnstone, an advocate, and was first exhibited for signature, February 28th, 1638, in the Grayfriars' Church in Edinburgh, where an immense multitude had assembled, for the purpose of hailing the sacred document, and of testifying their zeal in the cause which it was intended to support, by subscribing it. On this occasion Henderson addressed the people with so much fervour and eloquence, that their feelings, already excited, were wound up to the highest pitch, and a degree of enthusiasm pervaded the multitude which sufficiently assured their leaders of the popularity of their cause. The instrument itself, which was now submitted for signature, was a roll of parchment four feet long and three feet eight inches broad; yet such was the general zeal for the covenant, that this immense sheet was in a short time so crowded with names on both sides throughout its whole space, that there was not room latterly for a single additional signature; even the margin was scrawled over with subscriptions, and as the document filled up, the subscribers were limited to the initial letters of their names. Copies were now sent to different parts of the kingdom, and met everywhere, excepting in three places to be afterwards named, with the same enthusiastic reception which had marked its appearance in Edinburgh, receiving thousands of signatures wherever it was exhibited. The three excepted places were Glasgow, St. Andrews, and

Aberdeen. In the two former, however, the feeling regarding the covenant amounted to little more than indifference; but in the latter city it was absolutely resisted. Anxious to have the voice of all Scotland with them, and especially desirous that there should not be so important an exception as Aberdeen, the leaders of the Covenanters despatched several noblemen and two clergymen, one of whom was Henderson, to that city, to attempt to reclaim it; and this object, chiefly through the powerful eloquence of the subject of this memoir, they accomplished to a very considerable extent, obtaining no less than 500 signatures, many of them of the highest respectability, immediately after the close of a discourse by Mr. Henderson, in which he had urged the most irresistible arguments for the subscribing of the covenant. Mr. Henderson was now universally acknowledged as the head of the nonconforming Scottish clergy. On his moderation, firmness, and talent they reposed their hopes; and to his judgment they left, with implicit confidence, the guidance and direction of their united efforts. Of this feeling towards him they were now about to afford a remarkable proof. The king, though still without any intention of yielding to the demands of the Covenanters, having consented that a General Assembly should be held, empowered his commissioner the Marquis of Hamilton to convoke it. On the second day of the meeting of this celebrated assembly, which sat down at Glasgow on the 21st November, 1638, Mr. Henderson was chosen moderator, without one single dissenting voice. To form a correct idea of the general esteem for his amiable qualities, and the appreciation of his abilities which this appointment implied, it is necessary to consider all the singular and important circumstances connected with it—circumstances which altogether rendered it one of the utmost delicacy, difficulty, and hazard. He was, at a moment of the most formidable religious distraction, called upon to preside over an assembly whose decisions were either to allay or to promote that distraction; who were to discuss points of serious difference between their sovereign and the nation; who were to decide, in short, whether the nation was to proclaim open war against their sovereign—a sovereign backed by a nation of much greater power and larger population; an assembly by whose proceedings the religious liberties of the kingdom were either to stand or fall; and one, in consequence, on which the eyes of the whole people were fixed with a gaze of the deepest and most intense interest. Important, however, and responsible as the appointment was, Henderson was found more than equal to it, for he conducted himself on this trying occasion not only with a prudence and resolution which increased the respect and admiration of his own party for his character and talents, but with a forbearance and urbanity which secured him also the esteem of those who were opposed to them. "We have now," said Henderson at the conclusion of the eloquent and impassioned address which terminated the sittings of the assembly, "we have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite:" a sentence which comprised typically all that had been done and all that would be done in the event of such an attempt being made. Episcopacy was overthrown, the king's authority put at defiance, and such an attitude of hostility to the court assumed as fell short only of a declaration of open war.

Such was the accession of popularity which Henderson's conduct procured him on this occasion, that, a day or two before the rising of the assembly, two supplications were given in from two different places

earnestly soliciting his pastoral services, the one from St. Andrews, the other from Edinburgh. Henderson himself was extremely unwilling to obey either of these calls. Strongly attached to Leuchars, the charge to which he had been first appointed, and which he had now held for many years, he could not reconcile himself to the idea of a removal, pleading in figurative but highly expressive language, that "he was now too old a plant to take root in another soil." The supplicants, however, with a flattering perseverance pressed their suits, and after a strenuous contest between the two parties who sought his ministry, he acquiesced in a removal to Edinburgh; in favour of which the competition terminated by a majority of seventy-five votes. He only stipulated, that when old age should overtake him, he should be permitted to remove again to a country charge. Soon after his removal to Edinburgh he was promoted to be, what was then called, first or king's minister. This change, however, in no way abated his zeal in the cause of the covenant; he still continued to be the oracle of his party, and still stood with undisputed and unrivalled influence at the head of the church as now once more reformed.

In the year after his translation to Edinburgh (1639) he was one of the commissioners deputed by the Scottish army, then encamped on Dunse Law, to treat with the king, who, with his forces, had taken post at the Birks, a plain on the English side of the Tweed, within three or four miles of Berwick. During the whole of the various negotiations which took place at this critical and interesting juncture, Henderson conducted himself with his usual ability, and moreover with a prudence and candour which did not escape the notice of the king. One of the well-known results of these conferences was the meeting in Edinburgh of the General Assembly in the following month of August. On this occasion the Earl of Traquair, who was now his majesty's commissioner, was extremely desirous that Mr. Henderson should be re-elected moderator, a sufficient proof of the estimation in which he was held by men of all parties. The idea, however, of a constant moderatorship was exceedingly unpopular, and contrary to the constitution of the church; and the suggestion of Traquair was overruled to the entire satisfaction of Mr. Henderson himself, who was one of the most strenuous opponents of the proposition. As former moderator, however, he preached to the assembly, and towards the close of his discourse addressed the Earl of Traquair—"We beseech your grace," he said, "to see that Cæsar have his own; but let him not have what is due to God, by whom kings reign. God hath exalted your grace unto many high places within these few years, and is still doing so. Be thankful, and labour to exalt Christ's throne. When the Israelites came out of Egypt they gave all the silver and gold they had carried thence for the building of the tabernacle; in like manner your grace must employ all your parts and endowments for building up the church of God in this land." He next addressed the members, urging them to persevere in the good cause, but carefully inculcating prudence and moderation in all their doings; for zeal, he said, without these was "like a ship that hath a full sail, but no rudder."

On the 31st of the same month (August) Mr. Henderson was called upon to preside, in his clerical capacity, at the opening of the parliament, and on that occasion delivered a most impressive discourse, in which he treated of the duties and utility of governors with singular ability and judgment.

A proof still more flattering, perhaps, than any he had yet received of the estimation in which his char-

acter and talents were held, was afforded him in the following year (1640). Previous to this period the college of Edinburgh was without any presiding officer to regulate its affairs, these receiving only such attention as might result from an annual visit of the town-council. As this was little more than a visit of ceremony, the system of education, and almost everything else connected with the university, was in a most deplorable condition. To remedy these evils the town-council came to the resolution of having a rector appointed, to be chosen annually, and whose duty it should be to direct all matters connected with the college, to keep an eye on the conduct of the principal and professors, and to superintend the education of the students, and the disposal of the revenues. To this honourable and highly responsible office Mr. Henderson was unanimously elected; an appointment not more indicative of the general opinion entertained of his moral qualities, than of his learning and abilities; for besides the merely legislative duties which were connected with it, the rector, by the constitution of the office, was to be invited by the preses at all solemn meetings of the college, "to go before the rest in all public disputes of philosophy and divinity."

Mr. Henderson, notwithstanding his other various and important avocations, discharged the duties of this office with an attention, ability, and judgment which soon placed the university on a very different footing from what it had hitherto been. He added to and improved its buildings and its approaches, bestowed especial care on the education of candidates for the ministry, instituted a professorship of oriental languages, a department which had previously been greatly neglected, to the serious injury, in particular, of the students of divinity, whose knowledge of the Hebrew was left to be gleaned from one short weekly lecture on that language; and, in short, he overlooked nothing which could contribute to its interests and prosperity. His own personal influence, together with the high respectability which his sagacious administration had procured for the college, was so great, that the citizens of Edinburgh, with a spirit of emulation which was very far from existing before, strove who should most contribute to the accommodation of its members. The consequence of these judicious and important services was, that Mr. Henderson was continued, by re-election, in the office of rector till his death.

From these peaceful pursuits Henderson was occasionally directed to take a share in the renewed distractions of the times. The king having refused to ratify some of the points agreed upon at the Birks, both parties again took up arms: Charles, denouncing the Covenanters as rebels, marched towards Scotland with an army; while the latter, with 23,000 or 24,000 men, penetrated into England. Some partial successes of the Scottish army on this occasion, together with some defections in his own, again brought the unfortunate monarch to pacificatory terms with the Covenanters. A conference was begun at Ripon, and afterwards, as the king's presence was required in London, transferred to that city. The commissioners who were despatched thither by the Covenanters to conclude the conference, took with them several of the most popular of the clergy, and amongst these was Mr. Henderson, on whose talents they relied for all the subsidiary efforts which were at once to bring the conference to an issue satisfactory to themselves, and to impress the English with a favourable opinion of their cause. Both of these objects they accomplished, and that in no small measure by means of the impressive eloquence and literary talents of Mr. Henderson, who, besides exerting himself in the

pulpit and elsewhere in forwarding the views of the commissioners by discourses and lectures, wrote also several able tracts and papers which attracted much attention, and produced important effects in favour of the cause which he had come to support.

During Mr. Henderson's stay in London on this occasion, he had an interview with the king, by whom he was graciously received. The conference was a private one, and although on the part of Henderson it was sought specially for the purpose of soliciting a favour for the university of Edinburgh, it is not unlikely that it embraced objects of much greater interest. On his return to Edinburgh in July, 1641, having been detained in London nine months, he was again chosen moderator of the General Assembly, then sitting at Edinburgh, and which had removed thither from St. Andrews, where it first met, for the greater convenience of the nobles who were attending parliament, and (a striking proof of his importance) that it might at this critical period have the advantages of Mr. Henderson's services as moderator.

On this occasion Mr. Henderson delivered to the assembly a letter from a number of ministers in London, requesting the advice of their Scottish brethren on certain points of church government. In some perplexity they had written, "That almighty God having now of his infinite goodness raised up our hopes of removing the yoke of Episcopacy (under which we have so long groaned), sundry other forms of church government are by sundry sorts of men projected to be set up in the room thereof." Henderson was instructed to reply to this letter. In his answer he expressed, in the name of the assembly, the deep interest which they took in the state of what they called, by a somewhat startling association of words, the Kirk of England, and earnestly urged a uniformity in church government throughout Britain. Soon after this (14th August) the unfortunate Charles arrived in Edinburgh. Foreseeing the approaching war between himself and his English parliament, he had come down to Scotland with the humiliating view of paying court to the leaders of the Presbyterian body, and of following up, by personal condescensions, the concessions by which he had already recovered, for the time at least, the favour of that party; thus hoping to secure the aid of Scotland when he should be assailed by his subjects at home—the unhappy monarch's situation thus much resembling that of a bird closely pursued by a hawk, and which, preferring a lesser to a greater evil, flies to man for protection. On this occasion the king appointed Mr. Henderson his chaplain, and by this well-judged proceeding at once gratified the people, whose favourite preacher he had long been, and not improbably also gratified his own predilection in his favour, resulting from Henderson's temper and moderation in those instances where they had been brought in contact. Henderson constantly attended the king during the time of his residence in Edinburgh, praying every morning and evening before him, and preaching to him in the chapel royal at Holyrood House every Sunday, or standing by his chair when another performed that duty. Henderson, who, although of incorruptible integrity, and a zealous Presbyterian, as the share which he took in the struggles of that party sufficiently witness, was yet a mild and humane man, could not help sympathizing with the sorrows of his unfortunate sovereign. The religion of which he was so eminent a professor taught him to entertain charitable and benevolent feelings toward all mankind, and his was not the disposition to except an humbled and unhappy prince from this universal precept, whatever were the faults

VOL. II.

which had placed him in these melancholy circumstances. The mild and amiable disposition of the man, too, which frequent interviews must have forced upon Henderson's notice, must have in some measure obliterated in his mind the errors of the monarch. It was hard, then, that Henderson for this sympathy, for opening his heart to the best feelings of humanity, for practising one of the first and most amiable virtues which the Christian religion teaches and enjoins, should have been, as he was, subjected to the most bitter calumnies on his character and motives. These calumnies affected his pure and generous nature deeply, and in the next assembly he entered into a long and impassioned defence of those parts of his conduct which slander had assailed. His appeal touched the hearts and excited the sympathy of his brethren, who assured him of their unshaken confidence in his integrity.

This assurance restored the worthy divine to that cheerfulness of which the injurious reports which had gone abroad regarding him had for some time deprived him. If anything were wanting to establish Henderson's character for integrity besides the public testimony of his brethren, it is to be found in the opinion of one who widely differed from him regarding the measures of the day, bearing witness that "his great honesty and unparalleled abilities to serve this church and kingdom did ever remain untainted."

In 1642 Mr. Henderson conducted the correspondence with England which now took place on the subject of ecclesiastical reformation and union, and was soon after desired to hold himself in readiness with certain other commissioners to proceed to England, in the event of such a proceeding being necessary. After some delay, occasioned by the open rupture which took place between the king and the English parliament, Henderson with the other commissioners set out for the sister kingdom. While there he used every effort, but unfortunately to no purpose, to effect a reconciliation between Charles and his English subjects; he proposed to the king to send the queen to Scotland, with the view of exciting an interest in his behalf. He even went to Oxford, where the king then was, to endeavour to prevail upon him, at a personal interview, to make some advances towards a reconciliation, and at the same time to offer him the mediation of Scotland. All his efforts, however, were unavailing; the king, in place of acknowledging error, endeavoured to defend the justice of his cause, and on better grounds expressed high indignation at the interference of the Scots in the church reformation of England. Finding he could be of no further service, Henderson, together with his colleagues, returned to Edinburgh, where his conduct throughout the whole of this delicate mission was pronounced by the General Assembly to have been "faithful and wise." In 1643 he was once more chosen moderator of the General Assembly under peculiar circumstances. This was the presence in that body of the English commissioners sent down to Scotland by the parliament of England, to solicit the aid and counsel of the former in their present emergency. Mr. Henderson, with several other commissioners, was soon after sent up to London to attend the celebrated Westminster Assembly of Divines, to represent in that assembly the Church of Scotland, and to procure its assent, with that of both houses of parliament, to the solemn league and covenant; all of which important duties, with the assistance of his colleagues, he discharged with his usual ability and judgment. On this occasion he remained for three years in London, during all which time he was

61

unremittingly employed in assisting the assembly in preparing the public formularies of the religious union between the three kingdoms. In 1645 he was appointed to assist the commissioners of the Scottish and English parliaments to treat with the king at Uxbridge, and finally was deputed to negotiate with the latter, when his fortunes had reached a crisis, at Newcastle. Henderson arrived on his mission at Newcastle about the middle of May, 1646, and met with a cordial reception from his majesty. After some discussion on religious subjects, it was agreed that the scruples of the king should be treated of in a series of papers written alternately by his majesty and Henderson. In the last of these papers, addressed by the former to the latter, and all of which and on both sides were written with great talent, the king at once expressing his high opinion of Mr. Henderson, and his determination to adhere to the sentiments which he had all along entertained, says, "For instance, I think you the best preacher in Newcastle, yet I believe you may err, and possibly a better preacher may come, but till then must retain my opinion." Immediately after this, Henderson, whose health was now much impaired, returned to Edinburgh by sea, being unable to bear the fatigue of travelling by land. The illness with which he was afflicted rapidly gained upon him, and he at length expired on the 19th of August, 1646, in the sixty-third year of his age, not many days after his return from Newcastle. After the death of this celebrated man his memory was assailed by several absurd and unfounded calumnies. It was alleged that he died of mortification at his having been defeated in the controversy with the king; others asserted that he had been converted by the latter, and that on his death-bed he had expressed regret for the part he had acted, and had renounced Presbytery. All of these charges were completely refuted by the General Assembly, who, taking a becoming and zealous interest in the good name of their departed brother, established his innocence on the testimony of several clergymen, and still more decisively by that of the two who attended him on his death-bed, and who heard him in his last moments pray earnestly for a "happy conclusion to the great and wonderful work of reformation." Henderson was interred in the Grayfriars' Churchyard, where a monument was erected to his memory by his nephew Mr. George Henderson. This monument, which was in the form of an obelisk, with suitable inscriptions on its four sides, was, with others of the leading Covenanters, demolished at the Restoration, but was again replaced at the Revolution.

This sketch of one of the greatest divines that Scotland has produced, cannot be better concluded than in the following estimate of his character by Dr. Thomas M'Crie, who had intended to add a life of Henderson to his lives of Knox and Melville, but proceeded no further than the outline sketched in his miscellaneous writings:—"Alexander Henderson was enriched with an assemblage of endowments which have rarely met in one man. He possessed talents which fitted him for judging and giving advice about the political affairs of a nation, or even for taking an active share in the management of them, had he not devoted himself to the immediate service of the church, and the study of ecclesiastical business. He was not more distinguished by the abilities which he displayed in his public conduct, than by the virtues which adorned his private character. Grave, yet affable and polite—firm and independent, yet modest and condescending—he commanded the respect and conciliated the affection of all who were acquainted with him; and the more intimately his friends knew

him, they loved him the more. The power of religion he deeply felt, and he had tasted the comforts of the gospel. Its spirit, equally removed from the coldness of the mere rationalist and the irregular fervours of the enthusiast, breathed in all his words, and actions. The love of liberty was in him a pure and enlightened flame; he loved his native country, but his patriotism was no narrow, illiberal passion; it opened to the welfare of neighbouring nations, and of mankind in general. . . . Called forth by the irresistible cry of his dear country, when he found her reduced to the utmost distress by the oppression of ambitious prelates, supported by an arbitrary court and corrupt statesmen, he came from that retirement which was congenial to him, and entered upon the bustle of public business at a time of life when others think of retiring from it. Though he sighed after his original solitude, and suffered from the fatigues and anxiety to which he was subjected, yet he did not relinquish his station, nor shrink from the difficult tasks imposed upon him, until his feeble and shattered constitution sunk under them, and he fell a martyr to the cause."

HENDERSON, THOMAS. This distinguished astronomer, whose name is associated with the discovery of the parallax of the fixed stars, was the son of a respectable tradesman of Dundee, and born in that town, December 28, 1798. After the ordinary education furnished by the schools of Dundee, he was apprenticed for six years to a writer, or attorney, at the end of which period, and at the age of twenty-one, he was sent to Edinburgh to complete his education for the legal profession. After occupying for some time a situation in the office of a writer to the signet, he became secretary to John Clerk, advocate, afterwards a lord of session, with the title of Lord Eldin; subsequently he was private secretary to the Earl of Lauderdale; and afterwards clerk to the lord-advocate, Jeffrey. These situations he successively occupied until the year 1831. During his residence, however, at Dundee, he had acquired a taste for practical astronomy, as well as for its history and literature, and on removing to Edinburgh he continued to devote his leisure time to the prosecution of his favourite science, using for that purpose the observatory on the Calton Hill, at that time indifferently furnished with instruments, but still valuable for the instruction of a learner. It speaks much for the perseverance of Henderson, that in spite of weak health, and especially a tendency to disorder in the eyes, a malady the most unfavourable for astronomical observations, he had already acquired reputation as an astronomer, although he had cultivated the science only at leisure hours, and as a recreation.

In 1824 Mr. Henderson's first contribution to astronomy was a paper sent to Dr. Thomas Young, the then secretary to the Board of Longitude, and superintendent of the *Nautical Almanac*, upon the method of computing an occultation of a fixed star by the moon; and this was followed during the four subsequent years by such valuable contributions, that they were published in the *Nautical Almanac*. Nor was this all, for Dr. Young at his death handed a memorandum to Professor Rigaud expressive of his opinion that no one was so well qualified to be his successor as Mr. Henderson. But the admiralty, notwithstanding this strong recommendation, appointed Mr. Pond, the astronomer-royal, to the superintendence of the *Nautical Almanac*. The latter, under a full sense of Henderson's value, offered him employment for the greater part of his time upon remunerative terms; but this offer Henderson did not accept. This was in 1829, but during the pre-

vious year Henderson had experienced another and a similar disappointment. The chair of practical astronomy in the university of Edinburgh having become vacant by the death of Dr. Blair, the recommendations were strong for the appointment of Henderson to the vacant charge; but although government held the appointment, no nomination at that time took place. Henderson however had not been idle in showing his fitness for such important scientific offices. In 1827 he sent a paper to the Royal Society of London, "On the Difference of Meridians of the Observatories of London and Paris," showing a small error that had crept into one of their observations, by which the credibility of the whole might be affected, and rendered of doubtful authority. In 1828, in conjunction with Mr. Maclear, he communicated to the Astronomical Society an ephemeris of the occultations of Aldebaran by the moon. In the following year he calculated for ten different observatories in Europe. He afterwards furnished other lists of lunar occultations computed for the meridian of Greenwich, by which the determining of longitudes was specially benefited.

On the death of Mr. Fallows in 1831, Mr. Henderson was appointed by the admiralty to succeed him in the superintendence of the observatory at the Cape of Good Hope. The observatory had been recently completed, and Henderson's chief occupation there was to determine the places of the southern stars for the aid of navigation. He arrived at the Cape in April, 1832, and from this period, as his biographers have remarked, "he must be considered as a professional astronomer." Here he vigorously commenced his duties; but at the end of little more than twelve months his health and spirits gave way. He was separated from his relatives, he was isolated from scientific associates, and being subject to heart-disease he felt that at any moment he might pass away unnoticed and unknown. He therefore resigned his charge, and returned to Scotland in 1833. But he had been no idler while in office; on the contrary, he had collected a valuable store of observations at the Cape, the reduction of which to practical account he imposed upon himself as a voluntary duty. And this he was enabled satisfactorily to perform in consequence of an agreement between the government and the Astronomical Institution of Edinburgh, the former engaging to appoint and provide for an astronomer, who was also to hold the professorship of practical astronomy in the university. On Lord Melbourne applying to the Astronomical Society of London for advice, they cordially recommended Mr. Henderson, who was accordingly appointed the first astronomer-royal who bore that office in Scotland, and also professor of practical astronomy in Edinburgh, the chair of which had remained unfilled since 1828. Thus was Henderson placed at last in a position beyond his highest hopes, and equal to his utmost wishes, and here he continued until his death, which occurred ten years afterwards. That comparatively short interval comprises the record of an active and studious life, and the list of his astronomical writings, given in the *Annual Report of the Astronomical Society for 1845*, comprises upward of seventy communications of different degrees of bulk and importance, scattered over various scientific journals, independently of five quarto volumes of *Astronomical Observations made at the Royal Observatory of that city*, between the years 1834 and 1839, with a sixth nearly ready for publication. Nor was the reduction into systematic form of his Cape of Good Hope observations forgot; for amidst his many occupations, he gave to the Astronomical Society, in 1837, a catalogue of the declinations of 172 prin-

cipal fixed stars, chiefly in the southern hemisphere. It is to the above-mentioned *Annual Report*, and these volumes of *Astronomical Observations*, that we must refer the reader for a full idea of the nature and value of his discoveries, especially in that of the parallax of the fixed stars. Professor Henderson's death, which was sudden, occurred on the 23d of November, 1844, his wife, a daughter of Mr. Adie, optician, Edinburgh, whom he married in 1836, having died two years previously, after giving birth to an only child.

Independently of his great scientific attainments, and the discoveries with which he enriched astronomy for the improvement of navigation, Professor Henderson was beloved by his friends on account of his social qualities and private worth. Of his public character the following just estimate is given by one who evidently was able to understand and appreciate it:—"In his astronomical career he resembled his friend Mr. Bailey, in bringing to his subject the most methodical habits of business. He was well acquainted with astronomical literature, and with other branches of science; and at different times supplied the places of the professors of mathematics and of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. He formed a great attachment to the methods of the German astronomers, and his models were MM. Bessel and Struve. His determination to be well acquainted with all that was doing abroad made him collect an astronomical library, which, for a man of his very limited means, was of extraordinary extent and goodness; and those who knew him remember the ready manner in which he could produce the results of his reading. Of his writings we may say briefly that, in addition to their valuable masses of observations, they abound in all that distinguishes the astronomer, properly so called, from the noter of phenomena."¹

HENRY THE MINSTREL, more commonly styled **BLIND HARRY**, was a wandering poet of the fifteenth century, who wrote a well-known narrative of the life of Sir William Wallace.

The character of a wandering bard or minstrel was in early ages highly valued and honoured, although at a late period it fell into discredit. **HENRY THE MINSTREL**, or **BLIND HARRY**, had not the fortune to live during the sunshine of his profession; for in the Scottish laws of his own time we find *bards* classed with "*vagabondis, fuilis, and sic like idill peopill*;" but the misfortune of his blindness, and the unquestionable excellence of his talents, would in all probability secure to him a degree of respect and attention which was not then generally bestowed on individuals of his class. Indeed, we learn from Major that the most exalted in the land countenanced the minstrel, and that he recited his poetical narratives before them. Major is the only writer from whom any information regarding Blind Harry is derived, and the meagreness of that information may be judged of when it is known that the whole is comprised in the following brief sentence:—"*Integrum librum Gullielmi Vallacei Henricus, a nativitate luminibus captus, mea infantia tempore cudit; et quæ vulgo dicebantur, carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conscripsit; (ego autem talibus scriptis solum in parte fidem impertior:;) qui historiarum recitatione coram principibus victum et vestitum quo dignus erat nactus est.*"—"Henry, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my infancy composed the whole book of *William Wallace*; and committed to writing in vulgar

¹ Knight's *Biographical Cyclopædia*, art. "Thomas Henderson."

² *Hist. lib. iv. c. 15.*

poetry, in which he was well skilled, the things that were commonly related of him. For my own part, I give only partial credit to writings of this description. By the recitation of these, however, in the presence of men of the highest rank, he procured, as he indeed deserved, food and raiment."

Brief, however, as this passage is, we gather from it the principal points of Henry's life—namely, that he was born blind—that he was well skilled in vernacular poetry—that he composed the book of *William Wallace*—and that by reciting it he procured food and raiment. The passage, also, is the only source from which we can learn the date of the poem or the period when its author flourished. Major was born in the year 1469, and as he says that the book of *William Wallace* was composed in his infancy, Blind Harry must have lived about that time, and the date of this work may be placed between 1470 and 1480. More than this regarding the biography of a once popular poet, and one whose name is still familiar in the mouths of his countrymen, cannot be ascertained. Of the book itself, a few observations may be taken.

"That a man," says Mr. Ellis,¹ "*born blind* should excel in any science is extraordinary, though by no means without example: but that he should become an excellent poet is almost miraculous; because the soul of poetry is description. Perhaps, therefore, it may be easily assumed that Henry was not inferior in point of genius either to Barbour or Chaucer, nor indeed to any poet of any age or country." The question of what a man *might* have been under certain circumstances is one of assumption altogether, and is too frequently used by individuals regarding themselves as a salve for their indolence and imperfections. Neither can we admit that description is the *soul* of poetry: we consider it rather as the outward garb or frame-work of the divine art, which unless inspired by an inward spirit of contemplation, has no further charm than a chronicle or gazetteer. Milton was blind when he composed *Paradise Lost*, and although he had the advantage of Henry in that he *once* saw, yet we have often heard his calamity adduced to increase our wonder and admiration of his great work, whereas, had he retained his eyesight, *Paradise Lost* would probably never have been finished, or, if finished, might not have proved, as it has done, one of the noblest productions which a human being ever laid before his fellow-creatures. Although, however, we disapprove of assuming a possible excellence in Henry had he been blessed with vision, it would be unjust not to acknowledge the disadvantages under which his poem has come down to us. He himself could not write it; nor is there any probability that it was regularly taken down from his dictation; the incorrectness and unintelligibility of many of its passages rather prove that much of it must have been written from recollection, while editors have, in too many instances, from gross misapprehensions, succeeded in rendering absurd what was previously only obscure. With all this the poem is still of extraordinary merit—and, as a poem, is superior to Barbour's or Winton's. In a historical light, doubtless, its value can never be put in competition with the works of the above authors; it is rather a romance than a history, and is full of exaggerations and anachronisms; the narrative Henry professes to have derived from a complete history of Wallace (now lost) written in Latin, partly by John Blair and partly by Thomas Gray; and this circumstance, if true, exculpates the poet from the *invention* at least of its manifold and manifest absurdities.

His information seems to have been, for the period, respectable. In his poem he alludes to the history of Hector, of Alexander the Great, of Julius Cæsar, and of Charlemagne; but without profiting from the character which these heroes exhibited in history, of policy combined with prowess and bravery, he has in his book taken the childish or gross conception of a warrior, and held up Sir William Wallace as a mere man of muscular strength and ferocity—capable of hewing down whole squadrons with his single arm, and delighting in the most merciless scenes of blood and slaughter. It is in this point that the Minstrel is so far inferior to Barbour. He is destitute of that fine balancing of character displayed by the latter, and those broad political views which render *The Bruce* as much a philosophical history as a poem.²

HENRY, DR. ROBERT, an eminent historian, was born in the parish of St. Ninians in Stirlingshire, on the 18th of February, 1718;—his father was James Henry, a respectable farmer in Muirtown of the same parish, who had married the daughter of Mr. Galloway of Burrowmeadow in Stirlingshire. As a respectable farmer's son, young Henry enjoyed opportunities of instruction beyond the average of those who study for the church in Scotland, and he found little difficulty in indulging his inclination to become a member of a learned profession. He commenced his education under Mr. Nicholson of the parish school of St. Ninians, and having attended the grammar-school of Stirling, perfected himself in his literary and philosophical studies at the university of Edinburgh. After leaving that institution, he occupied himself in teaching, the usual resource of the expectants of the Scottish church, and became master of the grammar-school of Annan. The district in which he was so employed was soon afterwards erected into a separate presbytery, and Henry was admitted as its first licentiate, on the 27th of March, 1746. In 1748 he was ordained as clergyman of a congregation of Presbyterians at Carlisle. Here he remained for twelve years, when he was transferred to a similar dissenting congregation at Berwick-upon-Tweed. In 1763 he married Ann Balderston, daughter of Thomas Balderston, surgeon in Berwick. Little is said of this lady by Henry's biographers, except in reference to the domestic happiness she conferred on her husband. During his residence at Berwick Dr. Henry applied his active mind to the preparation of a scheme for establishing a fund to assist the widows and orphans of the dissenting clergymen in the north of England. The admirable fund which had some time previously been so firmly and successfully established for bestowing similar benefits on the families of the clergy of Scotland, formed the model of his imitation; but in assimilating the situation of a dissenting to that of an established church, he laboured under the usual difficulties of those who raise a social fabric which

² In his work entitled *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, Mr. P. F. Tytler has expressed his deliberate conviction, founded upon recent investigations, that the Minstrel holds too low a rank as a credit-worthy historian. "I am persuaded," says Mr. Tytler, "that *Wallace* is the work of an ignorant man, who was yet in possession of valuable and authentic materials. On what other supposition can we account for the fact, that whilst in one page we meet with errors which show a deplorable perversion of history, in the next we find circumstances unknown to other Scottish historians, yet corroborated by authentic documents, by contemporary English annalists, by national monuments and records only published in modern times, and to which the Minstrel cannot be supposed to have had access. The work, therefore, cannot be treated as an entire romance." The ingenious historian then adduces a number of instances in which Henry's statements are proved by lately discovered documents to have been correct.

¹ *Specimens of Early English Poets*, vol. i.

the laws will not recognize and protect. The funds which, in Scotland, were supplied by the annual contribution of the clergy, enforced by act of parliament, depended, in the English institution, on the social and provident spirit of its members. The perseverance of Henry overcame many of the practical difficulties thus thrown in his way: the fund was placed on a permanent footing in the year 1762, and Henry, having for some years undertaken its management, had afterwards the satisfaction to see it flourish, and increase in stability and usefulness as he advanced in years. The design of his elaborate history, which must have gradually developed itself in the course of his early studies, is said to have been finally formed during his residence in Berwick, and he commenced a course of inquiry and reading, which he found that the resources of a provincial town, and the assistance of his literary friends in more favoured situations, were quite incapable of supplying for a subject so vast and intricate, as that of a complete history of Britain from the invasion of Julius Cæsar. In this situation Dr. Henry found a useful friend in Mr. Lawrie, provost of Edinburgh, who had married his sister. The interest of this gentleman procured for his brother-in-law, in the year 1768, an appointment to the ministry of the new Grayfriar's Church in Edinburgh, whence in 1776, he was removed to the collegiate charge of the Old Church.

In the extensive public libraries of Edinburgh Dr. Henry found means of prosecuting his researches with effect. The first volume of his history was published in quarto in the year 1771, the second appeared in 1774, the third in 1777, the fourth in 1781, and the fifth in 1785. The method of treating the subject was original and bold, and one the assumption of which left the author no excuse for ignorance on any subject which had the slightest connection with the customs, intellects, and history of our forefathers, or the constitution of the kingdom. The subject was in the first place divided into periods, which were considered separately, each period occupying a volume. The volume was divided into seven chapters, each containing a distinct subject, linked to the corresponding subject in the next volume by continuance of narrative, and to the other chapters of the same volume by identity of the period discussed. The subjects thus separated were—1st, The simple narrative of the civil and military transactions of the country—2d, The ecclesiastical history—3d, The information which is generally called constitutional, narrating and accounting for the rise of the peculiarities in the form of government, the laws, and the courts of justice—4th, The state of learning, or rather the state of literature which may be called purely scholastic, excluding the fine arts and constitutional and political information—5th, The history and state of arts and manufactures—6th, A history of commerce, including the state of shipping, coin, and the prices of commodities; and lastly, The history of the manners, customs, amusements, and costumes of the people. The writer of a book on any subject on which he is well informed will generally choose that manner of explaining his ideas best suited to his information and comprehension. It may be questioned whether the plan pursued by Henry was adapted for the highest class of historical composition, and if the other great historians who flourished along with him would have improved their works by following his complicated and elaborate system. It is true that mere narrative, uninterwoven with reflection and such information as allows us to look into the hearts of the actors, is a gift entirely divested of the qualities which make it useful; but there are

various means of qualifying the narrative—some have given their constitutional information in notes, or detached passages; others have woven it beautifully into the narrative, and presenting us with the full picture of the times broadly and truly coloured, have prevented the mind from distracting itself by searching for the motives of actions through bare narrative in one part of the work, and a variety of influencing motives to be found scattered through another. The plan which we may say was invented by Dr. Henry, has only been once closely imitated. The imitator was a Scotsman, the subject he encountered, a *History of France*, was still more extensive than that of Henry, and the ignorance the author displayed in some of its minute branches excited ridicule. This is an instance of the chief danger of the system. The acquisition of a sufficient amount of information, and regularity in the arrangement, are the matters most to be attended to; Henry's good sense taught him the latter, his perseverance accomplished the former, and the author made a complete and useful work, inferior certainly, as a great literary production, to the works of those more gifted historians who mingled reflection with the current of their narrative, but better suited to an intellect which did not soar above the trammels of such a division of subject, and which might have fallen into confusion without them. Another imitation of Henry's plan, but with several important modifications, was the *Pictorial History of England*. This work, however, was the production not of one, but of several writers, each taking the department with which he was most conversant, and all the parts harmonized into each other by a talented and competent editor. A third work, an imitation of Henry's plan, but rather in spirit than in form, is the *Comprehensive History of England*. In this, the cumbersome divisions and subdivisions are abandoned, while the more important parts of the subjects on which they treat are given in a single chapter at the close of each epoch, under the title of "The History of Society."

The circumstances of the first appearance of the earlier volumes of this useful book are interesting to the world, from their having raised against the author a storm of hostility and deadly animosity almost unmatched in the annals of literary warfare. The chief persecutor, and grand master of this inquisition on reputation, was the irascible Dr. Gilbert Stuart. The cause of his animosity against a worthy and inoffensive man can only be accounted for by those whose penetration may find its way to the depths of literary jealousy.

The letters of Stuart on the subject have been carefully collected by D'Israeli, and published in his *Calamities of Authors*, and when coupled with such traces of the influence of the persecutor as are to be found scattered here and there among the various periodicals of the age, furnish us with the painful picture of a man of intelligence and liberality made a fiend by literary hate. Stuart commenced his dark work in the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, established under his auspices in 1773. Dr. Henry had preached before the Society (in Scotland) for Promoting Christian Knowledge a sermon, entitled *Revelation the most Effectual Means of Civilising and Reforming Mankind*, and in pursuance of the custom on such occasions, the sermon was published. The sermon was as similar to all others of its class as any given piece of mechanism can be to all others intended for similar purposes; but Stuart discovered audacity in the attempt, and unexpected failure in the execution; it required "the union of philosophy and political skill, of erudition and eloquence, qualities which he was sorry to observe appeared here in no eminent

degree."¹ Dr. Macqueen published a letter in an anonymous form defending the sermon, and the hidden literary assassin boldly maintained it to be the work of Dr. Henry, an accusation not withdrawn till the respectable author announced himself to the world. Dr. Henry was soon after appointed by the magistrates to the situation of morning lecturer to the Tron Church. Under the disguise of the communication of a correspondent who mildly hints that the consequence of the proceeding will be a suit against the magistrates, we find the rounded periods of Stuart denouncing the act in those terms in which indignant virtue traces the mazes of vice and deceit, as "affording a precedent from which the mortifications of the pious may be impiously prostituted to uses to which they were never intended." In token of high respect, the General Assembly had chosen Dr. Henry as their moderator, on his first return as a member of that venerable body; and being thus marked out as a leader in the affairs of the church, he took a considerable share in the proceedings of the ensuing session. Here his enemy keeps an un-sleeping eye on his motions. Whilst the speeches of others are unnoticed or reported in their native simplicity, the narrator prepares himself for the handling of a choice morsel when he approaches the historian. "The opinion of one member," he observes, "we shall lay before the reader on account of its singularity. It is that of Dr. Henry, the moderator of last assembly;"² and then he proceeds to attract the finger of scorn towards opinions as ordinary as any opinions could well be conceived. The Doctor cannot even absent himself from a meeting without the circumstance being remarked, and a cause assigned which will admit the application of a preconceived sneer. Dr. Robertson was the opponent of Dr. Henry in this assembly. The periodical writer was the enemy of both, and his ingenuity has been taxed to bestow ridicule on both parties. Stuart at length slowly approaches the head and front of his victim's offending, and fixes on it with deadly eagerness. After having attacked the other vulnerable points of the author, he rushes ravenously on his History, and attempts its demolition. He finds that the unfortunate author "neither furnishes entertainment nor instruction. Diffuse, vulgar, and ungrammatical, he strips history of all her ornaments. His concessions are evidently contradictory to his conclusions. It is thus perpetually with authors who examine subjects which they cannot comprehend. He has amassed all the refuse and lumber of the times he would record." "The mind of his readers is affected with no agreeable emotions, it is awakened only to disgust and fatigue."³ But Stuart was not content with persecution at home, he wished to add the weapons of others to his own. For this purpose he procured a worthy associate, Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, and author of the *Genuine History of the Britons*. Stuart, a vague theorist in elegant and sonorous diction, who was weak enough to believe that his servile imitations of Montesquieu raised him to a parallel with that great man, associated himself in this work of charity with a minute and pugnacious antiquary, useful to literature from the sheer labour he had encountered, but eminently subject to the prejudices to which those who confine their laborious investigations to one narrow branch of knowledge are exposed;—a person who would expend many quarto pages in discussing a flint arrow-head or a tumulus of stones, occasionally attempting with a broken wing to follow the flights of Gibbon, but

generally as flat and sterile as the plains in which he strove to trace Roman encampments. Two more uncongenial spirits hardly ever attempted to work in concert. It may easily be supposed that the minute antiquary looked with jealousy on the extended theories of his generalizing colleague; and the generalizer, though he took occasion to praise the petty investigations of the antiquary, probably regarded them in secret with a similar contempt. But Stuart found the natural malignity of Whitaker a useful commodity; and the calm good sense of Henry afforded them a common object of hatred. A few extracts will give the best display of the spirit of Stuart's communications to his friends during his machinations. "David Hume wants to review Henry: but that task is so precious, that I will undertake it myself. Moses, were he to ask it as a favour, should not have it; yea, not even the man after God's own heart. I wish I could transport myself to London to review him for the *Monthly*—a fire there, and in the *Critical*, would perfectly annihilate him. Could you do nothing in the latter? To the former I suppose David Hume has transcribed the criticism he intended for us. It is precious, and would divert you. I keep a proof of it in my cabinet, for the amusement of friends. This great philosopher begins to dote."⁴ To-morrow morning Henry sets off for London, with immense hopes of selling his history. I wish sincerely that I could enter Holborn the same hour with him. He should have a repeated fire to combat with. I entreat that you may be so kind as to let him feel some of your thunder. I shall never forget the favour. If Whitaker is in London, he could give a blow. Paterson will give him a knock. Strike by all means. The wretch will tremble, grow pale, and return with a consciousness of his debility. I have a thousand thanks to give you for your insertion of the paper in the *London Chronicle*, and for the part you propose to act in regard to Henry. I could wish that you knew for certain his being in London before you strike the first blow. An inquiry at Cadell's will give this. When you have an enemy to attack, I shall in return give my best assistance, and aim at him a mortal blow; and rush forward to his overthrow, though the flames of hell should start up to oppose me."

Henry was not in possession of the poisoned weapons which would have enabled him to retaliate, and his good sense and equanimity of mind were no permanent protection against assaults so unceasing and virulent. He felt himself the personal subject of ridicule and perversion, his expected gains denied, and the fame which he expected from years of labour and retirement snatched from his grasp by the hand

¹ D'Israeli's *Calamities of Authors*, ii. 67. The author appends in a note, "The critique on Henry, in the *Monthly Review*, was written by Hume, and because the philosopher was candid, he is here said to have doted." We suspect this is erroneous, and founded on mere presumption. We have carefully read the two critiques on Henry in the *Monthly Review*, which appeared previous to Hume's death. The elegance and profundity of Hume are wanting, and in giving an opinion of the work, which is moderate and tolerably just, the reviewer compares it somewhat disparagingly with the works of Hume and Robertson, a piece of conceit and affectation which the great philosopher would not have condescended to perpetrate. That Hume prepared and published a review of Henry's book we have no doubt. In the *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1791, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the same year, a critique is quoted, the work "of one of the most eminent historians of the present age, whose history of the same periods justly possesses the highest reputation." Without the aid of such a statement, the style stamps the author, and we may have occasion to quote it in the text as the work of Hume. Where it made its first appearance, a search through the principal periodicals of the day has not enabled us to discover. It is in the first person singular, and may have been in the form of a letter to the editor of a newspaper.

¹ *Edinburgh Review and Magazine*, i. 199.

² *Ibid.* i. 357.

³ *Ibid.* i. 266-270.

of a ruffian.¹ In the midst of these adversities Henry went to London for actual shelter, but the watchful enemy observed his motions—attacks were inserted in one print and copied into another—the influence of his persecutor is widely perceptible in the periodical literature of the age. The *Critical Review* had praised the first volume of his history. The second meets with a very different reception: "it is with pain the reviewer observes, that in proportion as his narrative and inquiries are applied to cultivated times, his diligence and labour seem to relax," and a long list of alleged inaccuracies, chiefly on minute and disputed points, follows: the style is evidently not the natural language of the pompous Stuart, but it is got up in obedience to his directions on the vulnerable points of the historian, and the minuteness hints at the hand of Whitaker. Henry answered by a moderate letter defending his opinions, and acknowledging one mistake. The reviewer returns to his work with renovated vigour, and among other things accuses the historian of wilfully perverting authority. The charge of dishonesty rouses the calm divine, and with some severity he produces the words of the authority, and the use he has made of them. The editor claims the merit of candour for printing the communication, and as there is no gainsaying the fact it contains, appends an obscure hint which seems to intimate he knows more than he chooses to tell; a mode of backing out of a mistake not uncommon in periodical works, as if the editorial dignity were of so delicate a nature as not to bear a candid and honourable confession of error. Years afterwards, it is singular to discover the *Critical Review* returning to its original tone, and lauding the presence of qualities of which it had found occasion to censure the want. Stuart associated himself with his friend Whitaker in conducting the *English Review* in 1783, and it is singular, that amidst the devastation of that irascible periodical, no blow is aimed at Henry. But Stuart did not neglect his duty in the *Political Herald*, published in 1785, an able disturber of the tranquillity of literature, of which he was the sole conductor. Here he gave his last and deepest stab; accusing the venerable historian in terms the most bitter and vituperative, of a hankering after language and ideas, unworthy of his profession; concluding with the observation that "an extreme attention to smut in a Presbyterian clergyman, who has reached the last scene of his life, is a deformity so shocking, that no language of reprobation is strong enough to chastise it."² The heartless insinuation was probably dictated by the consciousness that, whether true or false, no charge would be more acutely felt by the simple-minded divine. Stuart had, however, a very acute eye towards the real failings of Henry, and in his Protean attacks he has scarcely left one of them without a brand. It was not without reason that he said to his London correspondent, "If you would only transcribe his jests, it would make him perfectly ridiculous." Henry was fond of garnishing with a few sallies of wit his pictures of human folly; but he was unhappy in the bold attempt. They had too much pleasing simplicity and good-humoured grotesqueness for the purpose to which they were applied. More like the good-natured humour of Goldsmith than the piercing sarcasm of Voltaire, they might have served to strike the lighter foibles ex-

hibited in our daily path; but to attack the grander follies of mankind displayed in history, it may be said they did not possess sufficient venom to make formidable so light a weapon as wit.

We have been so much engrossed with the dreary details of malignity that we will scarcely find room for many other details of Henry's life; but the history of the book is the history of the author—in its fate is included all that the world need care to know of the unassuming individual who composed it. It is with pleasure, then, that we turn to the brighter side; Henry calmly weathered out the storm which assailed him, and in his green old age the world smiled upon his labours. Hume, who had so successfully trod the same field, was the first to meet Henry's book with a welcome hearty and sincere; he knew the difficulties of the task, and if he was sufficiently acute to observe that Henry was far behind himself, neither jealousy nor conceit provoked him to give utterance to such feelings. "His historical narratives," says this able judge, "are as full as those remote times seem to demand, and at the same time his inquiries of the antiquarian kind omit nothing which can be an object of doubt or curiosity. The one as well as the other is delivered with great perspicuity, and no less propriety, which are the true ornaments of this kind of writing; all superfluous embellishments are avoided; and the reader will hardly find in our language any performance that unites together so perfectly the two great points of entertainment and instruction." Dr. Henry had printed the first edition of the first five volumes of his book at his own risk, but on a demand for a new edition, he entered into a transaction with a bookseller, which returned him £3300. In the middle of its career the work secured royal attention; Lord Mansfield recommended the author to George III., and his majesty, "considering his distinguished talents and great literary merit, and the importance of the very useful and laborious work in which he was so successfully engaged as titles to his royal countenance and favour," bestowed on him a pension of £100 a year. For the honour of royal munificence it is to be hoped that the gift was the reward of labour and literary merit, and not (as the author's enemies have proclaimed) the wages of the political principles he inculcated. The insinuation is indeed not without apparent foundation. Henry, if not a perverter of history in favour of arbitrary power, is at least one of those prudent speculators who are apt to look on government as something established on fixed and permanent principles, to which all opposing interests must give way—on the government as something highly respectable—on the mass of the people as something not quite so respectable—on the community as existing for the government, and not on the government as adapted to the conveniences of the community.

Five volumes of Dr. Henry's history appeared before his death, and the ample materials he had left for the completion of the sixth were afterwards edited by Mr. Laing, and a continuation was written by Mr. Petit Andrews. The laborious author prepared the whole for the press with his own hand, notwithstanding a tremulous disorder, which compelled him to write on a book placed on his knee. In the latter years of his life he retired to Milnfield, about twenty miles from Edinburgh, where he enjoyed the company of his friend and relative, Mr. Laurie. In 1786 his constitution began visibly to decline; but he continued his labours till 1790. About that period his wife was affected with blindness from a cataract, and he accompanied her to Edinburgh, where she submitted to the usual operation, which, however, had

¹ Behold the triumph of the calumniator in the success of his labours:—"I see every day that what is written to a man's disparagement is never forgot nor forgiven. Poor Henry is on the point of death, and his friends declare that I have killed him: I received the information as a compliment, and begged they would not do me so much honour."—D'Israeli's *Calamities*, ii. 72.

² *Political Herald*, vol. i. p. 209.

not the desired effect during her husband's lifetime. Dr. Henry died on the 24th of November, 1790, in the seventy-third year of his age. The fifth edition of the *History of Britain* was published in 1823, in twelve volumes 8vo. A French translation was published in 1789-96 by MM. Rowland and Cantwell.

HENRYSON, EDWARD, LL.D., an eminent civilian and classical scholar, and a senator of the College of Justice. The period of the birth of this eminent man is unknown; but it must have taken place early in the sixteenth century. Previously to the year 1551 we find him connecting himself, as most Scotsmen of talent and education at that period did, with the learned men on the Continent, and distinguishing himself in his knowledge of civil law, a science which, although it was the foundation of the greater part of the municipal law of Scotland, he could have no ready means of acquiring in his own country. This study he pursued at the university of Bruges under the tuition of Equinar Baro, an eminent civilian, with whom he afterwards lived on terms of intimacy and strong attachment. It is probable that he owed to this individual his introduction to a munificent patron, who afterwards watched and assisted his progress in the world. Ulric Fugger, Lord of Kirchberg and Weissenhome, a Tyrolese nobleman, who had previously distinguished himself as the patron of the eminent Scottish civilian Scrimger, extended an apparently ample literary patronage to Henryson, admitting him to reside within his castle, amidst a large assortment of valuable books and manuscripts, and bestowing on him a regular pension. Henryson afterwards dedicated his works to his patron, and the circumstance that Baro inscribed some of his commentaries on the Roman law to the same individual prompts us to think it probable that Henryson owed the notice of Fugger to the recommendation of his kind preceptor.¹ Dempster, who in his life of Henryson, as usual, refers to authors who never mention his name, and some of whom indeed wrote before he had acquired any celebrity, maintains that he translated into Latin (probably about this period, and while he resided in Fugger's castle) the *Commentarium Stoicorum Contrariorum* of Plutarch; and that he did so must be credited, as the work is mentioned in Quesnel's *Bibliotheca Thuana*; but the book appears to have dropped out of the circle of literature, and it is not now to be found in any public library we are aware of. In the year 1552 he returned to Scotland, where he appears to have practised as an advocate. The protection and hospitality he had formerly received from the Tyrolese nobleman was continued to him by Henry Sinclair, then dean of Glasgow, afterwards bishop of Ross, and president of the Court of Session—thus situated, he is said to have translated the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus, and the *Commentaries* of Arrian; but the fruit of his labours was never published, and the manuscript is not known to be in existence. Again Henryson returned to the Continent, after having remained in his native country for a short period, and the hospitable mansion of Fugger was once more open for his reception. About this period Baro, whom we have mentioned as Henryson's instructor in law, published a *Tractatus on Jurisdiction*, which met an attack from the civilian Govea, which, according to the opinion expressed by Henryson as an opponent, did more honour to his talents than to his equanimity and candour. Henryson defended his master in a controversial pamphlet of some length, entering with vehemence into the

minute distinctions which at that period distracted the intellects of the most eminent juriconsults. This work is dedicated to his patron Fugger. He was in 1554 chosen professor of the civil law at Bruges—a university in which one who wrote a century later states him to have left behind him a strong recollection of his talents and virtues. In 1555 he published another work on civil law, entitled *Commentatio in Tit. X. Libri Secundi Institutionum de Testamentis Ordinandis*. It is a sort of running commentary on the title of which it professes to treat, was dedicated to Michael D'Hospital, chancellor of France, and had the good fortune, along with his previous *Tractatus*, to be engrossed in the great *Thesaurus Juris Civilis et Canonici* of Gerard Meerman, an honour which has attached itself to the works of few Scottish civilians. Henryson appears, soon after the publication of this work, to have resigned his professorship at Bruges, and to have returned to Scotland, where lucrative prospects were opened to his ambition.

A very noble feature in the history of the Scottish courts of law is the attention with which the legislature in early periods provided for the interests of the poor. Soon after the erection of the College of Justice, an advocate was named and paid for conducting the cases of those whose pecuniary circumstances did not permit them to conduct a lawsuit; and Henryson was in 1557 appointed to the situation of counsel for the poor as to a great public office, receiving as a salary £20 Scots, no very considerable sum even at that period, but equal to one-half of the salary allowed to the lord-advocate. When the judicial privileges which the Roman Catholic clergy had gradually engrossed from the judicature of the country, were considered no longer the indispensable duties and privileges of churchmen, but more fit for the care of temporal judges, Henryson was appointed in 1563 to the office of commissary, with a salary of 300 merks. Secretary Maitland of Lethington having in January, 1566, been appointed an *ordinary*, in place of being an *extraordinary*, lord of session, Henryson was appointed in his stead, filling a situation seldom so well bestowed, and generally, instead of being filled by a profound legal scholar, reserved for such scions of great families as the government could not easily employ otherwise. Henryson was nominated one of the commission appointed in May, 1566, "for viseing, correcting, and imprinting the laws and acts of parliament." Of the rather carelessly arranged volume of the *Acts of the Scottish Parliament*, from 1424 to 1564, which the commission produced in six months after its appointment, he was the ostensible editor, and wrote the preface; and it was probably as holding such a situation, or in reward for his services, that in June, 1566, he received an exclusive privilege and license "to imprint or cause imprint and sell, the *Laws and Actis of Parliament*; that is to say, the Bukes of Law callit *Regiam Majestatem*, and the remanent auld Lawis and Actis of Parliament, consequentie maid be progress of time unto the dait of thir presentis, viseit, sychtit, and correctit, be the lordis commissaris speciallie deput to the said viseing, sychting, and correcting thair of, and that for the space of ten yeires next to cum."² In November, 1567, he was removed from the bench, or, in the words of a contemporary, taken "off sessions, because he was one of the king's council."³ This is the only intimation we have of his having held such an office; and it is a rather singular cause of removal, as the king's advocate was

¹ See the dedication to *Tractatus de Jurisdictione Henrysoni*, Meerman's *Thesaurus*, vol. ii.

² Reports from the Record Commission, i. 257.

³ Denmiln MS.—Haig and Brunton's *History of the College of Justice*, 133.

then entitled to sit on the bench, and was frequently chosen from among the lords of session. Henryson was one of the procurators for the church in 1573. The period of his death is not known, but he must have been alive in 1579, as Lord Forbes at that time petitioned parliament that he might be appointed one of the commissioners for deciding the differences betwixt the Forbeses and Gordons.

Henryson has received high praise as a jurisconsult by some of his brethren of the Continent, and Dempster considered him—"Solis Papinianis in juris cognitione inferior." A monument was erected to his memory in the Grayfriars' Churchyard of Edinburgh, by his son Thomas Henryson, Lord Chesters, who is said by Dempster and others to have displayed many of the legal and other qualifications of his father.

HENRYSON, or **HENDERSON**, ROBERT, a poet of the fifteenth century, is described as having been chief schoolmaster of Dunfermline, and this is almost the only particular of his life that is sufficiently ascertained. According to one writer, he was a notary public as well as a schoolmaster; and another is inclined to identify him with Henryson of Fordell, the father of James Henryson, who was king's advocate and justice-clerk, and who perished in the fatal battle of Flodden. This very dubious account seems to have originated with Sir Robert Douglas, who avers that Robert Henryson appears to have been a person of distinction in the reign of James III., and that he was the father of the king's advocate. Douglas refers to a certain charter granted by the abbot of Dunfermline in 1478, where Robert Henryson subscribes as a witness;¹ but in this charter he certainly appears without any particular distinction, as he merely attests it in the character of a notary public. A later writer is still more inaccurate when he pretends that the same witness is described as Robert Henryson of Fordell;² in this and other two charters which occur in the Chartulary of Dunfermline, he is described as a notary public, without any other addition.³ That the notary public, the schoolmaster of Dunfermline, and the proprietor of Fordell, were one and the same individual is by no means to be admitted upon such slender and defective evidence. Henryson, or, according to its more modern and less correct form, Henderson, was not at that period an uncommon surname. It is not however improbable that the schoolmaster may have exercised the profession of a notary. While the canon law prevailed in Scotland, this profession was generally exercised by ecclesiastics, and some vestiges of the ancient practice are still to be traced; every notary designates himself a *clerk* of a particular diocese; and by the act of 1584, which, under the penalty of deprivation, prohibited the clergy from following the profession of the law, they still retained the power of making testaments; so that we continue to admit the rule of the canon law, which sustains a will attested by the parish priest and two or three witnesses.⁴ If, therefore, Henryson was a notary, it is highly probable that he was also an ecclesiastic, and if he was an ecclesiastic, he could not well leave any legitimate offspring. The poet, in one of his works, describes himself as

"ane man of age;" and from Sir Francis Kinaston we learn that, "being very old, he died of a diarrhæ or fluxe." With respect to the period of his decease, it is at least certain that he died before Dunbar, who in his *Lament*, printed in the year 1508, commemorates him among other departed poets:—

"In Dunfermling he hes tane Broun,
With gude Mr. Robert Henrysoun."

The compositions of Henryson evince a poetical fancy, and, for the period when he lived, an elegant simplicity of taste. He has carefully avoided that cumbrous and vitiated diction which began to prevail among the Scottish as well as the English poets. To his power of poetical conception he unites no inconsiderable skill in versification: his lines, if divested of their uncouth orthography, might often be mistaken for those of a much more modern poet. His principal work is the collection of *Fables*, thirteen in number, which are written in a pleasing manner, and are frequently distinguished by their arch simplicity; but in compositions of this nature brevity is a quality which may be considered as almost indispensable, nor can it be denied that those of Henryson sometimes extend to too great a length. The collection is introduced by a prologue, and another is prefixed to the fable of the lion and the mouse.

The tale of *Vpoulands Mouse* and the *Burgesse Mouse* may be regarded as one of his happiest efforts in this department. The same tale, which is borrowed from Æsop, has been told by many other poets, ancient as well as modern. Babrias has despatched the story of the two mice in a few verses, but Henryson has extended it over a surface of several pages. Henryson's *Tale of Sir Chauntecleire and the Foxe* is evidently borrowed from Chaucer's *Nonnes Prestes Tale*. From these apologues some curious fragments of information may be gleaned. That of the *Sheepe and the Dog* contains all the particulars of an action before the consistory court, and probably as complete an exposure of such transactions as the author could prudently hazard. The proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts seem about this period to have been felt as a common grievance.

Another conspicuous production of Henryson is the *Testament of Cresseid*,⁵ which is the sequel to Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressyde*, and is commonly printed among the works of that poet. It evidently rises above the ordinary standard of that period, and on some occasions evinces no mean felicity of conception. The silent interview between Troilus and Cresseid is skilfully delineated; and the entire passage has been described as beautiful by a very com-

¹ "The *Testament of Cresseid*, compylit be Mr. Robert Henrysone, sculemaister in Dunfermeling. Imprintit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris, 1593, 4to."—"For the author of this supplement," says Sir Francis Kinaston, "called the *Testament of Cresseid*, which may passe for the sixt and last booke of this story, I have very sufficiently bin informed by Sir Tho. Ereskin, late Earle of Kelly, and divers aged scholars of the Scottish nation, that it was made and written by one Mr. Robert Henderson, sometime chiefe schoole-master in Dunfermling, much about the time that Chaucer was first printed and dedicated to King Henry the 8th by Mr. Thinne, which was neere the end of his raigne. This Mr. Henderson wittily observing that Chaucer in his 5th booke had related the death of Troilus, but made no mention what became of Cresseid, he learnedly takes upon him, in a fine poetical way, to express the punishment and end due to a false unconstant whore, which commonly terminates in extreme misery." See the "*Loves of Troilus and Cresseid*," written by Chaucer; with a commentary by Sir Francis Kinaston, p. xxix. Lond. 1796, 8vo." Kinaston had translated into Latin rhyme two books of Chaucer's poem, and had published then under the title of *Amorum Troili et Cresseida libri duo priores Anglico-Latini*, Oxoniae, 1635, 4to. He completed his version of the poem, together with a commentary, and his manuscript at length came into the possession of Mr. Waldron, who announced his intention of committing it to the press, but did not find encouragement to proceed beyond a short specimen.

¹ Douglas' *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 518.

² Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. i. p. 88.

³ Chartulary of Dunfermline, f. 64 a.—Robert Henryson is a witness to other two charters which occur in the same record, f. 63, a. b. His only mark of distinction is that of being designated *Magister*, while the names of several other witnesses appear without this title. He had perhaps taken the degree of Master of Arts.

⁴ Decretal. Gregorii IX. lib. iii. tit. xxvi. cap. x.

petent judge of old poetry.¹ It is unnecessary to remark that for "the tale of Troy divine," neither Chaucer nor Henryson had recourse to the classical sources: this, like some other subjects of ancient history, had been invested with all the characteristics of modern romance; nor could the Scottish poet be expected to deviate from the models which delighted his contemporaries. Sir Troilus is commended for his knightly piety; a temple is converted into a *kirk*; Mercury is elected speaker of the parliament; and Cresseid, on being afflicted with a leprosy, is consigned to a spittal-house, in order to beg with cup and clapper. The personages are ancient, but the institutions and manners are all modern.

Henryson's tale of *Orpheus* is not free from similar incongruities, and possesses fewer attractions; it is indeed somewhat languid and feeble, and may have been a lucubration of the author's old age. Sir Orpheus is represented as a king of Thrace, and is first despatched to heaven in search of the lost Eurydice.

Quhen endit was the sangis lamentable,
He tuke his harp, that on his breast can hyng,
Syne passit to the hevin, as sais the fable,
To seke his wyf, bot that auailit no thing:
By Wadlyng strete² he went bot taryng,
Syne come down throu the spere of Saturn ald,
Quhilk fader is of all thir sternis cald.

Having searched the sun and planets without success, he directs his course towards the earth, and in his passage is regaled with the music of the spheres. His subsequent adventures are circumstantially but not very poetically detailed. In enumerating the various characters whom he finds in the domains of Pluto, the poet is guilty of a glaring anachronism: here Orpheus finds Julius Cæsar, Nero, and even popes and cardinals; and it is likewise to be remarked that the heathen and Christian notions of hell are blended together. But such anachronisms are very frequently to be found in the writers of the middle ages. Mr. Warton remarks that Chaucer has been guilty of a very diverting, and what may be termed a double anachronism, by representing Cresseid and two of her female companions as reading the *Thebaid* of Statius.³ Like the fables of Henryson, his tale of *Orpheus* is followed by a long moral; and here he professes to have derived his materials from Boethius and one of his commentators.

The *Bludy Serk* is an allegorical poem of considerable ingenuity. The poet represents the fair daughter of an ancient and worthy king as having been carried away by a hideous giant, and cast into a dungeon, where she was doomed to linger until some valiant knight should achieve her deliverance. A worthy prince at length appeared as her champion, vanquished the giant, and thrust him into his own loathsome dungeon. Having restored the damsel to her father, he felt that he had received a mortal wound: he requested her to retain his bloody shirt, and to contemplate it whenever a new lover should

present himself. It is unnecessary to add that the interpretation of this allegory involves the high mysteries of the Christian faith.

The *Abbey Walk* is of a solemn character, and is not altogether incapable of impressing the imagination. Its object is to inculcate submission to the various dispensations of Providence, and this theme is managed with some degree of skill. But the most beautiful of Henryson's productions is *Robene and Makyne*, the earliest specimen of pastoral poetry in the Scottish language. I consider it as superior in many respects to the similar attempts of Spenser and Browne; it is free from the glaring improprieties which sometimes appear in the pastorals of those more recent writers, and it exhibits many genuine strokes of poetical delineation. The shepherd's indifference is indeed too suddenly converted into love; but this is almost the only instance in which the operations of nature are not faithfully represented. The story is skilfully conducted, the sentiments and manners are truly pastoral, and the diction possesses wonderful terseness and suavity.

The *Fables* of Henryson were reprinted in 1832, for the Bannatyne Club,* from the edition of Andrew Hart; of which the only copy known to exist had been recently added to that great repository of Scottish literature—the Advocates' Library.

HEPBURN, JAMES BONAVENTURA, of the order of the Minims, said to have been an extensive linguist, lexicographer, grammarian, and biblical commentator; but, notwithstanding the renown of his vast learning, the particulars of his life are scanty and unsatisfactory. James Bonaventura Hepburn was son to Thomas Hepburn, rector of Oldhamstocks in Lothian. M'Kenzie states that he was born on the 14th day of July, 1573, and that we may not discredit the assertion, presents us with a register kept by the rector of Oldhamstocks, of the respective periods of birth of his nine sons. He received his university education at St. Andrews, where, after his philosophical studies, he distinguished himself in the acquisition of the oriental languages. Although educated in the principles of the Protestant religion, he was induced to become a convert to the Church of Rome. After this change in his faith he visited the Continent, residing in France and Italy, and thence passing through "Turkey, Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia, and most of the eastern countries," gathering languages as he went, until he became so perfect a linguist, "that he could have travelled over the whole earth, and spoke to each nation in their own language." On returning from these laborious travels he entered the monastery of the Minims at Avignon, an order so called from its members choosing in humility to denominate themselves "*Minimi Fratres Eremitæ*," as being more humble still than the Minors or Franciscans. He afterwards resided in the French monastery of the Holy Trinity at Rome. Here his eminent qualities attracted a ferment of attention from the learned world, and Pope Paul V. invaded his retirement

¹ Scott's notes to *Sir Tristrem*, p. 362.

² Watling-street is a name given to one of the great Roman ways in Britain. (Horsley's *Roman Antiquities of Britain*, p. 387. Lond. 1732, fol.) This passage, which to some persons may appear so unintelligible, will be best explained by a quotation from Chaucer's *House of Fame*, b. ii.

Lo, quod he, caste vp thyne eye,
Se yonder, lo, the Galaxye,
The whiche men clepe the Milky Way,
For it is whyte; and some perfay
Callen it Watlynge strete.

³ In Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, says Mr. Douce, "Hector quotes Aristotle, Ulysses speaks of the bull-bearing Milo, and Pandarus of a man born in April. Friday and Sunday, and even minced-pies with dates in them, are introduced." — *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, vol. ii. p. 291.

* From the accurate memoir prefixed to this volume we have abridged the above article. In the *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, Mr. P. F. Tytler has entered at considerable length into the merits of Henryson's poetry, of which he gives copious extracts. He says: "Of the works of this remarkable man it is difficult, when we consider the period in which they were written, to speak in terms of too warm encomium. In strength, and sometimes even in sublimity of painting, in pathos and sweetness, in the variety and beauty of his pictures of natural scenery, in the vein of quiet and playful humour which runs through many of his pieces, and in that fine natural taste, which, rejecting the faults of his age, has dared to think for itself—he is altogether excellent."

by appointing him librarian of the oriental books and manuscripts of the Vatican.¹

We shall now take the liberty of enumerating a few of the many weighty productions of our author's pen, chiefly, it is to be presumed, written during the six years in which he was librarian of the Vatican. *Dictionarium Hebraicum—Dictionarium Chaldaicum—Peter Malcuth, seu Gloria vel Decus Israelis [conlinet cent. Homilias sive Conciones]—Epitomen Chronorum Romanorum—Gesta Regum Israelis—Grammatica Arabica* (said to have been published at Rome in 1591, 4to.) He translated *Commentarii Rabbi Kimchi in Psalterium—Rabbi Abraham Aben Ezra Librum de Mysticis numeris—Ejusdem Librum alium de Septemplici Modo interpretandi Sacram Scripturam*.

Hepburn dabbled in the doctrines of the Cabala, but whether in vindication or attack, the oracular observations of his biographers hardly enable us to ascertain. He died at Venice in October, 1620.

HEPBURNE, JAMES, EARL OF BOTHWELL.

Little is known of the early career of this man, who holds so unenviable a place in the annals of Scotland. A considerable portion of his youth appears to have been spent in France, where he not only acquired the accomplishments, but learned those profligate habits, by which the French court was distinguished. Fatally, indeed, was the nature of this training afterwards illustrated! His first return from that country to Scotland was in 1560, at which time he is thus characterized by Throckmorton in a letter to Queen Elizabeth:—"He is a glorious, rash, and hazardous young man, and therefore it were meet his adversaries should both have an eye to him, and also keep him short." Six years afterwards, when he stood more distinctly out to public notice, Cecil wrote of him:—"I assure you Bothwell is as naughty a man as liveth, and much given to the detestable vices." After events showed but too well that this was neither the language of prejudice nor malignity. It is probable that he was now about the age of thirty. He does not appear to have been distinguished for personal beauty, having, on the contrary, rather an ill-favoured countenance; but his ingratiating arts and showy manners were more than enough to counterbalance any defects of personal appearance. The outbreak that ended in the Chace-about-raid, which was so unfortunate to the Earl of Murray and his party, was of the utmost benefit to his enemy, the Earl of Bothwell; he was called to court, restored to his hereditary office of lord high-admiral of Scotland, and appointed lieutenant of the west and middle marches. He was not long idle, for we find him in the field with the queen about three weeks after, when Murray's dispirited troops fled before her and took refuge in England. When the assassination of David Rizzio occurred, Bothwell, who was in the palace of Holyrood at the commencement of the uproar, and heard the distant outcries that accompanied the deed, put himself, with the Earl of Huntly, at the head of the menials, who had snatched up whatever kitchen weapons came first to hand, and hurried to the rescue; but this motley band was easily dispersed by the armed retainers of the Earl of Morton, who were stationed at the inner court.

On this occasion Bothwell and Huntly, finding themselves prisoners in the palace, and fearing that their own death was to follow the assassination of Rizzio, descended from the back windows by a cord, and made their escape through the fields. After this event it soon appeared that Bothwell was to enter into the place, and enjoy the envied favour, which the unfortunate Italian had held, let the termination be what it might. He was called to the queen's counsels, and every day he rose in her esteem, while her contempt of Darnley increased. It was easy, indeed, for a woman's eye—and such a woman as Mary—to distinguish between the shallow-minded poltroon whom she had placed by her side on the throne, and the bold, gay, chivalrous courtier who added to the graces of his continental manners and education the unscrupulous ambition of the Frenchman and the daring courage of the Scot. Unfortunate it was for Mary that her education, and the examples by which her youth had been surrounded, had little qualified her either to regulate such feelings or check them at the commencement, and her admiration was soon followed by a culpable affection, which at last she was unable to conceal, even from the most unsuspecting of her subjects. At the beginning of October (1566) she had resolved to make a justiciary progress to Jedburgh, in consequence of the rebellious conduct of the border chieftains on the south-eastern frontier; and, as a preparative, she sent Bothwell thither, two days previous, with the title and authority of lord-lieutenant of the border. But on reaching his destination he was so severely wounded by a desperate freebooter, whom he endeavoured to apprehend with his own hand, that he was obliged to be carried to the neighbouring castle of Hermitage. Mary, who was then at the castle of Borthwick, no sooner heard of his disaster than, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, the danger of such a journey, and the smallness of her train, she hurried with all speed to Jedburgh, and from thence to Hermitage, to visit him. A dangerous fever was the consequence of this violent exertion, under which she was insensible for several days at Jedburgh; and on recovering her consciousness she was so impressed with the thought that death was at hand, that she requested the nobles who were present to pray for her, commanded her son to the guardianship of Queen Elizabeth, and sent for her neglected husband, who arrived two days after the crisis had passed. But now that the danger was over, she received him with her wonted aversion, and treated him with such discourtesy as made him glad, on the following day, to set off to Stirling. But very different was the reception of Bothwell, whom she caused to be brought to her own temporary residence until he was fully recovered. The same marked difference in the conduct of the queen towards her husband and her paramour was equally apparent in the baptism of her son, afterwards James VI. of Scotland and I. of England. On such an important occasion the father of the child, whatever might have been his faults, should have been a prominent personage in the ceremonial. But no. Bothwell was placed in his room as master of the arrangements, while poor Darnley, though living under the same roof (the castle of Stirling), was required to confine himself to his apartments, on the plea that his apparel was not good enough to appear among the lordly throng at the baptismal font. And this was not all, for the ambassadors assembled there were forbid to hold conference with him, and the nobility to wait on him or escort him. Even James Melvil, who had compassionated the poor fallen consort-king, and presented him with a spaniel, was rated

¹ It is singular that a person in the 17th century, living in Italy, professing so many languages in a country where linguists were rare, a librarian of the Vatican, and one whose "eminent parts had divulged his fame through the whole city"—should have entirely escaped the vast researches of Andre in general literature, Fraboschi's *Ample Investigation of Italian Literature*, the minute *Ecclesiastical Bibliographies* of Dupin and Labbe, and other works of the same description.

by the queen for so doing, declaring that she could no longer trust him, as he had made a present to one for whom she entertained no affection.

Bothwell was not a man to bear these honours meekly, or content himself with the love of the queen without sharing in her power. Already, also, he knew too well her wishes on the subject. She would have divorced Darnley to make room for his rival, but besides the difficulty of procuring a divorce, the legitimacy of her son would thereby have been called in question. No remedy remained but the death of Darnley, let it occur as it might. Upon this hint Bothwell was now in action. He sounded the principal nobles upon the expediency of removing him, alleging the queen's consent to that effect, and besought their co-operation. He spoke to those whose minds were already familiar with the idea of assassination, and whose power, when banded together, could brave discovery when it ensued, while so many concurred in his design that he thought he might now prosecute it without scruple. As for the poor victim of these machinations, he had left Stirling; the queen, at his departure, causing his silver plate to be taken away, and paltry tin vessels to be substituted in their stead. He had fallen sick when he was scarcely a mile on his journey, and on reaching Glasgow eruptions resembling the small-pox broke out over his whole body, and confined him to a sick-bed. But, in the meantime, the plot against his life was so fully matured that nothing more remained than to bring him within reach of his murderer. Mary repaired to Glasgow to persuade him to return with her, and take up his abode in the castle of Craigmillar, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, where his recovery would be more speedy; and Darnley, allured by her kind words and relenting endearments, assented to all her wishes. He had received, indeed, some obscure intimations of a conspiracy formed against his life, and been warned that the queen had spoken harshly of him previous to her journey; but while she sat beside his bed, and addressed him so tenderly, all his first love returned, so that he treated these reports as idle tales. As for Mary, on retiring from his company she wrote a full account of the whole interview to Bothwell; and so completely was the after-tragedy settled between them, that she alluded to his contemplated divorce from Lady Jane Gordon and marriage with herself, and besought him neither to be moved from his purpose by his wife's tears nor her brother's threats. Soon after Darnley, not yet recovered, was removed in a litter from Glasgow to Edinburgh, not, however, to be accommodated in the princely castle of Craigmillar, but an obscure habitation called Kirk of Field, belonging to one of Bothwell's creatures; a place sufficiently within reach of Edinburgh, but lonely enough for the perpetration of a deed of murder.

So fully was the plan already matured, that Bothwell had false keys made of the house, and sent to Dunbar for a barrel of gunpowder, that was to be placed under Darnley's apartment. Matters now began to look so mysterious, that some of the king's servants, under that vague inexplicable terror which often precedes some terrible tragic deed, withdrew their attendance. Not so, however, the queen, who continued to lavish upon him every assurance of endearment, and spent two nights in an apartment adjoining his own. On Sunday night Darnley was to be no more; and while she was spending the evening with him in his room upstairs, the preparations were silently going on in the apartment below; and at ten o'clock the gunpowder was strewed in heaps upon the floor, and all put in readiness for

the explosion, after which Bothwell's servant Paris, a chief actor in the deed, entered the room above, where the pair were conversing. Mary, only the night before, had caused a bed of new velvet to be removed from the room, and also a rich coverlet of fur; and it was now full time that she should remove herself also. She then called to mind that she had promised to be at a masquerade in Holyrood House, that was to be given in honour of the marriage of her servant Bastian, with Margaret Carwood, a favourite female attendant, and passed onward to Holyrood with torch-light. When she was gone, an hour intervened before Darnley retired to bed, during which he entertained his servants, in the full overflow of his gladness, with an account of the queen's gracious speeches before they parted, and the hopes of his return to favour and influence. But one part of the interview still strangely haunted him, and marred his triumph. Why had the queen reminded him that, just at the same time a twelvemonth back, David Rizzio had been assassinated—that deed of which his conscience told him he had been the chief promoter? Ill at ease with the past, and having a gloomy anticipation about the future, he turned to the Bible for consolation, and read the 55th psalm, after which he went to bed, and was soon overtaken by his last sleep.

In the meantime, the return of Mary to Holyrood was a signal to Bothwell that all was in readiness. After lingering in the hall until about midnight, when the most wakeful in Edinburgh were usually asleep, he exchanged his rich gala dress for a common suit, in which he could not easily be recognized, stole out of the back of the palace through the garden, and accompanied by four of his servants, went through the gate of the Nether Bow, giving to the sentinel's question of "Who goes there?" the answer of "Friends of Lord Bothwell." Between the hours of two and three a terrible explosion shook the houses nearest the Kirk of Field, and roused the townsmen from their slumbers, while the assassins ran back to the city, and re-entered Holyrood as stealthily as they had left it. A crowd of citizens, whom the din had alarmed, repaired to the spot, and found the house a heap of ruin, and the bodies of the king and the page of his chamber lying dead in a neighbouring orchard. But it was remarked that neither the corpses nor their night-clothes were scorched with powder, and that they were too far from the house to have been thrown there by the explosion; it was evident that other and surer agencies had been at work, and that gunpowder had been resorted to merely to mislead inquiry, or make the deed appear the work of accident. The full particulars that afterwards came out on trial justified these surmises. Darnley had been strangled, and, as it was asserted, by the hands of Bothwell himself; the page had undergone the same fate; and the bodies being afterwards removed into the orchard, the match had been lighted that communicated with the gunpowder. While the crowd were still gazing upon the ruins, and bewildering themselves in speculation, Bothwell himself arrived among them at the head of a party of soldiers. On returning to Holyrood he had gone to bed, that he might receive the expected tidings like an innocent man; and when, half an hour afterwards, a hasty messenger knocked at his door, and told him what had happened, he shouted, "Treason!" repaired with the Earl of Huntly to the queen to advertise her of the misfortune, and afterwards passed on to the spot, as if anxious to hold inquest upon the fact, and discover the authors of the deed. But he only dispersed the crowd, whose sharp curiosity he must have felt unpleasant, and caused the bodies to

be removed to a neighbouring house, where no one was permitted to see them. That of Darnley was soon after carried to the palace; and, instead of an honourable funeral, such as was befitting a king-consort, it was carried at night by pioneers, and interred without solemnity beside the grave of David Rizzio.

As soon as tidings of the murder had reached her, Mary shut herself up in her apartment, where she would admit no one to see her but Bothwell, or hold intercourse with any of her servants but through himself. According to the custom of the country, forty days should have been spent in seclusion and mourning, with closed doors and windows; but on the fourth day the windows were unshaded, and before the twelfth she repaired with Bothwell to Seton Castle, where they mingled in the gay amusements of the place, shot at the butts in trials of archery with Huntly and Seton, and crowned their victory with the forfeit of the losers, which was a dinner at Tranent. In the meantime, was any diligence, or even show of diligence, given to apprehend the murderers? Strange to tell, it was not until three days after the deed that such a step was taken; and on Wednesday, the 12th of February, a proclamation was made, offering a reward of £2000 (Scotch?) for the detection of the criminals. No sooner was this done than every tongue was ready to name the name of Bothwell. But the bold bad man was too powerful to be accused, as well as too unscrupulous to be provoked, and no one was found so hardy as to step forth to criminate him. Still it was impossible for the general suspicion to remain wholly silent, and while voices were heard in the darkness of midnight through the streets proclaiming Bothwell to be the king's murderer, placards and pictures were affixed on the public places to the same effect. It was then only that judicial activity, which had hitherto slumbered, was roused to detect the libellers; and such of the citizens as could write a fair hand, or limn a sketch, were submitted to a sharp examination, while an edict was published denouncing the punishment of death not only to the writers, but the readers of these libels. Bothwell, also, alarmed at these indications of public feeling, rode into Edinburgh with fifty armed men at his back, publicly threatening that he would wash his hands in the blood of these traducers, and clutching the hilt of his dagger in guilty suspicion when he spoke to any one of whose good-will he was not certain. At length a movement was made to convict him, and from the proper quarter, by the Earl of Lennox, father of the murdered king. On the 20th of February he wrote to the queen, entreating that a public assize should immediately be held on the subject of his son's assassination; but to this most reasonable request Mary sent for answer, that the parliament had already been summoned, and that its first business on meeting should be an inquiry into the deed. Now, be it observed, that this meeting of parliament was not to take place till Easter; and during the interval that elapsed most of the persons implicated in the charge were quietly allowed to depart, some to France, and others to the English border. And all this Mary did notwithstanding the suspicions of her subjects, who made no scruple to charge her as an accomplice in her husband's murder; notwithstanding the astonishment of foreign courts, that could not comprehend her wonderful remissness; and notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Queen Elizabeth, who adjured her to act on this occasion "like a noble princess and a loyal wife." In the meantime she seemed to have no thought but for Bothwell, and, notwithstanding the general odium, she conferred upon him the com-

mand of the castle of Edinburgh, and soon after that of the castles of Blackness and the Inch, and the superiority of Leith, as if eager to arm him against every accuser, and make him too powerful to be punished.

As the cry still waxed louder for a public trial, it was thought that this might now be safely granted; and so late as the 12th of April, the Earl of Lennox was ordered to compare in Edinburgh, and adduce his charges against Bothwell. But the accomplices in the crime had been suffered to escape; the other evidences had been destroyed; even the smith who had made the false keys by which the murderers obtained access to the king's lodging, and who had anonymously offered to come forward and reveal the name of his employer, if his safety should be guaranteed for so doing, had obtained no such promise, and therefore could not appear. Under such circumstances, and after so long a delay, the invitation to the Earl of Lennox was the most cruel of mockeries. The trial was arranged by Bothwell himself; the tribunal was occupied by one of his friends, and fenced with 200 of his hacbutters; 4000 armed men, devoted to Bothwell, occupied the streets of Edinburgh, and the castle was under his command. Thus prepared, the accusing party was wholly at his mercy, for Lennox was required to enter the city with not more than six in his company. To come under such circumstances would have been to enter into the shambles, where all was in readiness for the slaughter, and Lennox refused to appear. But Bothwell himself rode to trial, mounted on the late king's horse, and surrounded by a guard, and fearlessly advanced before a tribunal where he had taken order that none should accuse him. The trial that followed was a farce, in which the criminal had nothing to do but to plead "Not guilty," and the judges to absolve him, which was done unanimously. To wind up the whole proceeding in the fashion of the age, Bothwell then offered the trial of combat to any one of his degree who should charge him with the late king's murder, but the challenge was nothing more than the idle blast of a trumpet, for he was not likely to find an opponent where he had met with no accuser.

After this mock trial new honours were heaped upon Bothwell by the queen; the lordship and castle of Dunbar were conferred upon him, his powers as high-admiral were extended, and on the assembling of parliament, two days after the assize, he carried "the honours," that is, the crown and sceptre, before her in procession at the opening of the house. He was now the most powerful nobleman in Scotland, and only one step more remained to which all this aggrandizement had been but a preparative. He must be king-consort in the room of Darnley, whom he had murdered. True, he had been but lately married to Lady Jane Gordon, and her brother, the Earl of Huntly, was not a man to be lightly offended; but even these difficulties had been already calculated, and the plan of their removal devised. The marriage tie was to be loosed by a divorce, and the brother appeased by the restitution of the Huntly estates, which had been forfeited to the crown. But to win the consent of the nobility at large, whose united opposition could have checked him at any moment, or crushed him even when the eminence was attained, was the principal difficulty; and this Bothwell resolved to surmount by the same unscrupulous daring that had hitherto borne him onward. Accordingly, on the 19th of April, the day on which the sittings of parliament terminated, he invited the chief nobles to supper in a tavern; they assembled accordingly, and when their hearts were warmed with wine, Both-

well presented to them a bond for signature, in which they recommended him as a suitable husband for the queen, and engaged to maintain his pretensions to her hand against all who should oppose them. Confusion and remonstrance followed, but the house was surrounded by 200 hacbutters, so that escape was hopeless, and remonstrance unavailing. The revellers therefore complied with the demand, and the signatures of eight earls, three lords, and seven bishops were adhibited to the bond.

And now nothing but the master-stroke remained. The marriage must be accomplished without delay, before a recoil of public feeling occurred. But Mary had been little more than two months a widow; and if she should thus hastily throw aside her weeds, and enter into a new union, the whole world would cry "shame" upon such indecency! Even this difficulty had been already provided for, and that, too, seven days before Bothwell's trial occurred. Certain beforehand of his acquittal, he had devised, and Mary consented, that he should carry her off by force, and thus save her the odium of a free deliberate choice. Even the time and place of abduction were also contrived between them. Accordingly, on the 21st of April the queen repaired to Stirling Castle to visit her infant son, then under the guardianship of the Earl of Mar; but the earl, who seems to have had strange misgivings, would only admit her with two of her ladies, while the armed train were obliged to remain without. Three days afterwards she returned, and had reached Almond Bridge, near Edinburgh, when she and her escort were suddenly beset by Bothwell and 600 armed horsemen, who conducted her to the castle of Dunbar. And now events went on with accelerated speed. The earl's divorce from his wife was hurried through the courts with scandalous haste, the lady being obliged to accuse him of adultery and incest for the purpose. And on the same day Bothwell and the queen returned to Edinburgh at the head of a numerous cavalcade, the earl leading her horse by the bridle, and his followers throwing away their spears, to show that she was unconstrained; and in this fashion they rode up to the castle of Edinburgh. As soon as tidings of her seizure had arrived, her friends offered to arm for her rescue; but to this she answered, that though taken against her will, and compelled to spend several days in the castle of Dunbar with Bothwell, she had found no cause of complaint. This was not all; for she now presented herself before the nobles, expressed her satisfaction with Bothwell's conduct, and declared that, high as she had raised him, she meant to promote him higher still. Accordingly, on the 12th of May, seven days after her return to Edinburgh, she created him Duke of Orkney, and placed the coronet on his head with her own hands; two days afterwards she signed the contract of marriage, and on the succeeding day the marriage ceremony was performed in Holyrood, at four o'clock in the morning. And this after three short months of widowhood! Well might the people shudder, especially when they remembered the disgusting mixture of tragedy and farce with which it had been preceded. And still the nobles were silent under a deed that soiled, nay, besmeared the escutcheons of Scottish knighthood and nobleness with a universal reproach, which all the rivers of their land could not wash away. Only one man, and he too a minister of peace, had courage to speak out. This was John Craig, pastor of the High Church of Edinburgh, and colleague of John Knox, who was now absent. On being commanded to proclaim the banns between the queen and Bothwell, he steadfastly refused until he had been allowed to confront the parties in presence of

the privy-council; and when this was granted, he there charged the Duke of Orkney with the crimes of rape, adultery, and murder. This being done, he proclaimed the banns, as he was bound to do, but not without a stern remonstrance. "I take heaven and earth to witness," he exclaimed before the congregation in the High Church, "that I abhor and detest this marriage as odious and slanderous to the world; and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly that a union against all reason and good conscience may yet be overruled by God, to the comfort of this unhappy realm."

Bothwell had now attained an elevation at which himself might well have been astounded. Sprung from no higher origin than that of the house of Hailes, and but the fourth of his line who had worn the title of earl, he was now the highest of Scotland's nobles, and, what was more, the sovereign of its sovereign. She to whom he was united had been Queen of France, the most powerful of kingdoms, and was the unquestioned heir to England, the richest of sovereignties. She who had been sought in vain by the proudest princes of Europe had come at his call, and co-operated in humble compliance to his exaltation, and submitted to be his leman before she became his bride. And yet even this did not satisfy him; for on the very day after their marriage she was heard to scream in her closet, while he was beside her, and threaten to stab or drown herself. He persisted from day to day in arrogant conduct, more befitting a sated voluptuary or merciless taskmaster than a newly mated bridegroom; and Mary, otherwise so proud and impatient, submitted with spaniel-like docility, while her affection seemed only to increase in proportion to the growth of his brutality. Strange love of woman's heart! and strange requital of a love so misplaced! She was all the while writing to France, to Rome, and England, announcing her marriage, describing her happiness in having such a husband, and craving the favour of these courts in his behalf. She even declared before several persons that "she cared not to lose France, England, and her own country for him, and would go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat before she would leave him."

This *fata morgana* had now reached its brightest, and it was time that it should melt away. The nobles of Scotland awoke as from a dream, and prepared themselves for instant action. It was indeed not more than necessary; for, independently of the foul dishonour that had accumulated upon the nation and themselves through the late transactions, Bothwell was now aiming at obtaining the guardianship of the young prince; and under such a custody the royal infant would soon have been laid beside his murdered father, that a new dynasty might be planted upon the Scottish throne. In the meantime the queen and Bothwell were at Borthwick Castle, unconscious of the gathering storm, until the associated lords, at the head of 2000 men, advanced and invested the stronghold. As resistance was hopeless, Bothwell, at the first tidings of their coming, stole away, and soon after was joined by Mary, booted and spurred, and in the disguise of a page. They rode through the night at full speed to Dunbar, and there exerted themselves with such activity, that in two days they were at the head of 2500 armed followers, with whom they returned to the encounter. The lords, whose forces now amounted to 3000 men, advanced to meet them mid-way, and the two armies soon confronted each other at Carberry Hill, six miles from Edinburgh. But very different was the spirit that animated them, for while the insurgent army was eager to revenge the death of the late king,

and preserve his son from the murderer, the troops of Bothwell wavered, and talked of negotiation and compromise. It was necessary to restore their courage by an example of personal daring, and accordingly he sent a herald to the opposite host, offering the trial of single combat in proof of his innocence. Instantly, James Murray of Tullibardin started forward as an opponent, but was rejected by Bothwell as not being his equal in rank. Murray's elder brother, William, the laird of Tullibardin, then offered himself, alleging that he was of an older house than that of his adversary; but him also Bothwell refused, claimed an earl for his opponent, and specified in particular the Earl of Morton, the leader of the insurgents. Morton, as fearless a Douglas as any of his ancestors, accepted the challenge, and prepared for a combat at *outrance* on foot, and with two-handed swords. But before he could step forth to the affray, Lord Lindsay, the Ajax of the Scottish Reformation, interposed, with the entreaty that he should be allowed to meet the challenger, as being the kinsman of the unfortunate Darnley. Morton assented, and armed him with the two-handed sword of that Douglas who was called Bell-the-cat. But here Mary interfered: she had no wish to expose her husband to a meeting with such a redoubted champion, and Bothwell yielded to her entreaties. His repeated hesitations, when he should at once have drawn his weapon and marched to the encounter, had so confirmed the timidity of his followers, that already most of them had disbanded, leaving none with him but sixty gentlemen and a band of hachbutters, while the opposite army were surrounding the hill, and cutting off the means of retreat. In this emergency nothing remained for Bothwell but flight, which the queen earnestly counselled: she would surrender to the lords, and win them back to their allegiance; after which his recal would be easy and their future course a happy one. After assuring him of her fidelity, which she would keep to the last, and giving her hand upon the promise, Bothwell rode from the field, accompanied by a few attendants, and Mary surrendered to her subjects. She, indeed, continued to love him to the last; but they never met again.

Brief though the rest of Bothwell's history is, it reads the most solemn of warnings to princes and politicians. One month only he had held the empty title of king, for which he had sinned so deeply; and now, not even the poor shelter of the monk's cell or anchorite's cave over the whole wide land was ready to receive him. Almost alone, he hastened to his sea-girt castle of Dunbar, intending there to await the change of events, which he hoped would end in his restoration; but Mary, no longer a queen, was a helpless prisoner in the hands of those who were busied in framing a new government, while a price was set upon his own head. Thus, finding that at any hour he might be plucked from his place of strength, he fled with three ships to the Orkneys; but such was the barrenness of these islands, that he was obliged to have recourse to piracy for the subsistence of himself and his followers. And even this miserable shift soon failed, for a naval squadron was sent against him, under the command of Kirkcaldy of Grange, who captured two of the vessels, and obliged the third, with the pirate-king on board, to take to flight. But his ship, one of the largest in the Scottish navy, struck upon a sandbank; and when he took to shelter in a pinnace, he was driven by a storm to the coast of Norway, and there taken by a Danish man-of-war. He was asked for his papers, but having none, he was arrested as a pirate, and carried to Denmark. There it was not long before he was recognized as the notorious Bothwell of Scotland; upon

which Frederic II., the Danish king, instead of surrendering him to the Scottish regency or Elizabeth of England, threw him into close prison in the castle of Malmoe, where he languished ten years in misery and privation, mingled with attacks of insanity, until death at last threw open the gate of his dungeon. Never was the avenging Nemesis of the Greek drama more terribly realized, or poetical justice more completely fulfilled.

HEPBURN, ROBERT, of Bearford, a fugitive writer, who at a very early age distinguished himself by the exhibition of strong talents and an original genius, which the briefness of his life did not permit to rise to maturity, was born about 1690 or 1691. He studied civil law in Holland, with the intention of becoming a member of the legal profession in his native country. He returned home in 1711, and in his twenty-first year attempted to imitate in Scotland the fugitive literature which the *Tatler* had introduced to England. Hepburn's work was an avowed imitation of that periodical. He named it "*The Tatler*, by Donald Macstaff of the North." This work was carried through thirty weekly numbers; it is, we believe, extremely rare, and we have been unable to obtain a perusal of it. Lord Woodhouselee, who appears to have been acquainted with it, says, in his *Life of Kames*, "These papers are evidently the production of a man of vigorous native powers, and of a mind not meanly stored with ancient learning, and familiar with the best writings of the moderns. The author might have shone in the treatment of general topics of moral discussion, or of criticism; but from a propensity not unnatural, where talents are combined with an ardent temperament and sarcastic turn of mind, his compositions were fitted to give much offence by the description of known characters, and by the personal satire which he employed, with no gentle or delicate hand, on some men of note, both in the ecclesiastical and civil departments, among his countrymen." In 1712 Mr. Hepburn became a member of the Faculty of Advocates; but death quenched his fiery and ambitious spirit before he had an opportunity of exercising his professional talents. He left behind him two opuscula, *Demonstratio quod Deus sit*, published at Edinburgh in 1714, and *Dissertatio de Scriptis Pilearnianis*, 1715. In the concluding number of the *Tatler* he announced for publication a translation of Sir George M'Kenzie's curious tract, *Idea Eloquentiæ Forensis*; a project he appears to have been prevented from fulfilling. There is extant a curious pamphlet, *A Discourse concerning the Character of a Man of Genius*, by Mr. Hepburn, Edinburgh, 1715. We have no doubt that this is from the hand of Mr. Hepburn of Bearford; it is the production of no ordinary mind. This small work is divided into sections, each of which contains a condensed moral precept, or aphorism: the quotation of one or two of these will give the best idea of the author's talents which can be now furnished. The reader will be surprised to find in our extracts reflections which have now become commonplace, but which strikingly resemble many of those on which some of the moral and polite philosophers of the last century raised their renown.

Sec. 7. "I don't know by what fate it happens that some men have the fortune to be counted *wits* only for jesting a little out of the common road, and for endeavouring, in opposition to all the reason and sense of mankind, to turn into ridicule those things which are, in their own nature, the most sacred and venerable. But as a man is not infamous for being defamed, so it is no disparagement to any person or thing to be laughed at, but to deserve to

be so. It was a wise answer of Diogenes, which we find mentioned by Plutarch, when some of his friends told him that his enemies were laughing at him; 'but I,' replied he, 'am not derided.'

Sec. 9. "A man of genius ought not, in my opinion, to think even his dress below his notice, as the world is but too apt to judge by appearance."

Sec. 15. "A man discovers the extent of his genius, if, upon all occasions, he handsomely acts his part, and behaves with a good grace in every scene and circumstance of human life. The care of doing nothing unbecoming has accompanied the greatest minds to their last moments: they avoided an indecent posture, even in the very article of death."

HERD, DAVID, an ingenious and useful inquirer into our national antiquities, was born in the parish of St. Cyrus, Kincardineshire, about the year 1732. Of his education and early life in general nothing has been ascertained. He probably served an apprenticeship under a country writer, and then, like many young men in his circumstances, sought a situation of better promise in the capital. Throughout a long life he appears to have lived unambitiously, and a bachelor, in Edinburgh, never rising above the character of a *writer's clerk*. He was for many years clerk to Mr. David Russel, accountant. A decided taste for antiquities, and literary antiquities in particular, led Mr. Herd to spend a great part of his savings on books: and although the volumes which he preferred were then much cheaper than now, his library eventually brought the sum of £254, 19s. 10d. The same taste brought him into association with the principal authors and artists of his own time: Runciman the painter was one of his intimate friends, and with Ruddiman, Gilbert Stuart, Ferguson, and Robert Burns he was well acquainted. His information regarding Scottish history and biography was extensive. Many of his remarks appeared in the periodical works of his time, and the notes appended to several popular works were enriched by notes of his collecting. Sir Walter Scott, for instance, was much indebted in his *Border Minstrelsy* to a manuscript of Mr. Herd's, which is frequently quoted by the editor, both for ballads and for information respecting them. Mr. Herd was himself editor of what Scott calls "the first classical collection" of Scottish songs, which first appeared in one volume in 1769, and secondly in two volumes in 1772. At his demise, which took place June 25, 1810, he was understood to have left considerable property, which fell to a gentleman in England, supposed to have been his natural son, and who is said to have died a major in the army.

HERIOT, GEORGE, founder of the excellent hospital in Edinburgh which bears his name, and jeweller to King James VI., was descended from the Heriots of Trabroun in East Lothian. This respectable family was connected with some of the most distinguished names in Scottish history. The mother of the illustrious Buchanan was a daughter of the family, and it was through the patronage of James Heriot of Trabroun, his maternal uncle, that the future poet and statesman was sent to prosecute his studies at the university of Paris. Elizabeth, daughter of James Heriot of Trabroun, was the mother of Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, first Earl of Haddington, president of the Court of Session, and secretary and prime minister to James VI. But the family may, with more reason, boast of their connection with the subject of this memoir, who, though ~~filling~~ only the undistinguished rank of a

tradesman, has been the means of drawing forth from obscurity *some* persons of high talent, and *many* who have moved in the middle ranks with the greatest honour to themselves and benefit to society.

George Heriot, senior, was a goldsmith in Edinburgh, and a person of wealth and consideration. He filled some of the most responsible civic situations in the Scottish metropolis: his name often occurs in the rolls of the Scottish parliament as a commissioner for Edinburgh in the parliaments and conventions of estates, and he was frequently appointed a commissioner by parliament for the consideration of important questions.¹

George, his eldest son (the subject of our inquiry), is supposed to have been born in June, 1563. He was destined to follow his father's profession, at that time one of the most lucrative and honourable among the burgesses. The goldsmiths of Edinburgh were in ancient times classed with the hammermen; at what time they were separated seems uncertain. They received in August, 1581, a charter of incorporation from the magistrates, in which many privileges—amounting in fact to a monopoly of their trade—were granted to them, and these were afterwards (1586) confirmed by a charter from James VI. They were, besides, for a long period the only money-lenders; and the high rate of interest, with their frequent command over the resources of the court and the nobility, rendered them persons at once of wealth and power.

At the age of twenty-three George Heriot entered into a contract of marriage with Christian Marjoribanks, daughter of Simon Marjoribanks, a substantial burgess of Edinburgh. On this occasion his father presented him with 1000 merks "to be ane begynning and pak to him," and 500 more to purchase the implements of his trade and to fit out his shop. By his wife he received 1075 merks, which appear to have been lent out at ten per cent. interest, the usual rate of that period. Their union does not appear to have been of long duration, although the date of this lady's death is unknown; it is even doubtful if she had any children—if she had, none of them survived her.

Master Heriot was admitted a member of the incorporation of goldsmiths on the 28th of May, 1588. In 1597 he was appointed goldsmith to the queen by a charter from James VI., and this (to use the expression of a contemporary chronicler, Birrel) "was intimat at the crosse be opin proclamatione and sound of trumpet; and ane Clei, the French man, dischargit, quha was the queen's goldsmith befor." Heriot was soon after constituted goldsmith and jeweller to the king, with all the emoluments attached to that lucrative office. It would appear that he had already amassed a considerable fortune from his transactions with the court, but no notice of his work occurs in the treasurer's books till September, 1599, when we have the following:

"Payit at his majesties special command, with advyiss of the lords of secret counsal, to George Heriot, younger, goldsmith, for a copburd propynit to Monsieur Vetou, Frenche ambassadeur, contening the peces following, viz.: twa basingis, twa laweris effeirring thairto, twa flaconis, twa chandilleris, sex couppis with coveris, twa couppis without coveris, ane lawer for water, ane saltfall with ane cover; all chissellit wark, and dowbill owirgilt, weyand twa stane 14 pund and 5 unces at aucht mark the unce, £4160. Item, for graving of 28 almessis upon the said copburd, £14, Scots money."

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (folio edition), iv. 181. 379.

EXTRACT FROM
BLACKIE & SON'S
CATALOGUE.

The Southern States of North America:

A RECORD OF JOURNEYS in Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, Texas, Mississippi, South Carolina, West Virginia, Indian Territory, Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia, Missouri, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland. By EDWARD KING. Illustrated by Five Hundred and Thirty-six Engravings from original sketches by J. WELLS CHAMPNEY. Complete in 4 divisions, cloth, 7s. 6d. each, or with gilt edges, 8s. 6d. each; or in one handsome volume, 31s. 6d.

"It would not now be possible to find in any book published in England wood engravings of the same minuteness, precision, and beauty as are here to be seen on every page."—Saturday Review.

"A work of such genuine value that it might have successfully appealed to the public without the recommendation of any illustrations whatever; while the illustrations on their part are sufficiently meritorious to have pleaded the apology of the most meagre text."—Examiner.

To be completed in 16 divisions, super-royal 4to, 4s. each; or in 4 half-vols., cloth extra, 21s. each.

A Journey across South America,

FROM THE PACIFIC TO THE ATLANTIC OCEAN. By PAUL MARCOY. Translated from the French. Illustrated by above SIX HUNDRED Engravings on wood, many of them full quarto page size, and TEN Maps printed in colours.

No book of travels has hitherto been published in this country equal to this work in splendour and profusion of illustration, and in elegance and luxury of paper and typography.

"If the British public will not believe that there is more sound instruction in such a work as this than in a geographic manual, and more amusement than in a novel, we can only say, let him alone."—Times.

Publishing in parts, demy 8vo, 2s. each; and vols., cloth extra, gilt edges, 8s. 6d. each.

The Casquet of Literature:

A Selection in Poetry and Prose from the Works of the most admired Authors. Edited, with Biographical and Literary Notes, by CHARLES GIBBON, Author of "Robin Gray," "For Lack of Gold," &c.

THE CASQUET is intended to be a repertory of literary gems, culled from the whole range of the light literature of the nineteenth century, with occasional specimens of writers of an earlier date. It contains Tales, Sketches, Essays, and Poems of the most varied character. Biographical and literary notes accompany the text whenever there is anything of interest to be said about the Authors or their productions.

The Work will be illustrated with numerous engravings, exquisitely executed on steel, after paintings and drawings by some of the most admired artists of modern times.

In 15 parts, 2s. each, forming two handsome volumes, super-royal 8vo.

The Works of the Ettrick Shepherd,

IN POETRY AND PROSE. Centenary Edition. With a Biographical Memoir by the Rev. THOMAS THOMSON. Illustrated by Forty-four fine Engravings on steel, from Original Drawings by D. O. Hill, R.S.A., K. Halsewelle, A.R.S.A., W. Small, and J. Lawson.

"How it would have gratified and exalted the worthy Shepherd to have seen his collected works presented to the world in so handsome a form as that in which they now appear."—Scotsman.

Elegantly printed on royal 4to. To be completed in 14 parts, 2s. 6d. each.

Specimens of the Architecture of Normandy,

From the 11th to the 16th Century. Measured and drawn by AUGUSTUS PUGIN, and engraved by JOHN and HENRY LE KEUX. With Descriptive Text by JOHN BRITTON. New Edition, re-edited by R. PHENÉ SPEIRS, A.R.I.B.A.

No work has appeared since the first publication of Pugin and Le Keux's *Normandy* which has a greater claim to the careful study of every architect, draughtsman, or archæologist, who searches to realize for himself the development of French architecture in Normandy during five and a half centuries.

Complete in 14 parts, imperial 4to, at 2s. 6d. each; or cloth extra, gilt edges, 42s.

Illustrations of Architecture and Ornament:

A SERIES OF SEVENTY PLATES drawn and etched on copper, from his own Sketches in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Holland, and Belgium. By J. B. WARING, F.R.I.B.A., Author of "The Arts connected with Architecture in Central Italy," &c. &c. With Descriptive Notices by the Artist.

"We can honestly recommend Mr. Waring's book, not only to professional designers who are in quest of new ideas and combinations for practical use, but to all who love the architectural and the decorative arts of mediæval Europe."—*Saturday Review*.

"The book forms, we do not hesitate to say, a storehouse of suggestions of great value."—*The Builder*.

In parts, imperial 4to, at 2s. 6d. each.

Villa and Cottage Architecture.

SELECT EXAMPLES OF COUNTRY AND SUBURBAN RESIDENCES recently erected; with a full Descriptive Notice of each Building, in which a statement of the actual cost is given in nearly every case.

Thirty Villas and Cottages, besides Gateways, and other accessories, the works of NINETEEN ARCHITECTS, are illustrated by Plans, Elevations, and Sections, together with Perspective Views and Details, all finely engraved, and forming a Series of Eighty Plates. The Buildings illustrated are situated in widely-separated parts of the country, and are varied in style, arrangement, and materials. A description of the site, the internal arrangements, materials, and manner of construction, accompanies each set of plans; with a statement of the cost of the house in nearly every instance.

"A publication which just now stands alone, as illustrating its particular field in a most important division of modern architecture, and as affording some of the material out of which increased domestic comfort and the taste connected therewith may be made to accrue."—*Morning Post*.

Complete in 16 parts, royal 4to, price 2s. each; or 32 parts, 1s. each.

The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,

AND THE LIVES OF THE APOSTLES AND EVANGELISTS. With Copious Illustrative and Explanatory Notes, selected from the Works of the most eminent modern writers. By the Rev. JOHN FLEETWOOD, D.D. Illustrated by Numerous Engravings.

The Work is embellished with two HUNDRED AND FIFTY Engravings printed in the text, and THIRTY-THREE highly finished Engravings on steel.

The attractiveness and value of this edition of the Life of our Saviour is greatly enhanced by the addition of a large number of illustrative and supplementary notes from the works of recent writers, among whom may be named Archbishop TRENCH, Dean ALFORD, Dean STANLEY, WEBSTER and WILKINSON, BENGEI, NEANDER, VINET, JAMES HAMILTON, FAIRBAIRN, SMITH, ANGUS, ROBINSON, THOMSON, &c.

To be completed in 18 parts, super-royal 4to, at 2s. each, forming two handsome volumes.

The Bible in Pictures:

OR, SCRIPTURE HISTORY ILLUSTRATED IN A SERIES OF ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY ENGRAVINGS, from Original Designs by JULIUS SCHNORR VON CAROLS-FELD. With a Descriptive Notice of each Picture.

No series of Bible illustrations has ever been published equal to this in the number of subjects illustrated, in the high-toned, thoughtful, and devout manner in which all the subjects are treated, or in the happy combination of power and simplicity with which they are depicted.

Complete in 30 parts, 2s. 6d. each; or 2 large vols. imperial 8vo, cloth, £4.

The Imperial Dictionary,

ENGLISH, TECHNOLOGICAL, AND SCIENTIFIC; on the basis of Webster's English Dictionary, with the addition of many Thousand Words and Phrases, including the most generally used Technical and Scientific Terms, together with their Etymology and their Pronunciation. Also, a SUPPLEMENT, containing an extensive collection of Words, Terms, and Phrases, not included in previous English Dictionaries. By JOHN OGILVIE, LL.D. The whole illustrated by above 2500 Engravings on wood. The SUPPLEMENT separately, 1 vol. cloth, 16s.

"... A Work which, from the experience of years, we can pronounce to be, on the whole, the most satisfactory Dictionary, on a large scale, hitherto before the British public."—Scotsman.

"We must in honesty say, that Dr. Ogilvie has not only produced the best English Dictionary that exists, but so far as the actual state of knowledge permitted, has made some approach toward perfection."—British Quarterly Review.

Complete in 12 divisions, imperial 4to, 7s. 6d. each.

The Imperial Atlas

OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY; A Series of ONE HUNDRED carefully coloured Maps, embracing the most recent Discoveries, and the latest Political Divisions of Territory in all parts of the World. Compiled from the most authentic sources, under the supervision of W. G. BLACKIE, PH.D., F.R.G.S., Editor of the *Imperial Gazetteer*. Revised Edition. With an INDEX, containing references to above 120,000 Places.

In fulness and accuracy of information, largeness of scale, and clearness of engraving, this Atlas will compare favourably with the most costly works of the kind extant. It is portable, and can be consulted with ease, being an imperial 4to, measuring when closed 15 inches by 11 inches. The Maps are printed on paper measuring 22 inches by 15, and carefully coloured. The Series extends to Seventy-eight such Sheets, comprising above One Hundred different Maps.

"After a careful perusal of the whole work, we can safely say that we know of no Atlas, published at the same low price, which is so copious and accurate in detail, so clearly printed, and so well engraved."—London Review.

Complete in 12 divisions, imperial 8vo, 7s. 6d. each; also in parts, 2s. 6d. each.

The Imperial Gazetteer;

A GENERAL DICTIONARY OF GEOGRAPHY, PHYSICAL, POLITICAL, STATISTICAL, AND DESCRIPTIVE; containing comprehensive Accounts of the Countries, Cities, Towns, Villages, Seas, Lakes, Rivers, Islands, Mountains, Valleys, &c., in the World. Edited by W. G. BLACKIE, PH.D., F.R.G.S. With a SUPPLEMENT, bringing the Geographical Information down to the latest dates. Illustrated by above 800 Engravings printed in the text—comprising Views, Costumes, Maps, Plans, &c., and 12 beautifully coloured Plates. The SUPPLEMENT separately, 1 vol. cloth, 16s.

"All the articles we have examined, whether long or short, exhibit a greater degree of correctness in minute detail than we should have thought practicable in so comprehensive a work."—Athenæum.

"As a book of reference for the private study, Blackie's Imperial Gazetteer is a work of rare merit, furnishing in a condensed form a vast amount of information, accompanied by a large number of engravings. Its companion, the Imperial Atlas, is not less deserving of commendation."—Reader.

Complete in 9 divisions, imperial 8vo, 7s. 6d. each; also in parts, 2s. 6d. each.

The Imperial Bible-Dictionary;

HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND DOCTRINAL, including the Natural History, Antiquities, Manners, Customs, and Religious Rites and Ceremonies mentioned in the Scriptures, and an Account of the several Books of the Old and New Testaments, by numerous eminent Writers. Edited by Rev. PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D., Author of "Typology of Scripture," &c., assisted by numerous Contributors. Illustrated by many hundred Engravings on wood and steel.

"Truly a magnificent work both in its design and execution."—Princeton Review.

"Orthodox in tone, reverent in spirit, and showing in every page the marks of independent and industrious research."—Churchman.

"The work is as sound and candid in reasoning and learning as in theology; and we may regard it as a kind of family commentary well adapted in its subordinate capacity to lie by side of the family Bible."—Record.

Complete in 16 parts, large 8vo, at 2s. each; two vols., cloth extra, 36s.

The Works of Robert Burns.

Complete Illustrated Edition, Literary and Pictorial. Consisting of a Complete Collection of his Poems, Songs, and Correspondence; arranged Chronologically, and accompanied by numerous Notes and Annotations. The whole preceded by Professor WILSON's Essay "On the Genius and Character of Burns," and Dr. CURRIE's Memoir of the Poet.

The illustrations, 82 in number, comprise Landscapes of all the noteworthy localities identified with the life and writings of the Poet, and Portraits, which are authentic likenesses of persons intimately connected with the Poet by friendship or by association with his Muse.

"This is certainly the most elegant edition of Burns ever published."—Scotsman.

"Taken altogether, this handsome illustrated edition is the most complete collection of the poems and letters of Burns, comprising, as it does, all the graphic and written memorials of the Poet, his friends, and the scenes of his life and song, that could be got together."—Spectator.

In 20 parts, super-royal 8vo, price 2s. each; or six half-vols., cloth, at 8s. each.

A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen.

Originally edited by ROBERT CHAMBERS, revised and continued by the Rev. THOMAS THOMSON. New Edition, with a Supplement, continuing the Biographies to the present time. Illustrated by Seventy-two highly finished Engravings on steel.

Among the eminent individuals whose biographies will be included in the Supplement, will be found the following:—Sir JAMES CLARK, Bart., M.D.; ROBERT CHAMBERS, LL.D.; LORD DALHOUSIE; Rev. NORMAN MACLEOD, D.D.; Rev. THOMAS GUTHRIE, D.D.; Rev. ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D.D.; Sir JAMES Y. SIMPSON, M.D.; Dr. DAVID LIVINGSTONE; The Very Rev. DEAN RAMSAY, LL.D.; Rev. PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D., LL.D.; Rev. ROBERT BUCHANAN, D.D., &c. &c.

"A book full of heroes who have conquered, frequently against incredible odds, and generally in peaceful and beneficent fields of action. No better book could be placed in the hands of young men aspiring to be useful, good, and great."—London Review.

In 11 parts, super-royal 8vo, 2s. each; or 22 parts, 1s. each.

The Christian Cyclopædia;

OR REPERTORY OF BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE. By the Rev. JAMES GARDNER, M.D., A.M. With numerous Engravings. New and Revised Edition, with Supplement, and Index of Scripture Passages Illustrated.

This Work is intended to furnish the reader with a popular summary of what has hitherto been written on those subjects which are involved in, or closely allied to, Christianity. It embraces in its plan a comprehensive digest of Christian Literature and Biography, and the general features both of a Biblical and Theological Dictionary.

"There is a fulness in the articles that is usually exhaustive, so that the reader need not look elsewhere to consult other authors for that information which he may wish to obtain."—Western Daily Mercury.

In 20 parts, imperial 8vo, 1s. each; or 2 vols. cloth, 22s.

The Christian in Complete Armour.

A Treatise of the Saints' War against the Devil. By WILLIAM GURNALL, M.A. Accurately printed in large type, from the Author's own editions. With a Biographical Introduction, by the Rev. J. C. RYLE, B.A. Oxon., Author of "Living or Dead," "Home Truths," &c.

"One grand peculiarity of The Christian in Complete Armour is the soundness and scriptural proportion of its doctrinal statements."—From Biographical Notice by the Rev. J. C. Ryle, B.A.

his
otes
cter

sp
by

ur,
y.

RETURN TO the circulation desk of any
University of California Library
or to the

NORTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
Bldg. 400, Richmond Field Station
University of California
Richmond, CA 94804-4698

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS
2-month loans may be renewed by calling

^{SLO} (415) 642-6753

1-year loans may be recharged by bringing books
to NRLF

Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days
prior to due date

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

JUL 6 1991

AUG 31 1991
AUTO DISC AUG 01 '91

DEC 21 2000

U.C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES



C038131205

